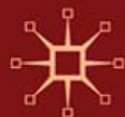


Cultural  
Criminology  
Series

Celebrity Culture and Crime:  
The Joy of Transgression

Ruth Penfold-Mounce



## Celebrity Culture and Crime

*Cultural Criminology*

Series editor: **Mike Presdee**, Sometime Senior Lecturer in Criminology,  
University of Kent, UK

*Titles include:*

Ruth Penfold-Mounce  
CELEBRITY CULTURE AND CRIME  
The Joy of Transgression

Willem Schinkel  
ASPECTS OF VIOLENCE  
A Critical Theory

---

**Cultural Criminology**

**Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-230-53558-9**

*(outside North America only)*

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke,  
Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

---

# Celebrity Culture and Crime

## The Joy of Transgression

Ruth Penfold-Mounce

*University of York, UK*

palgrave  
macmillan



© Ruth Penfold-Mounce 2009  
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2009 978-0-230-22468-1

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted her right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2009 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries

ISBN 978-1-349-30965-8      ISBN 978-0-230-24830-4 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230248304

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1  
18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09

*For Mum, my staunchest supporter, and Daniel,  
my best friend and husband, with love*

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
Introduction: Cultural Criminology and the Joy of Transgression	1
1 Celebrity, Fame and Culture	12
2 The Culture Industry and Foucauldian Governmentality	38
3 Resonance and Celebrated Criminality	63
4 Celebrated Criminality and Governance	94
5 The Undermining of Celebrated Criminality	114
6 The Evolution of Celebrated Criminality	140
Conclusion: Celebrating Crime in a Celebrity Culture	178
<i>Bibliography</i>	184
<i>Index</i>	193



# Acknowledgements

Many thanks to my University of York Sociology Department colleagues who have supported me through this project, especially Simon Winlow, Nick Gane and Dave Beer for their comments on various draft chapters of this book. However, particular recognition should go to Emma Uprichard for not only her support and enthusiasm but the useful comments on the entire manuscript. I must also acknowledge my debt to Mike Presdee, whose feedback on the final manuscript was invaluable. Thanks also to the editorial team at Palgrave who have patiently answered all of my numerous questions: Philippa Grand, Hazel Woodbridge and Olivia Middleton.

# Introduction: Cultural Criminology and the Joy of Transgression

Celebrity dominates contemporary society. It pervades across the modern media and encourages us to think of it as a new development, rather than the extension of a long-standing condition (Turner, 2004: 4). The visibility of celebrity is unprecedented and there is a continuing debate surrounding how to describe and understand this phenomenon. Attempts have been made by looking at celebrity as a commercial commodity relating to intellectual property, an object of consumption and desire as part of a celebrity industry, a cultural text which can be read to understand ideological conditions and a cultural phenomenon constituting a new way of perceiving the self and society. Celebrity is a multifaceted concept, which can and has been approached from a variety of angles each shedding more light upon this cultural phenomenon.

A key component in this focus on celebrity has been the largely overlooked relationship it shares with transgression, whereby criminals and deviants can enter into a celebrated status, while celebrities can also transgress norms and laws by going wild and misbehaving. In this book the evidence of a relationship between celebrity and criminality is examined in order to establish the circumstances and reasons for this connection existing as a united phenomenon referred to as 'celebrated criminality'. Additionally, the consequences and contributions of this relationship for British and United States societies are considered through a range of case studies, which are by no means definitive, but provide instances from the past and present, Britain and the USA and from celebrated figures who have minor national or major international status. In order to engage with the debate over the relationship between celebrity and transgressive behaviour this chapter explores the importance of cultural criminology as a critical stance, the role of joy in transgressive acts and finally the relationship shared by celebrity and crime.

## **Studying culture and crime: cultural criminology**

Contemporary society has witnessed a renewed interest in the relationship between crime and culture. Consequently, research into crime and culture is characterized by late modernity's distinctive qualities: the rise of individualism, the pervasion of media forms, unprecedented consumption and ultimately the loss of substantial ties in social structure to identity. It is a time of significant instability and change at a social, cultural, moral and technological level and it is into this setting that the study of culture has become increasingly more crucial in the study of crime. By 'stressing the dimensionality of culture rather than its substantiality permits our thinking of culture less as a property of individuals and groups and more a heuristic device' (Appadurai, 1996: 12–13). As a heuristic tool, culture enables the criminologist to read crime through it. Reading criminology through culture, according to Kane (2004: 305), is about re-evaluating taken-for-granted foundations of inequality and its disciplinary accomplices in social sciences and justice systems. It is about looking at the collective conscience in the information age, making myths conscious, and about reconfiguring knowledge in the larger discipline (ibid.: 305). Subsequently, the late modern context and understanding of culture as a device for reading crime have led to a growing plethora of research becoming referred to as 'cultural criminology'.

Cultural criminology has been questioned over whether it is a fully unified theory or rather a 'collection of individuals sharing some issues in common' (Webber, 2007: 140). Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2008: 210) propose that it is probably somewhere in between and that cultural criminology encourages a focusing on issues of meaning, representation and power. The looseness of this sense of cultural criminology encourages scholars to explore an intellectual space free from orthodox criminology and criminal space (ibid.: 210). It has been suggested as 'creating an alternative new narrative of crime' (Presdee, 2004a: 283). However, what makes it a new narrative? How is it different from previous cultural considerations of crime? And what is its significance?

Ferrell and Sanders (1995), in one of the earliest attempts to define cultural criminology, argue that it seeks to make sense of the processes where cultural forms and expressions become criminalized. It is an examination of the interplay between crime and culture 'from the post-modern proposition that form is content, that style is substance, that meaning thus resides in presentation and re-presentation' (Ferrell,

1999: 397). Cultural criminology searches notions of meaning, interpretation and representation within culture. It is not so much intrigued by crime rates as by the representation of such rates, the interaction of people with this representation and the resulting consequences. It is interested in expanding imaginative case studies and analytic innovations (Ferrell, Hayward, Morrison and Presdee, 2004: 1) while reinjecting sociological theory into the understanding of crime. Cultural criminology is about media images that abound in number and type conveying reality and fiction side by side and complicating interpretation, presentation and representation.

Cultural criminology is therefore a method looking at meanings within the narrative of everyday life. It tells stories, making the practices of social life into 'the very font of culture and cultural forms' (Presdee, 2000a: 21). An advantage of using a cultural criminological perspective is the prioritization of the biographical account of everyday life. Presdee (2004b: 41) asserts that this provides the ability to produce better-quality descriptions and explanations of crime and transgression over quantitative acts that reproduce only numerical life not everyday life. This does not dismiss the insightfulness of numerical studies but it emphasizes that statistics are restricted in verbalizing stories of everyday life, which necessitate more expansive and intimate description and analysis to reflect the complexity of the narrative. As such, cultural criminology studies a range of narratives of everyday life, which are not devoid of meaning but are where 'popular history is carved and constructed through everyday experience' (ibid.: 43).

By focusing upon the continuous generation of meaning, cultural criminology looks into the interaction of 'rules created, rules broken, a constant interplay of moral entrepreneurship, moral innovation, and transgression' (Hayward and Young, 2007: 102). It is this interaction or friction between people, morals, ideals and regulations that creates a beginning for creating a story. Therefore, cultural criminology places crime and its control in the context of culture and views both crime and the agencies of control as cultural products or 'creative constructs' (Hayward and Young, 2004: 259; 2007: 102). Consequently, the roots of cultural criminology lie within notions of creativity, style and representation and they interact and transgress societal values, views and rules. As such, cultural criminology provides grounds for examining criminality through cultural occurrences and phenomenon.

Despite being able to outline facets and characteristics of cultural criminology it remains complex and fluid in definition, shifting and adaptable, refusing to be contained by a single set definition. The

parameters and methods of the 'cultural approach' are still not firmly established and its potential remains to be fully tested and explored (Hayward and Young, 2004: 270). It appears that cultural criminology is part of Bauman's (2000) liquid modernity, whereby culture and society are in a state of liquidity, shifting, flowing from one form to another and ultimately uncontainable. Hayward and Young (2007) propose this state of fluid flux, whereby there are no firmly established methods or trajectories, as a strength rather than a weakness. They state that the self-conscious avoidance of a static definition by cultural criminology leaves it open to critical examination and a collective exploration of culture and crime which allows the use of crime and criminality as a font of culture and cultural forms (ibid.: 103).

### **Crime, culture and the joy of transgression**

One key theme within cultural criminology's focus upon interaction is transgression. Transgression entails the breaking of rules into the senseless, the forbidden and the outlawed; it 'involves an attitude to rules, an assessment of their justness and appropriateness, and a motivation to break them whether by outright transgression or by neutralization' (Hayward and Young, 2004: 266). Within cultural criminology transgression is used to explore the secret pleasure from crossing boundaries and the sickening excitement of something nasty, frightening or disgusting; something defined as outside normative rules. Rule breaking and boundary crossing have been used by those working on subcultures to provide solutions to social problems. This is now being relocated into a source of meaning and 'leisure' (ibid.: 261, 266).

Jenks (2003) argues that transgression is a central idea of our time in a society created by constraints and boundaries; however, because our culture is increasingly uncertain and in flux, it is difficult to determine where boundaries now lie. By focusing on transgression the search is for limits that are found only by crossing them. It is an opportunity to investigate what Ferrell (1998: 38) refers to as: 'adrenaline and excitement, terror and pleasure seem to flow not just through the experience of criminality ... but through the many capillaries connecting crime, crime victimization and criminal justice'. Crime is rarely routine or dull; there is something sensual and visceral about it, or, as Katz (1988) suggests, crime is seductive. The joy of transgressing boundaries though crime and deviance necessitates consideration of why and how pleasure occurs through illicit activities.

Bataille's work is inextricably interwoven with the crossing of boundaries, particularly in relation to deviance. Noys describes Bataille as 'the

prophet of transgression', while Foucault claimed his 'thought is a guiding light in the darkness of a new era of unthought' (in Pefanis, 1991: 40). For Bataille, transgression was an inner experience in which the individual went beyond the bounds of rational, everyday behaviour. He explored a variety of transgressive topics including death, excess, eroticism and the Marquis de Sade, which enabled him to highlight that it is impossible to cross the line to elsewhere until boundaries are set and recognized (Jenks, 2003: 7, 15). For example, according to Bataille (1987: 127), 'evil is not transgression, it is transgression condemned', hence to transgress boundaries the boundaries must first be laid down and acknowledged.

Therefore, it is only by transgressing the boundaries of the everyday, which is constrained by considerations of profit or self-preservation, that the force of prohibition is fully realized (Suleiman, 1990: 75). Foucault re-emphasizes this, arguing that the boundaries of 'transgression incessantly cross ... and recross ... a line which closes up behind it ... thus it is made to return once more right to the horizon of the uncrossable' (Foucault, 1977b: 33-4). Thus, in practice, transgression relates to the mad, bad and dangerous particularly as everyday life is riven with code, law, opposition and negation (Jenks, 2003: 92).

The transgression of constraints is policed by taboos, which provide limits to behaviour that are a personal response to moral imperatives stemming from inside. However, such a 'limit on conduct carries with it an intense relationship with the desire to transgress the limit', encouraging the impulse to disobey (ibid.: 7). In other words, although taboo would forbid the transgression, fascination and desire for crossing boundaries compels it (Bataille, 1987: 68). It is this antipathy between order and chaos that encapsulates another important element of transgression in the form of carnival or the world turned upside down (Jenks, 2003: 7). In the carnivalesque world, vice and transgression have an energy that perverts reality, creating the spectacle of debauchery (Presdee, 2004b: 44). According to Lasch (1979), contemporary society has reduced reason to mere calculation whereby reason can impose no limits on the pursuit of pleasure through the immediate gratification of every desire no matter how perverse, excessive, insane, criminal or merely immoral (ibid.: 69). Consequently, there is a quest for what Bakhtin (1984: 8) refers to as the 'second life', expressed via the carnival acts of excitement, pleasure, excess obscenity and even degradation, which directly relates to transgression by breaking boundaries, confronting parameters and playing at the margins of social life (Jenks, 2003: 7). 'Second life' encapsulates transgression by going beyond the bounds and limits set by a commandment, law or convention; it

violates and infringes them while also celebrating and lauding the crossing (ibid.: 2).

The notion of 'second life' is reflected by both Deleuze (1997: 37), who points to the 'sensuality' of 'wickedness', and Bataille's implicit suggestions that transgression can be a joyful and seductive experience. For instance,

Cruelty and eroticism are conscious intentions in a mind which has resolved to trespass into a forbidden field of behaviour ... for these contagious domains are both founded on the heady exhilaration of making a determined escape from the power of taboo [therefore] cruelty may veer towards eroticism. (Bataille, 1987: 80)

Under such circumstances, society is terrified but also drawn by an awed fascination because 'extreme seductiveness is at the boundary of horror' (ibid.: 17). It is through transgression that the intense pleasure of exceeding boundaries and the intense anguish at the realization of the force of those boundaries are experienced (Suleiman, 1990: 75). Transgressions are transformed into a celebration of an inverted moral order in which the world is turned upside down such as via the criminal act. In such an instance there is antipathy between order and excess, that is, carnival makes the sensual nature of the criminal act comprehensible in terms of the boundary that is sequentially fractured and repaired (Jenks, 2003: 133–4).

Katz (1988: 3) writes that the seductive qualities of crime – which are those aspects in the foreground of criminality – make its various forms sensible, even sensuously compelling, ways of being. Therefore, crime leads to the most sensual satisfactions and the fulfilment of the most powerful desires, making it important to deny that solidarity which opposes crime and prevents the enjoyment of its fruits (Bataille, 1987: 169). The response to crime as being in some way enjoyable is difficult to grapple with and unpleasant to think about; however, ultimately, this voyeurism of criminality as a transgression can often be enough (Presdee, 2000: 11, 30). Societal 'delight in being deviant' (Katz, 1988: 312) reflects joy in transgression, a glee and amusement in crossing boundaries that define normative behaviour. This delight suggests that the motivation to commit deviant and criminal acts is not necessarily simply through need or greed, but is the pursuit of pleasure and excitement, a drive for an adrenaline fix. It also exposes a fascination with deviance that allows non-participants to also delight in transgressive behaviour. This voyeuristic delight in deviance links intimately with

the approach of cultural criminology as it seeks to explore the interaction of cultural products, in order to extrapolate upon meaning and ultimately to consider the abundance of media images.

## **The relationship between celebrity and crime**

Contemporary society has been heralded as bearing witness to and experiencing the emergence and increasing dominance of 'celebrity' and 'celebrity culture' (Cashmore, 2006; Turner, 2004; Rojek, 2001). Meanwhile, J. Rose (1999: 9–20) and Howarth (2002) have gone further and even stated that historical societies demonstrate a powerful culture of celebrity. Celebrity has been classically identified as individuals who are 'well-known for their well-knownness' (Boorstin, 1972: 57). However, this is an overly simplistic understanding of the phenomenon of celebrity in the mass-mediated world of contemporary society. Celebrity is made complicated by its association with fame and different interpretations leading to a huge and diverse range of individuals, including explorers, actors, sportsmen and women and criminals, achieving the status and title of celebrity or famous. Celebrity, it would seem, is ubiquitous in contemporary society. It is used as an all-inclusive term that includes those who earn their well-knownness from working for the advancement of humankind, those on the stage and screen, and the criminal who breaks the rules of society. This inclusivity of any person who gains media attention leading to them become well known and thus celebrated, highlights the relationship between crime and celebrity. It raises questions regarding why crime and criminals can appear to be mediated-celebrity equals with non-criminals.

Rojek (2001) specifically recognizes a relationship between celebrity and transgression. He links celebrity to transgression on the basis that it divides the individual from ordinary social life, and that celebrities themselves are based on projecting a public face that can alter their view of their own non-public self (*ibid.*: 177–8). This highlights a sense of division, and transgressive boundary crossing is consolidated only by Rojek's assertion that there is a contradiction between the desire to achieve celebrity and the limited means of attaining that goal. This contradiction leads to some individuals resorting to illegitimate means to acquire recognition, such as committing crimes (*ibid.*: 178). However, despite such identifications of crime and celebrity sharing a relationship, little rigorous academic scholarship has been forthcoming. Admittedly, exceptions do exist, such as Jenks and Lorentzen's (1997) work on the 1960s London gangsters the Krays, and Kooistra's (1989) investigation into criminals as



heroes. However, despite these exceptions, the process of outlining, engaging with and analysing the criminal/celebrity relationship remains ripe for a critical dialogue.

Cultural criminology, with its focus on the everyday and consideration of transgression, provides a basis for providing a critical understanding of the relationship between crime and celebrity. It unites the cultural product of celebrity with the transgressive behaviour of crime and deviance, and offers an arena in which to investigate the appearance of a need and system to celebrate transgression, defiance and resistance within everyday life in Britain and the USA (Presdee, 2004b: 45). Using cultural criminology to explore the relationship between celebrity and criminality in Britain and the USA draws upon the strengths and interests of this approach particularly through case studies which explore the circumstances and reasons for why the relationship exists as a united phenomenon, referred to as celebrated criminality.

The choice of focusing upon Britain and the USA is based upon the strong similarities in the recent policies and practices of these two nations – with patterns repeating across the 50 states and the federal system of the USA and across the three legal systems of Britain (Garland, 2001: 7). Newburn (2002: 165) even goes so far as to argue that both face problems and policy responses sufficiently alike to lead to them being described as enjoying ‘policy transfer’. Garland (2001) suggests this situation is evidence of underlying patterns of structural transformation which are being brought about by a process of adaptation to the social conditions that now characterize these (and other) societies. As a result, the similarities of these two societies render them enough alike to discuss their social and cultural changes in relation to one another. However, there is no claim that the patterns of these two societies are universal, because there are important national differences distinguishing policy environments from one another and also from other societies (*ibid.*: 7).

Further reasoning for studying Britain and the USA is that it is appropriate to study the two nations upon which the majority of the literature surrounding the criminal/celebrity relationship has commented. From such a foundation, the debate is opened for elaboration upon other nations regarding the criminal/celebrity relationship. The crime-control developments in Britain suggest that the USA is not unique in its response to crime or in the social processes that underlie it. Scholars including Mathiesen (1997) and Wacquant (1999) have pointed to the growing tendency of European nations to emulate patterns of crime control first developed in the USA. If these scholars are correct in their observations, an explanation might lie in the social, economic and cul-

tural developments that late modern society brings in its wake (Garland, 2001: ix).

This book adopts an alternative approach to explore the criminal/celebrity relationship through the concept of control within society using Foucauldian governmentality in the form of government and governance. Exploring the criminal/celebrity relationship from this approach demands an account of the emergence of celebrity, the culture industry and Garland's culture of control. Chapter 1 opens the analysis of the relationship between celebrity and crime through exploring the cultural phenomenon of celebrity and celebrity culture with a conceptualization of celebrity that identifies categories such as Hero, Star, Celeb and Notorious. The impact of celebrity culture is examined through the depreciation of greatness and the role of spectacle and synopticism in contemporary society.

In Chapter 2 Adorno and Horkheimer's culture industry is used to explore how celebrity and celebrity culture have emerged and prospered in late modernity. The chapter updates the culture industry for the twenty-first century in relation to conceptions of power and control through Foucault's governmentality. Governmentality referring to government and governance does not refer to a conspiracy that seeks to control the public through the culture industry and celebrity, but claims that control is a consequence. By reinterpreting Foucauldian government and governance, the culture industry and celebrity are asserted to be forms of social control through freedom. Particular emphasis is placed upon celebrity as social control emerging from the culture industry and how it is providing identity and social solidarity in contemporary society.

Chapter 3 stresses the important contribution of the heuristic tool of resonance in explaining the perverse public relationship and fascination with crime and criminality. Resonance is used in a dual manner: as a tool to examine the criminal/celebrity relationship and also as an explanation (a causal factor) for the development of celebrated criminality. The public ability to resonate is suggested as fundamental for the culture industry, celebrity or criminality to possess any form of controlling power. The contributions of psychological, cultural and sociological stances are examined in order to explain the influence of resonance through the criminal-celebrity trend. Finally, celebrated criminality is conceptualized through four categories of criminal-celebrity: social bandit, criminal hero, underworld exhibitionist and iniquitous criminal.

Chapter 4 analyses celebrated criminality as a form of governance through the dominant trend of the criminal-celebrity. This analysis focuses on the limitations and strengths of criminal-celebrity regarding

its reliance on resonance, which leads to only certain crimes and criminals attaining celebrity status. Three factors are used to highlight how criminality becomes celebrated through resonance: the type of crime, which considers what offences are considered acceptable, or stimulate interest or horror; the context of the crime, in relation to the time and place the offence is committed and how this can impact on public resonance; and the image of the offender, in that it can become romanticized and improve resonance rates. An extended case study of the 1960s London gangsters the Krays illustrates the criminal-celebrity categories as well as consolidating the assertion that governance through celebrated criminality can be limited by resonance.

The penultimate chapter examines the undermining of celebrated criminality towards the turn of the twenty-first century. It is proposed that celebrated criminality as a Foucauldian governance form is in the process of being weakened by changing societal conditions that are undermining its ability to stimulate public resonance. In other words, celebrated criminality's dependence on resonance to exist, as a governance form, is becoming weakened and prevented from being the strength that it has been in the past. This chapter provides a twofold analysis of how and why this undermining process is occurring. Firstly, this undermining is suggested through celebrated criminality's dominant trend of criminal-celebrity being weakened by the growing category of underworld exhibitionists (criminals seeking celebrity status). It is proposed that the pursuit of celebrity devalues the celebration of criminality through over-management of image, over-saturation and over-commercialism. Secondly, the undermining of criminal-celebrity is linked to the emergence of David Garland's (2001) culture of control as a new form of Foucauldian government which is impacting on celebrated criminality as governance.

In the final chapter a critical analysis is conducted of the evolution of celebrated criminality as a form of governance in response to the undermining effect of the culture of control. The rogue celebrity (a celebrity who becomes associated with, or commits, criminal or deviant acts) is highlighted to be thriving in the vacuum formed by the undermining of celebrated criminality's previously dominant trend, the criminal-celebrity. In order to investigate the rise and increasing dominance of the rogue celebrity as a trend within celebrated criminality, it is conceptualized into three groups: celebrity suspect, celebrity deviant and celebrity criminal. These rogue-celebrity groups are used to illustrate techniques for surviving image transgression by minimizing image damage and avoiding a loss of celebrated status via deglamorization, and also how some

criminality or deviance can be used as a career boost. The implications of rogue celebrity are applied to wider society through issues of deferential treatment and judicial blindness. Finally, a brief conclusion draws together the research assertions and findings along with providing a challenge regarding the importance of engaging the criminological imagination.

# 1

## Celebrity, Fame and Culture

Celebrity is unavoidable in the mediated world. Whether by active pursuit or even active avoidance, it is impossible to evade celebrities and their actions through their frequency and quantity, which pervade all aspects of everyday life. Magazines, films, television and radio all display celebrities in society influencing fashion, how we furnish our homes, and even the food and drink we consume. Society, it appears, is fixated with celebrity, attaching extravagant value to public figures whose ‘accomplishments may be limited, but whose visibility is extensive’ (Cashmore, 2006: 1). This chapter engages with the debate surrounding celebrity by clarifying an understanding of celebrity through the provision of a conceptualization of the phenomenon. It will also critically analyse the impact of celebrity and celebrity culture through an analysis of the destruction of greatness and the role of spectacle and synopticism.

### Understanding the phenomenon of celebrity

Celebrity emerged from notions of fame and famousness, which is the ‘state of being widely known or recognised’ (*Collins Shorter English Dictionary*, 1993: 402). As a word, it derives from the Latin *celebritas*, meaning a multitude or fame, and *celeber*, meaning frequent, populous, renowned or famous (Boorstin, 1972: 57). Consequently, celebrity has been described as a ‘condition of being much talked about; famousness, notoriety’ (cited in *ibid.*: 57). This definition is convenient because it links notoriety to celebrity, thereby suggesting that celebrity can be rooted in deviance and crime by being ‘well-known for some bad or unfavourable quality or deed’ (*Collins Shorter English Dictionary*, 1993: 775), which is interpreted as illegal or deviant behaviour. Simply put, a celebrity is an individual who is primarily ‘well known for their well-knownness’; they are famous for being famous (Boorstin, 1972: 57).

Boorstin (1972) suggests a broad and inclusive definition stating that celebrity refers to those individuals who are 'well-known for their well-knownness' (ibid.: 57). This definition is grounded in his critique of contemporary American culture as fundamentally inauthentic and dominated by the pseudo-event. Boorstin's pseudo-event refers to an event or person who gains celebrity, not spontaneously but rather because it is planned, planted or incited primarily (although not always exclusively) for the purpose of being reported or reproduced (ibid.: 11). Celebrity is an exemplary pseudo-event in that it can be manufactured to create well-knownness to the extent that it can become a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby celebrity status can simply be achieved by claiming and performing it (ibid.: 12). It appears that culture is driven by its fascination with image, simulation and losing its grounding in substance or reality (Turner, 2004: 5). Celebrity is forming an undeniable celebrity culture in contemporary society whose inauthenticity within popular culture has been interpreted as a symptom of cultural change (ibid.: 5).

Cultural change relating to celebrity is largely in relation to its defining characteristic of being essentially a media product that is both transient and superficial, with the usage of the term being largely confined to the twentieth century onwards (Giles, 2000: 3). For Giles (2000), fame is a process, which is a consequence of how the media treat individuals. This means, according to Giles,

The brutal reality of the modern age is that all famous people are treated like celebrities by the mass media, whether they be a great political figure, a worthy campaigner, an artist 'touched by genius', a serial killer or Maureen of *Driving School* [a participant in a British reality television programme]. (ibid.: 5)

The role of the media in forming celebrities through the fame process emphasizes their reliance on mediated promotion, publicity and advertising for their status to initially occur and subsequently to be maintained. Without consistent media coverage celebrities disappear: they are dependent on media coverage to maintain their celebrated status. The relationship between celebrity and the media is reflected by Dyer's influential work (1979; 1986; 1999) on the film star as a cultural text. His analysis of these cultural texts within the discursive and ideological conditions that help create stars reflects the scholarly theme of fame and celebrity as a cultural and societal process.

Perhaps the most widely debated facet of celebrity is analysed by Gamson (1994) – that of celebrity as a commodity within a celebrity

industry. Celebrity culture is made up of celebrities who are manufactured and who embody a publicized version of what the public would *like* to be: typical enough to be accessible yet unique and interesting (Reeves, 1988: 150). Despite being manufactured and largely devoid of accomplishments other than media visibility, celebrities become the guiding stars of public interest. Consequently, as Boorstin (1972: 47) asserts, we are tempted to believe they are not actually synthetic but that somehow greatness simply abounds in modern times. Heroic figures distinguished by their greatness due to accomplishments and achievements are increasingly not being differentiated from celebrities whose well-knownness is centred upon marginally different mediated personalities.

### **Classifying celebrity**

In contemporary society there have been various scholarly endeavours to build on the understanding of celebrity and to attempt to classify and categorize it. Monaco (1978) attempts to separate the notion of celebrity from heroism and establishes subgroups via a typology. He defines three celebrity categories; firstly, the hero, who is active and gains celebrity status for what he/she does. Secondly, there is the star, who is not an actor, for an actor assumes roles, but rather an individual who works on playing him or herself. Therefore, the star is known merely for what they are, echoing Boorstin's (1972) definition of celebrity. The third group, according to Monaco (1978), are quasars, for they are what the audience think they are, rendering them virtually powerless over their own image and often unwilling participants fabricated into an icon. The term 'quasars' is based upon astronomical quasars, which are objects appearing to be larger and moving faster than the laws of physics allow; subsequently, they are thought to be, or appear to be, different from what we think they are (ibid.: 10).

Interestingly, Monaco does not seem entirely convinced by his own definitions, because despite categorizing celebrity into three groups he goes on to talk briefly of a fourth subgroup called para-celebrities, whom he describes as well known for being known by people who are well known for their well-knownness. Therefore, para-celebrities are people who become celebrities by association with other already established celebrity figures. Monaco concludes that perhaps para-celebrities are the true model of a contemporary celebrity due to being individuals whose high visibility is self-made and focused on directing their energy into a status-based career founded on well-knownness (ibid.: 4–5). However, Monaco's categorization of celebrity does not specifically account

for individuals whose celebrity well-knownness is due to crime and criminality. Consequently, Monaco's work is of limited applicability to this research by not providing an understanding of the criminal/celebrity relationship in his categorization of celebrity.

A later attempt at elaborating on celebrity by Rojek (2001) demonstrates further efforts to comprehend and categorize the issue of celebrity, but unlike Monaco he reflects upon the transient and superficial nature of celebrity. Rojek (2001) uses three categories of celebrity: ascribed, achieved and attributed. Ascribed celebrity is the most traditional, relating to family lines and dynasties; achieved celebrity is based upon a talent or skill which can apply to fame gained in the face of competition; and attributed celebrity is founded upon Boorstin's notion of the pseudo-event whereby the celebrity is gained through manufacturing visibility in the public eye (*ibid.*: 17–20).

Rojek expands on attributed celebrity via his invention of the term 'celetoid', which he uses to describe the extreme form of attributed celebrity, then he highlights their temporary and manufactured nature (*ibid.*: 20). Celetoids, according to Rojek (2001), occur due to the promotion of entertainment rather than a talent or skill, meaning they lack the ability to maintain long-term existence and decline rapidly into obscurity for 'they command media attention one day, and are forgotten the next' (*ibid.*: 21). Rojek (2001) also stresses an important subcategory of the celetoid in the form of the celector. This celebrity is 'a fictional character who is either momentarily ubiquitous or becomes an institutionalized feature of popular culture' (*ibid.*: 23). In other words, a celector, despite fictional status, can still become a celebrity. Perhaps the most distinctive component of Rojek's approach is that he addresses the transgressive and notorious. He defends this inclusion of the transgressive as a means of acknowledging the impact of criminals and deviants upon public consciousness, leading to fans and even copycat acts.

The lack of focus of previous celebrity categorizations by Monaco (1978) and the beginnings of an exploration of the transgressive by Rojek (2001) make a new understanding of celebrity worthwhile. This new categorization is crucial on two counts: firstly, in order to divide celebrities who attain their status through legal and non-deviant means from those who gain their status through illicit methods. Secondly, it is crucial to consider the division between how celebrated status is bestowed upon individuals. Celebrity status is linked to a range of individuals for different reasons and to different extents. For example, some individuals set out with the primary goal of celebrated status which



they actively pursue with the intent of achieving well-knownness. These individuals are seeking celebrity and therefore can be said to have attained their status on becoming well known: for example, individuals being interviewed on talent-seeking shows like *The X-Factor*, where contestants declare 'I want to be famous.'

However, others do not actively attain their celebrity status but become celebrated on the basis of career choices, which expose them to the public and as a result become well known. These individuals are those who are aware that there is the possibility of celebrity status but are not necessarily pursuing it. Such individuals become celebrities as a consequence of career choices, for example actors, politicians, and radio and television broadcasters. There are also those for whom celebrity status is ascribed as a result of certain actions or events. These are people who without specific intent of attaining celebrity or even choosing a certain career path that involves high public exposure still become well known. For example, these individuals might become celebrities due to their brave or charitable actions stimulating public admiration or they become well known for their rule breaking, cunning or dangerous behaviour such as some criminals.

Significantly, the different routes to celebrity status rarely remain separate but can be seen to interweave with one another. Just as a person's motivations to do something or speak to someone can be mixed, so is the status of celebrity. For example, an individual who chooses an acting career and pursues roles in movies may well be motivated by their love of acting but also by a desire to earn wealth, to hit the big time and to be internationally well known. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that celebrated status is both actively attained and ascribed. This status is through a complex amalgamation of personal pursuit and effort along with official and unofficial publicity, marketing processes and also media coverage raising public awareness and demand for more information. It appears that for celebrity status to be successfully established a cycle of supply (information, images and products) and demand (desire for information, images and products) is necessary.

### **A new conceptualization of celebrity**

In order to accommodate transgression within an understanding of celebrity, a fresh conceptualization of this phenomenon is needed through a new classification system. In order to reclassify celebrity, five categorical groupings are proposed that comprise the different forms of celebrity. The first category is Hero, which refers to individuals who gain recognition and fame for an achievement. Heroes have all accomplished a single

or multiple feats that are recognized and labelled as an outstanding accomplishment. The Hero category is made up of men and women whose names are recorded in history books for achievement as a contribution to society. These celebrities achieve fame through their greatness, rather than achieving their well-knownness through physical beauty or working in the public eye, such as on television. Greatness highlights the potential of longevity, which separates the Hero from other celebrity categories. It is the Hero who will be remembered, recorded and celebrated for their deeds over time, rendering it a long-term category that can reach from a local to a global scale. Notably, although heroes possess longevity, it is often the case that their actions become better known than the individuals who achieved them, or in other words the Hero is defined by their act of heroism.

Typical examples of the Hero celebrity type include explorers, adventurers and world-record breakers who, via their self-discipline, sheer daring, commitment, motivation and hard work, accomplish a task or feat that has never before been achieved. This includes individuals such as adventurer Sir Ranulph Fiennes and sportsmen/women such as footballer David Beckham, athlete Colin Jackson and tennis player Martina Navratilova. The 2008 Olympics held in China was fertile ground for the emergence of British sporting Hero celebrities. These included Chris Hoy, the British triple-gold-medallist-winning cyclist who went on to be crowned as BBC Sports Personality of the Year<sup>1</sup> as well as being knighted,<sup>2</sup> teenage swimmer Rebecca Adlington, who won two gold medals for swimming and was awarded an OBE,<sup>3</sup> and also Formula One's youngest world champion, Lewis Hamilton, who became an MBE. It would appear that in 2008 heroes of the sporting variety were abundant in Britain and formally celebrated through the New Year honours awarded for merit and exceptional achievement or service.

Other ways of entering the Hero category can be by displaying unusual amounts of bravery or courage in the face of danger, such as saving a life despite imperilling their own life, or through outstanding service to local communities, the public or the nation, often by commitment to charity or voluntary work. Achieving Hero status through these two routes often makes the individual Hero into a localized phenomenon, and they rarely gain recognition on the scale of well-publicized explorers, politicians or sports professionals. However, there are some exceptions, such as Jane Tomlinson, who, following her diagnosis with terminal cancer in 2001, went on to raise over a million pounds for charity before her death in 2007, through sporting feats such as running the London Marathon three times, cycling from John O'Groats to Lands End in Britain and from

Rome to her home city of Leeds in the UK.<sup>4</sup> Philanthropy is also becoming a more common method of entering the Hero category for individuals who already have celebrated status which they use for charitable work, such as rock star Bono's campaign against Third World debt and Angelina Jolie's position as a UN goodwill ambassador.<sup>5</sup>

Significantly, the Hero succeeds in transcending the ephemeral quality of the other categories of celebrity. To all intents and purposes, the Hero is rendered immortal through the sheer force of their triumph and documentary records, thus while the Hero is created and established through the passage of time, time destroys other forms of celebrity. Exceptions can be identified, however, as some celebrities who do not fall into the Hero category are highly successful in maintaining their celebrated status over a period of decades. But this is admittedly only achieved through shifting celebrity categories, and extended survival is rare. A key example of such adaptation and survival, according to Spoto (1995), is Elizabeth Taylor, whose star status, via her acting career, has long been overshadowed by her multiple marriages, beauty affected by dramatic weight gain and loss, extravagance and show-business friends.

The second category of celebrity is that of Celeb, in which the individual becomes well known for being him or herself. As a result, Celeb is perhaps the purest or ultimate form of celebrity, for it encapsulates the achievement of no act of heroism or accomplishment, but still attains celebration and well-knownness at a national or global level. This status form embodies the most superficial or trivial route to gaining well-knownness, including individuals who are socialites or celebutantes – young women from wealthy families who receive media attention largely due to money and lifestyle such as Paris Hilton, Nicole Richie and Kim Kardashian.

The Celeb category also includes those individuals whose well-knownness is based on brief and often intense publicity that provides celebrated status of varying degrees of length, with most being one-hit wonders who fail to last more than a few weeks or months largely through reality television or fly-on-the-wall documentary series. However, some Celebs do go on to forge careers based on their rapidly gained celebrated status, such as Jade Goody from the reality television show *Big Brother*. Goody is perhaps the exemplary reality show Celeb to the extent that even her diagnosis and treatment for terminal cervical cancer were played out in front of the media right up to her death in March 2009. Her well-known status was so well established that even Prime Minister Gordon Brown and Conservative leader David Cameron paid tribute to her.<sup>6</sup>

Category three is specified as Star, which refers to those individuals known specifically for their success in music, or beauty via modelling, acting on stage or in the movies. Stars are the epitome of beauty, style, wealth and well-knownness, making them recognizable across the world. The highest concentration of stars are located in Hollywood, which produces the largest amount of this category whose diets, outfits, beliefs and relationships enthrall the global population. Stars include individuals such as British model Kate Moss and pop singer Victoria Beckham, both of whom are known for their style of dress, body shape and reputed beauty. Another prime example of a Star is Hollywood actor Tom Cruise. Cruise has gained star status through his high profile and successful acting career combined with controversy over his commitment to Scientology, the break up of his second marriage to Nicole Kidman in 2001 and ultimately his relationship with actress Katie Holmes in 2005. The whirlwind relationship with Holmes caused a media frenzy due to her being 16 years his junior, together with their rapid engagement, her pregnancy and their marriage in 2006.

Stars, by definition, do not possess governmental or political power; however, due to the extent of their well-knownness their influence can lead to societal influence. Some Stars cross the boundary into the Hero category by entering politics, such as Ronald Reagan, who was an actor prior to becoming the President of the United States during the 1980s, as was Arnold Schwarzenegger before he became Governor of California in 2003.<sup>7</sup> Other Stars do not leave their acting career but still wield societal influence. For example, Susan Sarandon and Tim Robbins have drawn attention to the Iraq War through their outspoken criticism and a play about 9/11,<sup>8</sup> Angelina Jolie is noted for her humanitarian work and involvement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), while Leonardo DiCaprio is outspoken on environmental issues including global warming in his documentary film *The 11th Hour*. Despite such exceptions, Stars' power is limited; being in the Star category does not wield direct authority.

The Personality category differs from Star although it shares many similar qualities. Personality constitutes individuals who are in the entertainment industry but have not generally attained international status like the Star category. Personality is largely confined to those on television such as newscasters, game- and chat-show hosts or television-programme presenters. These individuals gain their status through popularity with the public often due to their apparent integrity and honesty, such as talk-show host Michael Parkinson and newsreader Trevor McDonald, while television presenter Jill Dando gained Personality status

as television's golden girl that led to widespread public mourning following her murder in 1999.<sup>9</sup> Personality individuals are limited in their exposure to the public by being visible to only a region or nation via television rather than on a global scale. However, some personalities, such as Oprah Winfrey, have attained global status along with considerable national influence through their well-knownness. Winfrey's public support for Barack Obama during his presidential campaign reportedly carried considerable influence among the voting public,<sup>10</sup> suggesting the power of Personality status.

The fifth and final category of celebrity is the Notorious. The Notorious category refers to men and women who attain celebrity status through accomplishing or being associated with infamous activities of an illegal or deviant nature. The Notorious gain celebrity status in a number of ways, such as by becoming well beloved and popular due to a daring crime or consistent deviant behaviour, such as bandits Bonnie and Clyde or Great Train Robber Ronnie Biggs. Notorious status can also be gained by transgressing a cultural line whereby they commit an act that is viewed by the public as unforgivable, such as a conviction for child abuse, as in the case of glam rock singer Gary Glitter. Significantly, to enter the Notorious celebrity category does not mean the individual is actually guilty of a crime, but can simply entail association or suspicion of a crime or criminality. For example, former Personality category Michael Barrymore has through his association with the suspicious death of Stuart Lubbock in his swimming pool had his status subsumed into Notorious. This final category is ultimately the most significant for this text as it is this type of celebrity that will be used to study celebrated criminality – which is the relationship between celebrity and criminality.

## **Fame, celebrity and culture**

As Su Holmes notes, celebrity 'saturates the everyday' (2005: 24), and this marks how celebrity culture is shifting from achievement-based fame to media-driven renown. Talent is no longer related to status; instead it is about presence. Therefore, the performance of some deed to attract initial attention – such as appearing on a television programme, or a criminal action which would not have been regarded as commendable in past decades, perhaps as recently as the 1980s – provides the visibility necessary to enter celebrity culture (Cashmore, 2006: 6–7). The words 'fame' and 'celebrity' are regularly used interchangeably in contemporary society; however, they are not the same and need to be distinguished as separate cultural occurrences. In differentiating between fame and celebrity it can

be appreciated how celebrity culture was a distinct development towards the end of the twentieth century.

'Celebrity culture' is used as opposed to a 'culture of celebrity' to distinguish that it is just one component of human culture rather than implying it is the only culture that exists. Celebrity emerges on the basis of the depreciation of greatness within celebrity culture. Greatness, whereby something is worthy of acknowledgement and recognition, is fundamental to fame and is being undermined by celebrity whereby everyone can become well known for being well known. It appears that in celebrity culture greatness is becoming devalued and depreciated, and is in decline. In a celebrity culture, therefore, the artificial and synthetic are becoming celebrated by being well known rather than becoming famous for greatness. The role of spectacle and Mathiesen's (1997) synoptic society also contribute to the emergence of celebrity from its origins in fame. Synopticism and spectacle are particularly significant to celebrity culture in enabling the public to indulge in the dubious enjoyment and celebration of deviance and crime as entertainment.

### **The depreciation of greatness in celebrity culture**

The notion of greatness draws on the deep-seated and traditional conviction that someone who is well known or famous can only achieve this elevated station because they are truly great. According to Simonton (1994), to be great is to have worked for such status; it is a manifest destiny, a demonstration of leadership and creativity. In other words, greatness is defined by an individual displaying motivation of the highest possible magnitude and arduous labour to acquire expertise essential to distinction in their chosen domain and from which extraordinary achievement arises (*ibid.*: 138). The archetype of greatness in human culture is the Hero who clashes with the Fates at tremendous personal risk and is richly portrayed in all cultures (*ibid.*: 255). Heroes achieve greatness through the well-knownness they gain because of their actions. These heroic actions often involve defeating monsters, combined with epic journeys, as encapsulated by Raven's (2007) retelling of Beowulf and his battle with the monster Grendel, a Sea Hag and finally a dragon.

Celebrities have replaced heroes but without the responsibility of heroic status. Heroes 'embodied the best of their people's convictions and hopes. They consciously aspired to live in such a manner to us to serve as examples for the rest of society' (Sherman, 1992: 26). However, heroes are now replaced with actors and athletes, for 'where we once admired people who do great things, now we admire people who play people who do great things' (*ibid.*: 26). It is possible to understand the

decline in heroes when crises wane. For example, at times of crisis, especially when home security is threatened, leaders gain intrinsic value, such as Roosevelt, Churchill, MacArthur and Montgomery, who stand out in history. Their status has an imperishable quality, with their reputations based on actions rather than reputations (Cashmore, 2006: 52). Meanwhile, heroic inventors and explorers are facing a decline in numbers and public interest, for

After electricity, the internal combustion engine, television, the cure for tuberculosis, and gene therapy, what's left to discover? And, with Everest and the lesser mountains conquered, the world circum-navigated several dozen times by boat, and the Amazon charted, adventurers now have to devise their own challenges rather than rely on nature. (ibid.: 53)

Perhaps it is unsurprising that people have shifted from being hero-worshippers to being idolators of images, completing the shift to celebrity culture (ibid.: 55).

Boorstin (1972: 47) argues that celebrity, as opposed to achieving fame for being great, displays only the characteristics of genuine greatness, which under scrutiny celebrities do not possess, causing society to have fewer and fewer genuine examples of success to be imitated. Celebrity status tempts the public to believe that it is not synthetic or artificial and that somehow heroes and greatness simply abound in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (ibid.: 47). No longer do the public desire to be esteemed; they want to be admired, for they have come to 'crave not fame but the glamour and excitement of celebrity. They want to be envied rather than respected. Pride and acquisitiveness, the sins of an ascendant capitalism, have given way to vanity' (Lasch, 1979: 59). As a result, even those who do not become the archetypal hero are achieving well-known status in contemporary society. It appears we are no longer a society with great heroes but instead a plethora of individuals who are well known for their well-knownness.

Celebrities are becoming iconic signs that, according to Eco (1970), look like objects in the real world because they reproduce its conditions, but they are vulnerable to being read as natural. This perception of the visual is problematic in that the visual sign appears to possess some of the properties of the thing represented. This process of encoding and decoding visual codes leads to both understanding and misunderstanding between the encoder-producer and decoder-receiver (Hall, 1980: 131). The distortions or misunderstandings arise from a

lack of equivalence between the two sides in the communicative exchange, namely reading images. This sheds light upon the process of decoding messages that have an effect, influence, entertain, instruct or persuade with complex perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological or behavioural consequences (ibid.: 130). Interpreting the visual, namely celebrity, encourages different understandings and degrees of engagement with the artificial.

The replacement of heroes with celebrity highlights the widespread destruction of greatness in celebrity culture. However, some instances of heroism can be identified in contemporary society albeit affected by celebrity culture, raising the question of what circumstances enable a truly heroic act? Heroism in celebrity culture is characterized by generic mediated heroes rather than individuals acknowledged for their heroism. For example, the firemen and police officers who rushed to the World Trade Center on 9/11 became celebrated as heroes particularly as some lost their lives while others were triumphantly pulled from the rubble. Through loss and survival stories these emergency service personnel became heroes, largely nameless in the media but recognized as heroic.

Mediated attempts have been made to portray these heroes, such as Oliver Stone's *World Trade Center* (2006), which followed the story of two Port Authority police officers, Sergeant John McLoughlin and Officer Will Jimeno, who survived the collapse of the Twin Towers. Additionally, hero status has been conferred upon the passengers and crew who resisted the hijackers of Flight 93 in the movie *United 93* (2006) and who are considered responsible for preventing the aeroplane from reaching its target. Without some inspection, the names of the 9/11 heroes made up of emergency service personnel, aeroplane crew and passengers remain less well known than the celebrity figures that portray them, such as Nicolas Cage in *World Trade Center*. Instead, these people committing deeds of greatness are a generic body of heroism. It appears that the hero in celebrity culture is faceless, an icon held up as great but portrayed by more well-known celebrity individuals with faces that are swiftly recognizable.

While heroism and greatness are being undermined and destroyed in celebrity culture, important ethical and moral philosophical considerations are raised. For with the destruction of the hero in celebrity culture there is also a decline in clear-cut good and evil. As Bauman (1993) points out, the contemporary world is making it more difficult to make moral decisions. The rise and increasing dominance of consumerism, individualism and hedonistic drives for pleasure without



concern for pain or suffering that may be caused, are characteristic of celebrity culture. Utilitarian thought, where actions are for the greater good, differs from celebrity culture which focuses more on the individual and their personal desires and delights based on the artificial and superficial which entertain. The understanding of right and wrong, real and unreal, good and evil is changing, especially through the proliferation of images in contemporary popular culture.

The media are a central threat to greatness as they destroy heroes and replace them with celebrities. Heroes defined by evidence of greatness are being replaced by a mediated plethora of hero portrayals and representations in film and television. These hero depictions wear historic, contemporary or futuristic attire and dominate society through sheer numbers and pervasive media. Thus celebrities are carving careers by portraying living images of the primordial type (Simonton, 1994: 255). Additionally, there is a growing trend towards individuals who are gaining celebrity careers merely through their visibility in the media. This means that there are no attempts at even portraying or imitating a heroic figure, but rather that the individual becomes well known for being themselves: for example, reality television celebrities such as Jeremy Spake from *Airport* and Maureen Rees from *Driving School*, both of whom gained well-knownness in the 1990s for being themselves. In celebrity culture, although the media promote the notion that greatness and heroes thrive, this is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the celebrities they purport to represent.

The depreciation of greatness within celebrity culture is argued by Marshall (1997: 246) to relate to celebrities being the manifestations of the organization of culture in terms of democracy and capitalism. Accordingly, celebrities are endowed with value or capital, both economically and culturally, rendering them a privileged form of public subjectivity. As public subjectivity, celebrities have the capacity to act as controlling discursive vehicles for the expression of ideologies of individuality or consumer collective identities. For instance, individual consumers avidly consume the fashion styles worn by celebrities such as Kate Moss and Kylie Minogue, leading to a consumer collective identity. As a result, celebrities represent the reorganization of individual and collective identities into an economy of capitalist democracy (ibid.: 246–7).

The active decision to pursue celebrity status rather than heroic acts significantly depreciates greatness. It undermines and destroys the notion that to become well known you must achieve greatness as a hero. Instead, it demonstrates that celebrity culture 'can fabricate fame, [and] ... can at will ... make a man or woman well-known; [but it] cannot make him

great' (Boorstin, 1972: 48). For instance, crimes are being committed which target celebrities with the specific intent of gaining celebrity status for the individual committing the criminal act. It appears that to attain celebrity status is more important than how celebrity status is achieved; the ends justify the means, and greatness through heroism is no longer a consideration. For example, Robert Baldo admitted that he chose his victim, actress Rebecca Schaeffer, because of her fame (Finch, 2001: 104). Deputy District Attorney Marcia Clark, who prosecuted Baldo, summed up his motives, saying: 'He chose the easy way to the top. The only way he knew of to get fame was to kill someone famous and attach himself in a parasite-like fashion to the fame that the person had.'<sup>11</sup>

John Lennon's assassin, Mark David Chapman, also reflected this belief when he told US television interviewer Barbara Walters that, 'I thought by killing him [Lennon] I would acquire his fame ... I was Mr Nobody until I killed the biggest somebody on earth' (cited in Rojek, 2001: 154). A more recent example is that of Mijailo Mihajlovic who murdered Sweden's Foreign Minister Anna Lindh in 2003 in the pursuit of becoming a celebrity. His acquaintances report he was obsessed with being well known and was desperate enough to want to achieve it by killing someone famous. Mihajlovic, like Chapman and Baldo, demonstrated a conviction that celebrity status is a key to greatness whereby people will offer respect and socially elite doors will be opened.

Importantly, Mihajlovic, Chapman and Baldo sought celebrated status through criminal acts that targeted celebrity figures, assuming that their actions would lead to their own celebration. The aim of the men was to gain celebrity status, in what can be described as a parasitical way, by feeding off the celebrated status and glamour of their victims. However, their association with already established celebrity figures prevented them from achieving celebrity status in their own right. They remain parasitical in their celebrated status, for their well-knownness is solely related to their connection to another celebrity. Although these murderers became well known, it was their actions in targeting a celebrity figure that gained celebrated status rather than them as individuals. The public appear to be more interested in the act against the celebrity victims than in the perpetrators. Consequently, the men became associated celebrities, demonstrating that just as celebrity is not interchangeable with greatness, neither is celebrity automatically interchangeable with committing a criminal act. Thus it appears that to become a celebrity via criminal actions is a selective and elusive process for some individuals. Cases such as Mihajlovic and

Chapman highlight that an individual's self-approval and self-respect have become dependent on public recognition and acclaim which are no longer based on actions but on personal attributes.

Celebrity status is something of a paradox in that people in a celebrity culture predominantly seek an audience for their own self-worth rather than for public valour or achievement, which J. Rose (1999: 11) describes as the 'vanity of public life'. To be well known as a celebrity is to depreciate and destroy the process of heroism by undermining greatness as the essence of fame. Celebrity culture allows and encourages the non-great to be celebrated, for what an individual does has become less important than the fact that they have 'made it'. Subsequently, those few individuals who do actually fulfil Simonton's (1994) heroic greatness are belittled and depreciated by being placed alongside those who are celebrated for their beauty, such as Kate Moss, or because they appear in the entertainment world, like Simon Cowell, or because they offer entertainment through acts of stupidity as well as talent, such as singer Amy Winehouse, whose musical talent is being tainted with alleged alcohol and drug abuse.

This celebrity culture is largely occurring because the pursuit of the celebration of self is permitted as never before via the mass media. The media allow whole arenas of action previously hidden from the public sphere to be made visible. Foucault's (1977a) reversal of the axis of individuation fits neatly into celebrity culture's ability, through the media, to depreciate greatness and to develop celebrity. He writes that biography, which had been a matter of telling the lives of the great, has been extended to cover the mass population through disciplinary technologies. This renders the intimate details of the lowliest lives a matter of knowledge and public record, and as such involves the few (the authorities) watching the many. The spectacular quality of individuality enacted by celebrity works to 'reinforce the conception that there are no barriers in contemporary culture that the individual cannot overcome' (Marshall, 1997: 246). As a result, the private sphere is no longer the ultimate site of truth and meaning of any representation used in the public sphere (ibid.: 247). Instead, the public sphere has become the site elevated as the arena where dramatic personality and style inscribe distinction, attract popular attention and provide meaning which is commodified and thus consumable. The disintegration of a clear distinction between the public and private through an increase of fluidity within contemporary society has occurred allowing flexible control through governance forms (ibid.: 247).

The blurring of public and private via the media that helps form celebrity culture is further aided, according to Rojek (2001), by three

processes being experienced in Western society. Firstly, the process of democracy rather than a singular kingship, which provides a stimulus for mass opinion to impact on and affect society; secondly, the decline of religion as a widespread authoritative force; and thirdly, commodification. Rojek's (2001) processes contribute to celebrity culture by enabling celebrity to tap mass opinion through the democratization of society, filling the vacuum formed by the decline of religion and offering a consumable product in order to fulfil the desire for pleasure and entertainment, or, in other words, to mobilize 'abstract desire' (ibid.: 189). Therefore, celebrity in celebrity culture provides a substitute and remedy for the loss of a leadership figure and religion. It has become a valuable cultural capital as a fulfiller of hope, fantasy and success.

Celebrity culture, where greatness is not only being depreciated but destroyed, is part of a historical shift in the constitution of Freud's superego (1962). Superego as the ethical component of personality provides the moral standards by which the ego operates. Arguably internal motivations and controls are being significantly reoriented in contemporary society, and the fundamental force of the superego – guilt – holds less sway to carry out its traditional duty of bearing down upon the failure of the individual to be civilized and sociable. Instead, it appears that superego in celebrity culture has a new concern, that of failure to enjoy, to gain pleasure and stimulus that entertains. Therefore, it is more likely that guilt is experienced in celebrity culture as a result of failure to experience indulgent pleasures arrayed in society by culture industries than as a result of trampling over the interests of others in a relentless struggle to acquire and display. This shift in the superego helps explain admiration for mediated images of those who are not constrained by standard forms of sociability, whether through glamour, wealth and overt consumption or through crime and deviance.

### **Celebrity, spectacle and synopticism**

To spectate is to watch, to see the unusual, something exciting or glamorous, or ultimately even something disgusting or frightening. Spectacle involves things that are worth seeing and meant to be seen (Kyle, 1998: 35), although in celebrity culture it is more about displaying the artificial. It plays a significant role in aiding the development of celebrity and celebrity culture due to being a key site for stimulating the public to connect with what they see. Debord (1983: Paragraphs 2 and 6) argues that spectacle both unifies and explains a great diversity of phenomena, and this can include an understanding of celebrity and celebrity culture. Popular spectacles have produced levels of well-knownness causing celebrity

status as far back as Ancient Rome, according to Kyle (1998), with its amphitheatres of violence, punishment and death often combined with the glamour of gladiators. Kyle (1998) argues that the allure and violence of the amphitheatre is not unique to classical Rome, but that the thrill, reassurance and self-validation of violence and deviant acts have continued as a powerful public spectacle. In other words, Ancient Rome, as now, used spectacle to justify the existing system's conditions and goals by presenting itself as all of society, part of society and an instrument of unification (Debord, 1983: Paragraph 10). Subsequently, it is perhaps unsurprising that there is evidence of continued public fascination with spectacular violence and crime.

Zizek (2002) suggests that reality is actually the best appearance of itself whereby the spectacular nature of contemporary society implies a passion for the real. For example, the terrorists of 9/11 in 2001 didn't destroy the World Trade Center in New York to cause real material damage but for the spectacular effect of it (ibid.: 11). Crashing the hijacked aeroplanes into the Twin Towers was a spectacle targeting the iconic heartland of capitalism and the economic pride of the previously untouchable USA. The sheer scale, audacity and devastation of this terrorist action forced our mediated society to experience the compulsion to repeat. Again and again we watched the aeroplanes strike, bodies falling from windows and the Twin Towers ultimately collapsing with an uncanny satisfaction from *jouissance* at its purest (ibid.: 11–12). The spectacle of a crime on the scale of 9/11 in the First World is intriguing in its degree of derealization, whereby the media becoming selective of what was represented altered the perception and experience of the event. For instance, despite the 2749 victims (not including the hijackers) who perished, there was little media portrayal of the carnage, which is so different to Third World disasters where the purpose is to scoop gruesome detail (ibid.: 13). It appears that 9/11 shattered our reality: it was not just another media spectacle, it was 'the thrill of the Real as the ultimate "effect"' (ibid.: 12, 16–17).

Spectacle as highlighted by 9/11 does not necessarily sing the praises of men and their weapons (Debord, 1983: Paragraph 67). Instead, spectacle in celebrity culture praises and promotes commodities, contributing to celebrities who pass into spectacle as a model for identity. As a result, no one today can reasonably doubt the existence, power or control of the spectacle (Debord, 1988: 5) despite its often artificial nature in celebrity culture. The power of spectacle is demonstrated through public fascination almost possessing 'a life of its own' (Baudrillard, 1981: 90). Public enjoyment of spectacle particularly of a transgressive nature is reflected in Margaret Atwood's historical novel *Alias Grace* (1996), whose protagonist

is based upon the mid-nineteenth-century Canadian murderess Grace Marks.

The book highlights the public fascination of spectacle where the prison governor's wife 'likes to horrify her acquaintances' by allowing the renowned murderess and 'romantic figure' Grace Marks to serve them tea (Atwood, 1996: 25–6). In this instance, the guests who represent the public are able to 'stare without appearing to' (ibid.: 25–6), which Grace finds both intriguing and bewildering. Atwood ponders upon the spectacle of celebrated criminality through Grace, who states,

the reason they want to see me is that I am a celebrated murderess ... they say Celebrated Singer and Celebrated Poetess and Celebrated Spiritualist and Celebrated Actress, but what is there to celebrate about murder? (ibid.: 22)

Through the voice of Grace, Atwood explores the irony of the celebration of criminality which has made a woman into a spectacle of horror, fear and disgust. It is interesting to note that not only is Grace watched in the book by other characters, she is also watched by the reader, who can view her through the pages.

Spectacles go further than a textual portrayal with consumers seeking locations in a similar way to tourists visiting local heritage sights or beauty spots. For instance, it is reported that coach tours take weekend tourists to Praia da Luz in Portugal to visit the sites associated with the disappearance in 2007 of Madeleine McCann. So-called Madeleine tourists are being criticized for posing for photographs by the Ocean Club apartment from which she vanished and the Nossa Senhora da Luz (Our Lady of Light) church where her parents prayed for her return.<sup>12</sup> However, it is not only locations that have become spectacles but also commodities whereby objects are possessed or displayed relating to a particular spectacle or story. These commodities of spectacle become souvenirs of a tourist-like trade. For example, 'Big Nose' George Parrott of Wyoming was lynched for the murder of two law officers in 1881. Following his execution, Parrott's body was skinned to make a pair of shoes and a medical bag, while the top of his skull was removed and used as first an ashtray and then a doorstop. As a result, according to Pfeifer (1999), Parrott became not only a popular spectacle of death and violence, but also a commodity, which indulged a fetish of possessing the criminal even after his demise.

In Britain, similar spectacles have included double-murderer George Carpenter, whose arm was mummified and kept on display in a Wiltshire Police Museum following his execution in 1813.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, the Red

Barn murderer William Corder, who was convicted and executed for the murder of his lover Maria Marten in 1827, was slit from throat to abdomen and put on public display prior to dissection. Ultimately, his skeleton was kept on show until the Second World War in a hospital foyer,<sup>14</sup> while part of his scalp was displayed in a Regent Street book-seller's window alongside a history of crime book bound in Corder's skin (Horrall, 2001: 20–1). Thus Corder, as a criminal, became a celebrated spectacle of criminality in death. Interestingly, it was not only Corder himself who became a celebrated spectacle but also the barn, which was the location of the murder. Souvenirs of the murder location went on sale, including toothpicks splintered from the wooden barn.<sup>15</sup> As a result, the public could actively interact with the spectacle of the murder by witnessing the execution, viewing the wounded body and ultimately possessing a physical piece of the spectacle. The Corder case is important in that it highlights criminality as a spectacle, promoting public fascination and consumption of sensation.

Spectacle within celebrity culture provides a route for influencing and manipulating public opinion and emotion by amplifying people and events as a source of entertainment to the public. Interestingly, an entertaining spectacle is often based on the sensational. In current society this sensational spectacle that entertains often reflects a glamorous, exciting, sometimes illegal, world that challenges conventionality. This spectacle displays through mediation a realm of deviance and criminality full of

blags, shags, and sawn-offs, in a fog-bound Ealing-comedy post-war Britain, where ritual slaughter and American saloon cars merge seamlessly with full employment and outside privies, that our vision of the British underworld has been constructed. (Hobbs, 1995: 4)

Subsequently, for a spectacle to become popular it requires the correct balance of aesthetics interwoven with style, for, according to Katz (1988), display and performance are an essential element of criminality as well as of celebrity and celebrity culture.

Historical characters such as Al Capone consolidate Katz's assertion of the importance of display and performance, both of which reinforce the power of spectacle. For example, Capone's criminal career was delineated by his stylish affluence and relationship with the media which publicized him. Public fascination through the spectacle created in fictional media is also interrelated with aesthetic style and a dangerous glamour. This is effectively portrayed in organized crime/gangster films such as Quentin

Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction* (1994), Guy Ritchie's *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels* (1998), *Snatch* (2000) and *RocknRolla* (2008), and also Matthew Vaughn's *Layer Cake* (2004) and Martin McDonagh's *In Bruges* (2008). This trend in the contemporary gangster film genre has been accused of glamorizing and popularizing organized crime as a 'bit of a laugh' carried out by 'cheeky chappies'.<sup>16</sup> It encourages the public to enjoy, admire and respect crime and criminality. Just as science fiction has influenced our visions of alternative worlds, so crime fiction on television and film has moulded our perceptions of crime (Hobbs, 1995: 1).

It appears that contemporary society is not accidentally or superficially spectacular, but is fundamentally spectacularist (Debord, 1983: Paragraph 14) and open to celebrate and sensationalize anything including violence, deviance and crime. In a spectacularist society, public morality has become complex through a desire, love and consumption of the artificial. The ethical life of society appears to have shifted, as highlighted by the popularity of dangerous glamour, while moral narratives have been deliberately extinguished from many movies, particularly those with an organized crime/gangster theme. This implies a marked shift in the way everyday sociability is managed. Movies are used less as a conveyor of a moral message and instead portray a blasé attitude to suffering, violence and death, which become normalized. Or, as Mathiesen (2005: 15) suggests, 'silent silencing', whereby 'absorption' nips in the bud any dissent or protest to the decline in morality that is generated by integrating opposition into society so that the dominant interests continue to be served, thus removing any threat to the prevailing order. This absorption is conducted in celebrity culture through the silent silencing of complaints about artificiality, greed and superficiality where the 'real' and 'unreal' merge. It would seem that contemporary society is defined by media forms reflecting a morality and sense of social order that is dictated by selfish impulses of greed without consideration of the greater good.

Spectacle and celebrity effectively interlink with Foucault's (1977a) description of a shift towards panoptic society where knowledge produced by surveillance can be used for normalizing ends. In other words, surveillance power is exerted by bringing about a process of self-discipline and self-control among those who are watched, as is illustrated by the panopticon prison structure (ibid.: 200–2). Foucault argued the existence of a power/knowledge relationship in society whereby a limited few with knowledge could exert powerful control over the many. Control exerted through the power/knowledge relationship, whether or not surveillance is taking place, is also applicable to the power of spectacle and celebrity.



That is to say, the power/knowledge relationship influences the public by feeding a spectacle of the few to the many who resonate, thus inspiring self-control and discipline. For example, punishment in public, such as an execution or a chain gang, serves to initiate public self-control in response to the warning of what happens to criminals who get caught.

In contemporary society the power and control of the spectacle has expanded to become a mediated controlling event designed specifically to titillate and entertain. The mediation of the spectacle has led to tourism based upon feeding the public's gratuitous desire for celebrity to go beyond Hollywood bus tours that guide tourists around celebrity suburbs to view the homes of the rich and well-known. Tourism is now being based on not only the spectacle celebrity and celebrity culture but also on a romanticized or glamorous nostalgia often relating to crime and deviance. Subsequently, tourists in Britain have been able to pay for a personal guided tour around London's East End with ex-gangster 'Mad' Frankie Fraser to see the old gangland haunts of the 1960s (Fraser and Morton, 2000: 30–1). The spectacle of viewing in person extends beyond tours via what Diamond (2002) describes as the 'Victorian sensation', albeit in reconstructed circumstances such as the York or Edinburgh Dungeons, or Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors. The former encourage insight into individual cities' sordid and brutal histories, while the latter encapsulates some of the most notorious crimes of Britain, such as Dr Crippen who murdered his wife in 1910.

Interestingly, the spectacle of Jack the Ripper was not present in the Chamber of Horrors until 1980, when Tussaud's bowed to popular demand for more gore, leading to the accommodation of sound, lighting and smell to produce a realistic setting (Walkowitz, 1994: 1). The representation of the Ripper case was complicated by his lack of physical presence, having never been seen or caught, and therefore the Ripper is the spectacle of a disappearing shadow whose signature is the mutilated body of a woman (ibid.: 1–2). Jack the Ripper has not only been brought into the late modern era through tourist entertainment locations but also through the Yorkshire Ripper, Peter Sutcliffe, whose actions stimulated historical parallels enhancing his prestige as a contemporary killer (ibid.: 230). The Yorkshire Ripper murders became a mediated spectacle watched by the public, who resonated with the fear and danger while waiting anxiously for the next instalment of the drama. The spectacle of the Ripper was 'not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images' (Debord, 1983: Paragraph 4). Shapiro (1999: 12) expands this by suggesting that crime coverage makes good press through the provision of an occasion for

psychological and social adventures while also being a symptom by functioning as a question and inviting active discussion of causes and motivation.

The increasing coverage of crime and deviance as a spectacle in celebrity culture through the media and tourism is effectively analysed by Mathiesen (1997) in his article on the viewer society. He advances a theory of a viewer society through the concept of synopticism, which is a modality of power whereby the many watch, admire and thus control the few. For example, model Kate Moss publicly apologized and went to rehab following allegations of cocaine use leading, it is said, to the cancellation of some modelling contracts due to concerns about association with a potential drug addict.<sup>17</sup> The case of Moss demonstrates the control and power of the media and the public whose good opinion and purchasing power can directly impact upon celebrity careers. Therefore, synopticism and the viewer society conveniently illustrate a relationship between celebrity and criminality within celebrity culture, which rely upon the depreciation of greatness and spectacle.

Mathiesen suggests that synoptic power is an intensification of spectacle largely due to the media forms which channel the spectacle as entertainment to a mass audience. Baudrillard (1988) expands upon this idea of intensification through the media in *The Ecstasy of Communication* by asserting that the mediascapes in contemporary society unfold the intimate on the screen (television or movie), making private scenes explicit. For example, chat-show host Trisha Goddard's traumatic private life has been made public, including abusive relationships, her second husband leaving her while she was pregnant, along with her nervous breakdown and suicide attempt.<sup>18</sup> By using McLuhan's (1994) notion of implosion, Baudrillard (1988) reiterates Foucault's reversal of the axis of individuation by the boundary between representation and reality being eliminated to the extent that this implosion constitutes a form of pornography, producing an obscene culture of transparency. It is this culture of transparency that is evident in synoptic society, for the private being made explicit occurs in the form of celebrity.

According to Mathiesen, those in synoptic space, due to the mediation of the spectacle, are continuously visible and as such are seen as important. Thus synopticism reflects the bond between the public and those of celebrated status, who are the few being watched by the many. Mathiesen did not connect mass-media personalities to the issue of crime and punishment. He writes that synopticism has allowed the formation of 'a new class in the public sphere' in the form of VIPs, stars and reporters (Mathiesen, 1997: 218–19), but does not mention

well-known criminals, victims or crime fighters (Penfold, 2004: 300). Despite this oversight, Mathiesen does acknowledge the significance that those who are visible to the many should not be underestimated, for they shape and filter information, they produce news, and they place and avoid topics on the agenda of society (Mathiesen, 1997: 218–19).

This role of influencing or controlling the public can be illustrated through the weddings of celebrities which are sold as news to celebrity magazines such as *OK!*, which paid for exclusive photographic coverage of Jordan (Katie Price) and Peter Andre's wedding in 2005. Celebrities also influence society by placing topics on its agenda through involvement in charity or political work, as illustrated by Tim Robbins and Susan Sarandon,<sup>19</sup> regarding their anti-war stance, and Elizabeth Taylor's fundraising work for AIDS research.<sup>20</sup> In addition, individuals whose celebrity is based on crime and criminality, such as Great Train Robber Ronnie Biggs, also help to shape news. The power of their actions should not be underestimated considering public interest in certain crimes that lead to criminals gaining celebrity status.

Mathiesen's notion of synopticism which suggests an ability to control reverses Foucault's panopticism argument about the shift to a society in which a few could supervise or survey a large number. Importantly, he does consider Foucault's panopticism and describes three parallels with synopticism, beginning with the acceleration of both phenomena during the period between 1800 and 2000; the second phase is that they are both archaic forms of means to, or potential means of, power in society (ibid.: 219–22). However, it is the third parallel of synopticism that is of particular significance to the text in its reference to where 'panopticism and synopticism "have developed in intimate interaction, even fusion, with each other"' (ibid.: 223). This signifies a shift in the media, whereby synoptic qualities increase and shape the individual's behaviour, reiterating it as a governance force and is perhaps best reflected in media coverage of criminality and celebrity. Mathiesen does agree that the panoptical principle is in evidence, by emphasizing important developments that coincide with panopticism, namely practices enabling the many to see and contemplate the few, such as the mass media.

Despite the relationship with panopticism, which is highlighted by Foucault as the power/knowledge relationship, Mathiesen describes synopticism as not being primarily propelled by the intention of control, punishment or discipline, in contrast to him arguing for synopticism as a modality of power. He argues that synopticism is rather a

matter of voyeurism. The public, as watchers, are merely fascinated spectators playing what can be interpreted as a primarily passive role, for they do not necessarily want to know those they are watching personally but rather want to know their images. Interestingly, it is this voyeurism of the mediated spectacle which makes viewing into a modality of power and control, rather than passivity. Synopticism, where the many watch the few, means the former can manipulate who and what is resonated with and consequently they have the power to grant celebrity status even to the subversive. Furthermore, the notion of synoptic society as voyeuristic is important in highlighting its relationship with spectacle that stimulates a response that is not passivity, and draws viewers to watch. In other words, synoptic society focuses the mass viewing of the few as a spectacle empowers the viewer.

Mathiesen's synopticism that grants power and control to the many as opposed to the few implies that the public have the ability to control and even resist the influence of celebrity figures. The public are empowered to resonate through participation within viewer society via means which are legitimate, such as partaking in fandom activities such as reading magazines and joining fan clubs, to those of an illegitimate nature, for example criminal or deviant activities such as harassment or stalking of a celebrity. When synoptic power is applied to celebrity figures it can be interpreted as an assemblage of societal expectations (a public mandate), forming a mechanism to keep celebrities in line. Significantly, should this mandate be ignored or overstepped it becomes plausible to suggest that only certain behaviour is considered acceptable. Thus celebrity is created by mediated spectacle exposure to the public leading to interest and fascination which empowers and enables them through the role of watching to become active via participation. The many watchers are granted the power to control, for it is their desire to spectate that creates value for the spectacle.

The celebration of crime in celebrity culture embodies the depreciation of greatness, that heroism as a route for well-knownness is becoming ruined. New foundations are being laid in understanding and experience of morality and ethics where hedonistic enjoyment and pleasure dominate. Therefore, artificial superficiality combined with spectacle is the new non-great heroism in celebrity culture where viewers expect to be entertained, to enjoy the few. As Cashmore (2006: 55) asserts, although admitting this is overly simplistic, it has taken only 'Our change from hero-worshippers to idolators of images ... to complete the transition to celebrity culture'.

In the next chapter a more detailed analysis is conducted of the role of the culture industry in order to elaborate further on the structural support of celebrity and celebrity culture and to propose its relationship with decentralized control. It examines the fact that the public know they are part of the process, yet are not sure which part or how the process works, and that despite being aware of celebrity culture there remains ignorance of when, where and why it came into being. Although this paradox may be the 'greatest triumph of celebrity culture', it is important to discuss it in more detail through the origins of celebrity culture, namely, the culture industry (*ibid.*: 16).

## Notes

- 1 'Chris Hoy named BBC Sports Personality of the Year', 14 Dec. 2008  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2008/dec/14/chrishoy-cycling>
- 2 'Chris Hoy to be named first cycling knight', 21 Dec. 2008  
[http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/more\\_sport/cycling/article5375664.ece](http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/more_sport/cycling/article5375664.ece)
- 3 'Adlington heads New Year honours', 31 Dec. 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/nottinghamshire/7804543.stm>
- 4 'Inspiring journey of brave Jane', 28 Jan. 2005  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/west\\_yorkshire/4216103.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/west_yorkshire/4216103.stm)
- 5 'Jolie wins award for UN work', 24 Oct. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/3210987.stm>
- 6 'PM leads tributes to Jade Goody', 22 March 2009  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7957852.stm>
- 7 'Arnie becomes Californian governor', 17 Nov. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3277685.stm>
- 8 'Hollywood couple oppose Iraq attack', 16 Aug. 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/2197446.stm>
- 9 'Jill Dando: popular and well liked', 4 May 2001  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1312965.stm>
- 10 'Obama and the Oprah effect', 11 Dec. 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/7137683.stm>
- 11 'Lonely fans who target celebrities', 2 July 2001  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1408843.stm>
- 12 'Madeleine tourists should be ashamed', 2 May 2008  
<http://news.sky.com/skynews/article/0,,30200-1314705,00.html>
- 13 'Museum gets felon's mummified arm', 18 Oct. 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/wiltshire/4354596.stm>
- 14 'Red Barn murderer laid to rest 176 years after he was hanged', 18 Aug. 2004  
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article470956.ece>
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 'Snatch "glamorises" cinema crime', 8 Sep. 2000  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/916477.stm>
- 17 'Moss says sorry over drug claims', 22 Sep. 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4273046.stm>

- 18 'Secrets and lives', 23 March 2003  
<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/magazine/story/0,11913,919723,00.html>
- 19 'Charity rejects anti-war star', 28 March 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2894899.stm>
- 20 'Bafta to honour Elizabeth Taylor', 22 July 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/4706317.stm>

# 2

## The Culture Industry and Foucauldian Governmentality

The emergence of celebrity and celebrity culture has not been an unprompted, spontaneous occurrence. It has developed and surfaced through a careful cultivation of people's tastes, desires and needs in contemporary society. This encouragement and nurturing of people leads to the question of why, how and when has this cultivation occurred? And what has enabled celebrity and celebrity culture to emerge and thrive? Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's 1944 notion of the culture industry provides a foundation for an analysis of the growth of celebrity and celebrity culture. This multifaceted concept refers to the industry of producing mass standardized culture, which is a method of controlling individuals *en masse*. Although this original understanding of the culture industry is limited by its understanding of power, it is still relevant to contemporary culture but necessitates updating. This chapter seeks to update the the culture industry for the twenty-first century in relation to conceptions of power and control through Foucault's governmentality. By reinterpreting Foucauldian government and governance, the culture industry and celebrity are identifiable as forms of social control through freedom. Particular emphasis will be placed upon celebrity as social control emerging from the culture industry and how it is providing identity and social solidarity in contemporary society.

### Rediscovering the culture industry

Horkheimer and Adorno's (1997) *Dialectic of Enlightenment* critiqued the early twentieth century's societal and cultural development of mass communications through the concept of the culture industry. The concept of the culture industry, according to Steinert (2003), was developed with an inherent duality which has been lost in the English

translation and subsumed under a single term. Originally, the term 'culture industry' referred at one level to commodity production as the principle of a specific form of cultural production, namely 'commodity-form culture'. In this form it has no practical interest; it is self-contained, useless for instrumental purposes and is a universe in itself (ibid.: 9). At a second level, 'culture industry' refers to the industry of culture, which denotes a specific branch of production such as film studios, CD/DVD factories, printing machines and radio/television stations. The industry of culture refers to the factories of cultural goods; it is the producer of cultural artefacts and ideas (ibid.: 9). The dual meaning of the culture industry reveals that as a theoretical tool it remains a somewhat complicated and elusive notion. Thus the inherent complexities within the phenomenon, such as notions of control, capitalist conspiracy, deception, mass meaning and identity, do not allow a single simple summary.

In spite of the original duality of the culture industry it is most commonly interpreted as referring to the growth and impact of mass communications and popular culture in post-World War II society. This is perhaps to some degree in conflict with Horkheimer and Adorno's wider conception of the culture industry; for example, other components were identified as playing a role in the industry of culture that extends into architecture, corporate culture, serious music and even notions of the ideal body (ibid.: 9). Therefore, the culture industry is a multifaceted concept that involves the practicalities of an actual industry producing culture via the media and other popular-culture forms. Horkheimer and Adorno used it with specific reference to the diverse forms of popular culture ranging from cinema to jazz as a single cultural industry, which ensured the continued obedience of the consuming masses to market interest. As a result, the culture industry could be identified as the production of culture through the media and communication industries. It creates and projects 'inherited ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge, which constitute the shared bases of social action' while also embodying 'the artistic and social pursuits, expression and tastes valued by a society or class' (*Collins English Dictionary*, 1995: 267). This role of creating culture on a mass scale is significant, according to Horkheimer and Adorno, in relation to the potential impact on enlightening people in society.

The developments of the culture industry in Horkheimer and Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* were poised to bring about enlightenment *en masse* across society. The individuals making up society were supposed to develop into creatures of reason and logic. Consequently, they would increasingly master the natural environment by way of the development of the forces of production, while simultaneously mastering their own



inner nature (Ramsey, 2000: 151). The culture industry was expected to bring about enlightenment to the condition of true humanity where ultimate truth and reality could be discovered through reason, moral responsibility and human consciousness. Enlightenment to these two scholars was redefined to encompass not only a period in intellectual history, but also a universal attempt of humanity as a whole to understand and control the world (ibid.: 150–1). They anticipated human enlightenment via strivings towards freethinking through the mass-communication capabilities of the culture industry.

However, as culture began to be mass-produced for the mass consumption by the masses, it became clear to Horkheimer and Adorno that this standardized production of culture was not going to provide freedom. The hopes of Horkheimer and Adorno never reached fruition due to the nature of culture on a mass scale. Hopes were disappointed that mass production of higher culture such as art would provide a valuable new and authentic experience to people, resulting in their developing sensibilities and maintaining awareness of alternative possibilities. Instead, the association of 'mass' which is synonymous with the culture industry demonstrates itself to have a depreciative nuance (Sorlin, 1994: 2). For instance, mass circulation of newspapers increases trivia and gossip, mass art is considered cheap and lacking refinement, and mass production satisfies only the lowest common denominator. As a result the light-hearted or brash entertainment culture industry with its use and production of mass culture became a debasement and 'the cause of the moral decline of the nation' (Eldridge, Kitzinger and Williams, 1997: 11).

The culture industry with its mass production, mass media and mass consumption by people *en masse* came to embody a contradictory logic – 'a new darkness of myth' where 'quality turns to quantity, freedom to necessity, autonomy to determinacy and emancipation to new chains' (Lash and Lury, 2007: 2). It appeared that emancipation had become domination and they used the concept of the culture industry to shed light upon this theory. For Horkheimer and Adorno as critical theorists, the culture industry became their illustration of culture shifting from a previously autonomous or relatively autonomous sphere to come under the industrial principle. Culture, once a space for freedom, came under the influence of instrumental rationality, wielded by Hollywood and corporations in publishing, recording and advertising (ibid.: 2). The arena which had previously been a place for human potential to flourish became the machinery of control whose goal was expenditure of resources in the interest of financial profit for corporations. Culture

became an objective like any other commodity leading to the emergence of a non-emancipating, industrialized, homogenized culture (ibid.: 2–3).

Concern regarding the domination and controlling power of mass standardized consumption of culture was echoed by Horkheimer and Adorno's contemporary, Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse (2002: 9), in *One-Dimensional Man*, argued that advanced industrial society creates prevailing false needs which the culture industry produces for consumption by individuals. He focused on understanding the power and control of the culture industry over public freedom by analysing society via how consumerism, advertising, mass culture and ideology integrate individuals into, and thereby stabilize, the capitalist system (ibid.: xxx). Marcuse emphasized that it was essential for the public to liberate the self from the false needs and satisfactions in order to ultimately reach a freer and happier life. This one-dimensional society where the culture industry dominated was suggested as suffocating critical imagination about societal alternatives and defeating efforts to explain how people are exploited and can reject their bonds via critique and action (Agger, 2004: 14).

A key facet of Marcuse's one-dimensional society is the one-dimensional man who lives within it. These one-dimensional individuals are not granted genuine opportunity for choice or individuality due to the capitalistic culture industry which creates a market dependency in all dimensions of living (Beck, 1992: 132). The forms of existence that arise are the isolated mass market (not conscious of itself) and mass consumption of generically designed goods such as housing and furnishings, as well as opinions, habits, attitudes and lifestyles launched and adopted through the mass media (ibid.: 132). Therefore, freedom is undermined by the culture industry while portraying notions of choice and liberty to express individualism. In other words, the notion of individualization actually delivers people over to the control and standardization of the culture industry. With the culture industry's failure to bring about individuality and freedom, it is unsurprising that Horkheimer and Adorno (1979: xi) went on to suggest that 'mankind, instead of entering into a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism'. It would appear that from its earliest form the culture industry has been identified as a failed route to freedom and enlightenment. The capitalistic culture industry had become 'a powerful instrument of domination' (Marcuse, 2002: 9–11) and not a route to enlightened thought and freedom.

Particular apprehension for the critical theory scholars was related to the culture industry as a controlling force through deception. They contended that ideology in Marx's era, which had clear-cut claims about reality as a purposeful distortion, had deepened into domination in the

course of the culture industry. This notion of domination involved not only false claims, but also a generalized mode of consciousness and experience steered against liberating insights that prevent everyday understandings of goodness, rightness and fairness (Agger, 2004: 14). As a result, the culture industry was suggested as using deception to create an ideology of false consciousness and needs that seek to deceive and constrain individuals in order to control them. In other words, individuals – through their acceptance and engagement with the culture industry – enter a false consciousness, a mass deception. The deceptive ability of the culture industry through false consciousness and false need has become both a means and an end with its true interests being obscured and hidden behind a veil of gratification and entertainment. This veil is embodied by celebrity and celebrity culture, which has emerged from the culture industry and embodies many of the same controlling traits.

In a society dominated by the projection of false need, individuals are an object of calculation and control in which ‘the customer is not king, as [the culture industry] would have us believe, not its subject but its object’ (Adorno, 1991: 85). It would appear that the concoctions of the culture industry are not guides for a blissful life nor a new moral responsibility but rather exhortations to toe the line (ibid.: 91) albeit via pleasure seeking. The social control of the culture industry is rooted in a false consciousness that stimulates the creation of an overwhelming *need* for production and consumption of waste; *need* for stupefying work where there is no longer any necessity; *need* for modes of relaxation which soothes and prolongs stupefaction; and *need* for maintaining deceptive liberties such as free competition at administered prices, free press which censors itself and free choice between brands and gadgets (Marcuse, 2002: 10–11). The late modern world is dominated by needs which are sold to individuals through the culture industry.

The manipulation and control of the members of society by the culture industry are through external sources whereby people absorb imperatives to consume and conform that are not rendered explicit but are subliminal. These imperatives have become second nature, rather than being exposed to clear thought and careful consideration, by operating at an unconscious level (Agger, 2004: 14). Thus individuals are manipulated into consuming, and, while consuming, the culture industry ensures conformity *en masse*. Conformity through the culture industry allows social control via standardization of the masses’ thought patterns, behaviour and satisfactions by prescribed attitudes and habits. Thus consumers are bound to producers, resulting in a restriction of freedom (Marcuse, 2002:

xxx, 11, 14) and increasing the culture-industry control over individuals. The culture industry may claim to serve individual's needs but it is a double-edged sword, for it not only deceives people in society into the necessity of consuming but also dictates how the fulfilment of needs should be accomplished. Consumers are consistently bombarded with needs that can only be satisfied through consuming culture-industry products resulting in 'the whole world made to pass through the filter of culture industry' (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1997: 126).

### **The limitations and continued relevance of the culture industry**

Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse raise important insights into the culture industry and its influence on society and individualism, but their efforts face significant limitations when viewed in late modernity. Perhaps the most crucial of these limitations is the risk of oversimplification of the culture industry and its influence. This limitation of the theoretical concept of the culture industry is related to the time period and intellectual roots of the Frankfurt School. Marxism and their modernist belief in ultimate truth leading to an overly simplistic stance towards a complex social concept dominated Horkheimer and Adorno's critical thought. Nearly a century later in contemporary society the Frankfurt School approach underpinning the culture industry has become dated as the late modern era no longer accepts universal truth or dominance of an overarching belief in scientific rationality. Instead, late modern thought focuses on the importance of the unconscious, on free-floating signs and images and a plurality of viewpoints in contradiction to Frankfurt School scholarly ideas. As a result, Horkheimer and Adorno's theoretical concept has fallen from favour, apart from being useful as a historical theoretical approach, becoming dismissed as too old, too boring and too elitist, having been written by 'now-dead white European males' (Steinert, 2003: 2).

Horkheimer and Adorno's theoretical assertions about the culture industry have also been limited by being based upon incomplete evidence. Their initial exploration of this phenomenon in the 1940s bore witness to only its earliest stages, with the developments of additional mass-communication forms such as television, satellite communication and the Internet not yet having occurred. Neither Horkheimer nor Adorno in their writings was able to predict the growth, diversity or strength of the culture industry by the turn of the twenty-first century. As a result, their assumptions and assertions were made on limited evidence and

understanding of what the culture industry would be and how individuals would interact and respond. This does not undermine the essence of Horkheimer and Adorno's concerns but it does limit their application in the globalized commodity-based late modern world.

Horkheimer and Adorno's imperfect view of the culture industry, due to their Frankfurt School stance and time period, is particularly evident in their assertions about all-encompassing culture-industry domination that removes free will and successfully deceives individuals. This approach describes disempowered individuals with no agency while the culture industry is a controlling all-powerful force. Horkheimer and Adorno's assumptions suggest two interpretations of the abilities and degree to which individuals discern the deception of the culture industry through false consciousness and need. Firstly, that people are both passive and gullible, soaking up what is presented to them due to their needs being predetermined for them. This suggestion emphasizes that individuals are unaware that their choices are channelled and restricted towards banal entertainment and self-gratification. The second interpretation is of people as victims of a capitalistic conspiracy, whereby they are deceived into thinking that they are making their own rational individual choices about the consumption of culture. A third notable interpretation suggested by Adorno in his work prior to 1944 states that the manifestations of the culture industry for consumption by individuals are vacuous and banal, constructing behaviour patterns which are shamelessly conformist. Adorno concludes that the world must actually want to be deceived, with people embracing the pleasurable control of the culture industry, despite knowing that it has been manufactured due to life being empty without them (Adorno, 1991: 89). Consequently, these different understandings proposed by Horkheimer and Adorno suggest that individuals are unaware, fooled by or willing participants in the culture industry's deception.

The assertions by Horkheimer and Adorno regarding individuals' understanding and perception of the culture industry and its power fail to capture the everyday ways people impose external power on themselves, and work to undermine and undo societal influences such as that wielded by the culture industry. It appears that despite an awareness of the culture industry's attempts at influence, manipulation and control, individuals choose to play along. People engage with false consciousness and need, enjoying the banal entertainment and gratification that can be gained from the culture industry. Most significantly, in this engagement with the culture industry regardless of freedom limitations it is possible for individuals to act and to think in a variety of ways which are sometimes not foreseen by authorities (Dean, 1999: 13). This is clearly evident when

people are empowered by expertise or required to act as consumers in a market (*ibid.*: 14).

The failure to encourage mass freedom through the culture industry is highlighted by the so-called 'dumbing down' of the media, which has been described as having a 'worrying' impact on public morality (Langer, 1998: 3). With a growth in dumbed-down media there is less opportunity for serious media to help mould morality. This lack of opportunity for the media to influence morality reveals a threat to national morals and principles because, according to Wykes (2001: 1), part of the role of media, particularly crime news, is to mobilize value judgements and to act as a site of national conscience and moral codes. These morality concerns are taken further by Steinert (2003), who highlights the danger of opportunities for individuality, freedom or any degree of enlightenment being undermined. The 'dumbing down' of cultural products provides little chance to resist the condescension and flattery that are consumed through products stripped of challenge. The culture industry, through the media, demonstrates itself able to manipulate and mould through its news values, creating a 'dumbed-down' mass media and individuals who are avid and self-perpetuating consumers of the exciting and entertaining. Thus the culture industry is preventing an enlightened pattern of thought and behaviour in which ideas, aspirations and objectives transcend the established universe of discourse and action (Marcuse, 2002: 14).

Attempts have been made to address and overcome the limitations of the culture industry while still utilizing its essence. Lash and Lury (2007: 3) argue that the culture industry has changed from Horkheimer and Adorno's original dialectic. They suggest that although the original form of the culture industry has not been completely replaced, a global culture industry has emerged. This development is due to globalization giving the culture industry 'a fundamentally different mode of operation' (*ibid.*: 3). The global shift has developed post-Horkheimer and Adorno as well as the Birmingham cultural studies tradition of the mid-1970s. Circumstances have changed, with culture taking on a different logic with the transition from the culture industry to a global culture industry. By 2005, according to Lash and Lury (*ibid.*: 4), culture has shifted meaning: cultural objects are no longer exceptional but are now everywhere – 'as information, as communications, as branded products, as financial services, as media products, as transport and leisure services'. Culture has arguably seeped out of superstructures such as ideology through symbols and representation, and infiltrated and taken over the infrastructure itself. In this global culture industry, culture dominates the economy and experience of everyday life (*ibid.*: 4).

It would appear that, to Lash and Lury (2007), the culture industry has not disappeared but has moved beyond its original terms of domination and resistance whereby mediation was through means of representation. Instead, the global culture industry dominates our economy and the everyday making it no longer about representation but instead about the mediation of things (ibid.: 4). Material objects have become powerful cultural symbols that are now a central goal of capitalism and crossing national borders. Culture, as a consequence, has become 'thingified' (ibid.: 4), rather than being a question of representation, on a global scale. Subsequently, the global culture industry is 'no longer that of dialectical but of metaphysical materialism', a matter of multiplicity with 'matter not as identity but as difference' (ibid.: 15).

Lash and Lury's (2007) attempt at redefining the culture industry for the late modern society raises some intriguing ideas of how the globalized culture industry differs from its original incarnation; however, it remains disjointed. It lacks a fluid coherency as it skips from a range of different cultural occurrences including *The Matrix*, Wallace and Gromit and the Euro '96 football event. Between the different culture forms that are used to illustrate the culture industry on a global scale, the underlying thesis becomes lost rather than strengthened by its eclectic supporting evidence. The claim by Lash and Lury (2007) of the culture industry being dialectical while the global culture industry is metaphysical provides a very narrow margin of differentiation, although the notion of updating the culture industry and attempting to overcome its limitations for the contemporary global society is crucial.

Engaging with Horkheimer and Adorno's work in contemporary society necessitates an acknowledgement of the dogma and practices of modernism and the Marxist stance under which they laboured in order to counter these limitations. These flaws are rooted in the original understanding of the culture industry but do not undermine the essence of what was being theorized. Therefore, it would be short-sighted to treat Horkheimer and Adorno as having nothing to offer other than flawed ideas regarding the culture industry. Instead, their work can be accepted as offering some unique perspectives that are otherwise missing from critical discourse in late modern times (Steinert, 2003: 2). However, the culture industry does require updating and relating to late modern society, particularly regarding issues of changes within social control towards decentralization. In order to fill this knowledge gap, Horkheimer and Adorno's work can be related to more contemporary views on control such as Foucauldian governmentality of which celebrity and celebrity culture are illustrative within the late modern culture industry.

## Updating the culture industry through Foucauldian governmentality

Adopting the modernist concept of the culture industry and applying the late modern theory of governmentality necessitate an exploration of why these two theories can be interlinked. Horkheimer and Adorno's (1997) culture industry refers specifically to the inter-World War years, during which they identified the growth of mass communication and consumption as significant upon the control of individuals *en masse*. Although they did not live to witness it, the culture industry has not proved itself to be limited to the early part of the twentieth century (the modern period), but has continued to develop along with the new emerging forms of mass communication. Subsequently, the culture industry is as much a late modern (late twentieth century onwards) occurrence as it is modern. It can therefore be deemed only appropriate to update the understanding and analysis of the culture industry for the late modern period.

In updating the culture industry it is necessary to revise its views on social control due to the original Marxist stance falling from favour as a scholastic explanation. The relationship between the culture industry and control has been traditionally Marxist whereby top-down control is exerted. However, more subtle and complex notions of control have emerged, such as those developed by Michel Foucault (1991) relating to what he called 'governmentality'. He defined governmentality as the 'art of government' in the sense of government not being limited to the state alone. Instead, there are a range of control techniques which can be applied and which range from control of the self to 'biopolitical' control of populations (Dean, 1999: 99).

This model of social power draws upon his previous assertions developed in *Discipline and Punish* (1977a), where sovereign power was replaced by disciplinary and panoptic surveillance. Governmentality refers to an understanding of power and control where control is no longer necessarily conducted via top-down hierarchy from the state. Foucault reforms the role of the state as the major authoritative force engaged in the control of conduct, refuting the notion of the state being a hidden hand that orchestrates strategies and techniques to shape and direct individuals (Rose, 2000: 323). The stance of governmentality as a controlling force is that national governments no longer aspire to be the guarantor and ultimate provider of security. Instead, they are a partner, facilitator and animator of independent agents and powers (ibid.: 323).

Foucault expands the understanding of power and control through social control via disciplinary institutions such as schools, hospitals



and prisons, as well as forms of knowledge. The notion of governmentality suggests that social control can become more efficient by knowledge and discourses becoming internalized, allowing people to govern themselves. A significant component within governmentality is its relationship with liberalism, whereby governmentality is used to characterize advanced liberal democracies. This 'neoliberal governmentality' highlights the role of market mechanisms on society whereby individuals come to control the self along with the shift away from top-down state control (Dean, 1999: 149). Consequently, governmentality marked the emergence of a distinctly new form of thinking about and way of exercising power in certain societies (Foucault, 1991: 102–4).

This form of power is bound up with the discovery of a new reality, which is defined as the economy, and concerned with a new object, namely the population (Dean, 1999: 19). In other words, an important component of governmentality is that it highlights the role of people becoming the target of economic powers to consume and also grants them apparent control and power through choice. In order to use governmentality in relation to the culture industry to explain the formation of celebrity it is necessary to emphasize the term 'government'. Government refers not to the state but to the 'conduct of conduct', referring to any attempt to deliberately shape aspects of people's behaviour according to particular norms or for certain ends (Gordon, 1991: 2; Foucault, 1982: 220–1; Dean, 1999: 10). This is particularly intriguing in that government is therefore not simply about controlling people but rather a deliberate attempt to direct human conduct. From this perspective human conduct is perceived to be something which can be regulated, controlled and shaped.

Consequently, in studying governmentality and government, a diverse range of things which can be regulated can become subjects of scholarly research, such as populations, industries, exhaust emissions and even bathrooms (Dean, 1999: 11). However, they are only of interest insofar as they attempt to rationally shape human conduct. Therefore, for the purpose of discussing the culture industry and celebrity, government refers to the governing or controlling ability of non-state authorities. As a result, government is not simply a question of imposing law on men but of disposing things, that is, of employing tactics rather than laws in order that ends may be achieved (Foucault, 1991: 95). Foucauldian government is not the implementation of an idealized schema by the state. It portrays how control differs in contemporary society away from a powerful dominating state that imposes its will. Instead, government does not seek to dominate by ignoring or attempting to crush the capacity for action, but

rather recognizes the capacity for action and adjusts its governing to it (N. Rose, 1999: 4).

Government as the 'conduct of conduct' undertakes governing in the plural via acts of government. Therefore, government is a 'more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge' (Dean, 1999: 11). The plurality of government forms results in a range of forms, styles and degrees of governing. It is a complex assemblage of diverse governing forces (legal, professional, administrative, financial), techniques (calculation, examination, evaluation) and devices (surveys, training) that regulates the decisions and actions of individuals, groups and organizations (Rose, 1996: 43). Consequently, the culture industry can be interpreted as a form of Foucauldian government which participates in the 'conduct of conduct' by shaping and directing human conduct.

The culture industry as government raises the question of exactly how controlling it is in relation to the apparent freedom that consumption is supposed to provide to people. Government presupposes that people are free, in the sense of living and thinking, according to Patton (1998), and seeks to work through freedom in order to exact control. Therefore, this exertion of control is in a pervasive and subtle manner that individuals will not resist or rebel against but embrace and welcome. Accordingly, this government control does not coerce or regulate but instead rules through granting liberties to its subjects (Binkley, 2006: 347). This liberal governing suggests that the apparent freedom of the governed is actually a means of securing the ends of government. In other words, people are controlled or governed within a liberal society through the apparent freedom, such as of choice, consumption and speech, by forms of Foucauldian government.

As a consequence of governmentality and its forms of government it is possible to interpret the culture industry as an important form of Foucauldian government. The culture industry adopts the liberal mentality of attempting to define the nature, source, effects and possible utility of the capacities of acting and thinking to its advantage (Dean, 1999: 15). As government, the culture industry supports and encourages engagement in its artificiality, to pick and choose from among its manufactured cultural goods, encouraging the belief of freedom of choice but actually manipulating and directing the consumer. As states 'we are continually bombarded by cultural and political stimuli flowing not only into our homes but into our heads, inducing us to buy things we don't need, to hate enemies and to avoid committing the revolutionary deed'

(Agger, 2004: 148). Therefore, the culture industry wields an influential power to guide and govern people particularly through their habits of consumption in a society of apparently free choice and individualism.

Foucault's power/knowledge duality is taken further by governmentality and its government forms, in that control is even more total through the pursuit of culture industry-created pleasure, entertainment and gratification. Through government, such as the culture industry, freedom and conformity are enabling people to control their own passions and instincts as they govern the self (N. Rose, 1999: 3). In other words, individuals are influenced by the culture industry as government to develop certain passionate desires and needs which in turn direct their behaviour, such as what they consume. In a society where government is subtle and entertaining through the culture industry it is clear that controlling forces are no longer limited to institutions or even governing the self but rather are multiple forms of 'more or less calculated and rational activity' that govern through liberty (Dean, 1999: 11). Therefore, as Gordon (1991) asserts, government as the 'conduct of conduct' positions individuals to be simultaneously wardens and practitioners of their own freedom, understood principally as the freedom to act in productive ways.

The culture industry as government consolidates Adorno and Horkheimer's concerns as legitimate regarding a failure of mass human enlightenment. As a government force, the culture industry helps prevent individuals from achieving a higher state existence, and supplies them with a method of gratification. Even with individuals who are not deceived, the culture industry is still able to exert control and to influence them through the limited freedom it provides. This limited freedom is through the use of consumption by the culture industry, which aids in the emergence of consumer culture – a culture of consumption – that is unique, specific and essential to the existence of the culture industry. In other words, the culture industry directs the consumption of mass commodities within a commodity system that is carried out via free personal choice in the private sphere of everyday life (Ramsey, 2000: 151; Slater, 1997: 8). Government as an activity shapes the field of action, namely consumption, and thus it attempts to shape freedom (Dean, 1999: 13), which highlights that the culture industry is not necessarily constitutive of freedom.

### **Foucauldian governance, consumption and celebrity**

The culture industry as a form of government exerts control through governance, which is used here to refer to a controlling force through

which government wields its ability to control and influence. This means there can be multiple governance forms, including the media and consumption, which are used and created by different types of government. Governance within government is about subtlety, encouraging self-aware conformity and standardization rather than overt top-down control and successful deception of unquestioning and duped individuals. It 'seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes' (Dean, 1999: 11). Consequently, governance is often more of an effect than an intended cause. It is used to deliberate on and to direct human conduct as something that can be regulated, controlled, shaped and turned to specific ends, making forms of governance into the hands and feet of government. Therefore, Foucauldian government is an umbrella governing force which extends its controlling powers through a plurality of governance forms.

Government through governance focuses on the each and all, evincing concern for every individual as well as the population as a whole. At the same time it is also economic in that governing properly has to ensure the happiness and prosperity of the population (ibid.: 19). As a result, the governmentality approach to understanding social control enables government to be a useful method of sketching pathways for analysing the power of governance that are not fixed or dictated to by the state (ibid.: 3). Subsequently, governance by the culture industry as government takes place through the provision of exciting, pleasurable entertainment, which is often focused upon a class of people who are celebrated, namely celebrity. Consequently, celebrity is a central governance form within the culture industry and illustrates the increasingly subtle and pervasive control measures characteristic of Foucauldian governmentality. Celebrity unites both the original culture-industry fixation upon representation and the updated global culture industry of Lash and Lury (2007), which focuses on the mediation of things. Celebrity is the bridge between the old and new interpretation of the culture industry. It is the embodiment of the culture industry's ability to govern in late modernity.

Celebrity as governance, within the culture industry as government, draws together other governance forms such as consumption and media. Subsequently, it has become a high-profile cultural phenomenon in its own right, as illustrated by the formation of a celebrity culture. The emergence of celebrity culture in society since the 1980s represents a key aspect of the culture industry in that people are made into tradable

commodities, objects for consumption (Cashmore, 2006: 72). This commodification of people within the culture industry 'effectively doubled the ways through which ... images could be manipulated and consumed' (ibid.: 72). Notably, the consumption of celebrity is far from passive, with individuals *en masse* apparently enjoying empowerment by recognizing their roles in making and shaping celebrity careers as well as ending them. The significance of this empowered consumer is that they are not a gullible dupe who is being overtly controlled and moulded by an all-powerful authority. Instead, consumers of celebrity within celebrity culture are attentive and fully aware, making the consumption of celebrity into a gratifying and significant activity. Consequently, consumption of celebrity is not the result of desperate innocence or intellectual bankruptcy but a sign of enthrallment and emotional liquidity (ibid.: 83, 85). It would appear that governance, like Foucauldian government, exerts control through the provision of pleasure options that are not intended to dupe the consumer. Instead, governance allows people to enjoy and revel openly in the irony of consuming standardized superficiality.

Seeing through the superficial falseness of celebrity does not prevent the self-gratification of consuming celebrity culture. The consumption of celebrity provides individuals with an ideal and inspiration; they become role models, laughable caricatures or simply offer an escape from reality (Giles, 2000: 61). Most significantly, celebrities embody the independent individual *par excellence*, representing the societal-held understanding of success, freedom and accessibility, which the culture industry and celebrity culture propagate. As such, these well-known individuals wield a form of social control by embodying the open ideology of celebrity. They portray the understanding that celebrated status can be achieved by any member of society. Celebrity, it would appear, correlates with Lasch's (1979) description of narcissistic dreams that inspire people to hate the banality of everyday existence and fear of belonging to the mediocre. Celebrity is a living example of the narcissistic dream. It represents the active elements of the social sphere because celebrities emerge from the legitimized process connected to people, and the emergence due to the culture created by the culture industry is no longer necessarily associated with merit or lineage.

Celebrities stand in for members of society, making them an important expressive and communicative resource which contributes to a portion of cultural business and everyday conversation (Madow, 1993: 128; Marshall, 1997). Subsequently, they provide a spectacle of distinctive individuality and become intense sites for determining meaning. They highlight the significance and merger of both the private and the

public spheres, making them 'icons of democracy and democratic will ... articulat[ing] the possibility of everyone's achieving the status of individuality within the culture' (Marshall, 1997: 246). As a result, the development of narcissistic personalities who are fixated upon fame and glory is coming to set the tone of both public and individual opinion (Lasch, 1979: 231–2) and threatens individuality and freedom through conformity with standardized narcissistic dreams.

The standardization of narcissism is intimately related with celebrity and the glamour myth, which refers to the standardized image of celebrity to members of society through their display of material goods, beauty and media visibility. Celebrities, particularly those of acting or music status, live out the narcissistic glamour myth of a luxurious extravagant existence. They make up a form of democratic royalty, popularly elected gods and goddesses adored for the images they convey despite widespread knowledge that they are prepackaged, glamour-injected products of the culture industry. Celebrities try to demonstrate, through their image and relationships, that they are in reality the exotic creatures they appear to be in the mass media (Gamson, 1994: 29, 38). By encapsulating the narcissistic dream and glamour myth, celebrities are focal points for individuals to focus their culture industry-created desires. Consequently, celebrity can be interpreted as governance exerting control over individuals through their consumption of narcissistic glamorous dreams of success, beauty and wealth. It is these dreams and desires to live 'the dream' that can govern people's personal behaviour, dress sense and shopping locations on the basis of knowledge about celebrity lifestyles (Barbas, 2001: 29).

In order to succeed in the culture industry, one must consume effectively in order to meet the need for gratification and being entertained (Lowenthal, 1961: 132). Consequently, according to Marshall (1997), celebrities come to represent flags or markers for the clustering of cultural significance through patterns of consumption in a time where construction of identity is through consuming. They are a connecting fibre between the materiality of production and the culturally contextualized meaning of consumption in relation to collective identity (Marshall, 1997: 243–5). Subsequently, individuals can be governed through celebrity figures by experiencing the confirmation and gratification of their own pleasures and discomforts by participating in the pleasures and discomforts of the great (Lowenthal, 1961: 135–6). Such a shift is highly significant because it suggests that 'consumption ... has become the morality of our present world' with no limits, allowing even the immoral, such as crime and criminals, to become consumed and celebrated (Baudrillard, 1998: ix).

### Celebrity and consumer products

The governance capabilities of celebrity are particularly effective through consumption of products under a central brand that embody elements of the narcissistic dream such as the well known. Celebrities are able to build, refresh and add new dimensions to consumer goods, meaning that

what celebrities stand for enhances brands and they save valuable time in terms of creating the credibility a company has to create in order to build its brands by transferring their values to the brand. (Abbot, Mead and Vickers cited in Byre, Whitehead and Breen, 2003: 288)

Celebrity figures have long been used through the logic of 'co-branding', which is the fluid partnership between celebrity people and celebrated brands (Klein, 2000: 30). The most basic and prevalent 'co-branding' is through the process of endorsement, according to McCracken (1989), whereby an individual who enjoys public recognition uses this recognition on behalf of a consumer good by appearing with it in an advertisement. For instance, British supermarket Sainsbury's uses endorsement by television chef Jamie Oliver, whose reputation for honesty and quality food successfully promotes the image of excellence, which Sainsbury's is keen to impress upon the consumer (Byre, Whitehead and Breen, 2003: 288). It is interesting to note that consumable goods and celebrity can hugely benefit from this form of association, for as Sainsbury's products are consumed so also is Oliver by increasing his visibility to the members of society and thus his media-based celebrity image.

It is not only the endorsement of products by celebrities that extends the governance powers of celebrity, but also the demand for information about the celebrity and the increasingly lucrative market for merchandise (Madow, 1993: 129). It was in the 1950s that celebrity began to be 'commonly represented not only as *useful to* selling and business, but as a business itself, *created by selling*' (Gamson, 1994: 14, italics in original text). Celebrity no longer simply improved consumption of consumer goods through association but became a consumable good in its own right. The consumption of goods specifically created by a celebrated individual provides people with a method of taking part in the standardized and subtly controlling narcissistic dreams, which also bring about conformity. For example, singer/actress Jennifer Lopez set up her own fashion collection in 2001, described as J.Lo styles, ranging from fitted and cropped tops to fitted denim outfits with sparkly J.Lo logos. Other examples include celebrities who release their own

perfume, such as Kylie Minogue, Sarah Jessica Parker and Victoria and David Beckham. Meanwhile television interior designer Laurence Llewelyn-Bowen has produced his own lines of greeting cards, room fragrances and wallpaper; ex-boxer George Foreman has a line of low-fat grills; and Sir Cliff Richard, Madonna, Celine Dion, Barbra Streisand and bands the Rolling Stones and Kiss have released their own wines.

Interestingly, it is not only products that celebrity figures produce in their own name but also services which are both endorsed by and apparently invested in by celebrities. A prime example is the movie-themed restaurant chain, Planet Hollywood, established in 1991, which had celebrity owners Arnold Schwarzenegger, Bruce Willis, Demi Moore and Sylvester Stallone (by 2008 only Willis and Stallone remained involved). However, under examination it becomes apparent that these celebrity owners were perhaps not as involved as was advertised to the individuals *en masse*. The celebrities purchased stock in the chain at low prices in return for their endorsement so they could be billed as legal owners.<sup>1</sup> Thus while these high-profile celebrities appeared to be involved in a business venture they were largely a method of free advertising and marketing through their association. The celebrities involved were the public face of the business venture using their status to promote the restaurant chain where the consumer could sit among the trappings of various blockbuster films and become part of the narcissistic dream.

As illustrated by endorsement and celebrity-created products, celebrity image has become an increasingly important and valuable form of capital. The tradition of wealth being restricted to physical and financial resources has shifted from tangible items, such as physical objects, to include the intangible: images, ideas or information (Chatzkel, 2002: 2). The increasing value of the intangible is significant for celebrities, whose intangibles, namely image, have become a highly valuable form of information capital that are difficult to control and protect in order to gain profit. Drake (2007: 219–20) suggests that celebrity has certain qualities of public good. This economist term refers to a product that gains value within and by its consumption in the public domain, and therefore its full value cannot be calculated by the market. Celebrity value is more than the labour of the individual but bound up with meanings invested in them by audiences. Therefore, celebrity is, in part, a public good, which leads to debate surrounding the balance of freedom of expression of audiences and the personal rights of celebrities (*ibid.*: 220).

The cultural and economic value of celebrity image encourages the media to focus on celebrities in order to profit from coverage of a subject that stimulates public interest. However, this raises the issue of who owns



celebrity and who has the right to circulate and profit from celebrity images and stories. In contemporary society there are increasing levels of control being developed in order for celebrities to protect their image (intangible) capital through legal means via intellectual property rights. For example, intangible goods can now protect their capital by utilizing 'passing off' to control the use made of their images or other personal indicia (Bently and Sherman, 2001: 699). Passing off is intended to prevent unfair trading practices and seeks to prevent goods giving the impression that they have been produced by another trader (Smith, 2003: 9). Therefore, to pass off protects the goodwill of a trader from a misrepresentation that might damage their goodwill, which effectively defends non-trademark rights. This has been expanded to include situations where the defendant makes representations that the claimant has some control or responsibility over their goods or services which helps ensure that action continues to be relevant in a modern commercial environment (Bently and Sherman, 2001: 699). In other words, celebrities use passing off in order to gain recognition for the loss of future revenue as a form of damage, thus preventing misappropriation of their image. Without this form of remedy, celebrities face the problem that if they have not licensed their image, there will be difficulties in proving requisite damage (*ibid.*: 718–19).

Other methods for celebrities to obtain and maintain control of the commercial exploitation of their image by exerting ownership rights are emerging through a steady stream of judicial decisions and statutes. These decisions and statutes are recognizing a property-like right of publicity and represent the legal commodification of personas (Madow, 1993: 177). Despite these provisions, there remains contested protection of privacy for the well-known. France has effective privacy protection through provisions within rules of professional ethics and also civil and criminal law which states that 'every person has the right to respect for his or her private life', as inserted by an Act of Parliament in July 1970.<sup>2</sup> This is in contrast to English law that has traditionally lacked a general right to privacy<sup>3</sup> until the Human Rights Act 1998. This Act has allowed a growing range of cases whereby the protection of private lives and information is sought to be safeguarded through Article Eight which provides for a right to a privacy and family life, home and correspondence. The increasing focus on privacy, particularly among the well-known, has led to calls by celebrities such as Charlotte Church and the MPs on the Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee in the UK for a privacy law which would provide safeguards against media intrusion.<sup>4</sup> However, there has as yet been no attempt by the government to introduce statutory protection.

The Douglas–Zeta-Jones case against *Hello!* magazine demonstrates not only the commercial value attached to celebrity image as an intangible property but also the complications of media invasion of privacy to meet public demand. This case embodied the attempt by two celebrities to protect their intangible celebrity capital on the basis of breach of confidence and breach of privacy. (It should be noted that the case was eventually won on the basis of breach of confidence and not privacy.) In 2003, Michael Douglas and Catherine Zeta-Jones battled a case against *Hello!* on the basis of an invasion of privacy and breach of confidence due to the magazine buying and publishing unofficial photographic images of their wedding.<sup>5</sup> The court ruled that information about some people's lives had become a highly lucrative commodity as in the case of celebrities,<sup>6</sup> a point that is reflected by the Council of Europe's Resolution 1165 in 1998. The Resolution gives guidance that includes recognition that information about celebrities is a commodity for the media, from whom protection should be given. It also acknowledges that even a public figure, which includes those in the arts, is entitled to a private life, although they must expect and accept that their circumstances will be scrutinized by the media.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, there is evidence that celebrity image which is the 'public representation of ... appearances was and is an important part of a successful career and business'<sup>8</sup> and possesses capital traditionally associated with tangible property. The implication is that celebrity image as a commodity is also a form of property linking it to intellectual property (IP) rights.

Intellectual property concerns the legal rights associated with intangible goods, namely creative effort or commercial reputation and goodwill. This can include literary and artistic words, films, computer programs, inventions, designs and marks used by traders for their goods or services (Bainbridge, 2002: 3). Consequently, the value of intellectual property is within most current scholarship limited to referring to human capital in the form of knowledge, skills and mobility in regards to the rate of return of investment through costs, rates of return and incentives to invest (Eliasson, 2000: 42). However, cases have and are continuing to occur relating to more abstract ownership, such as the phrase in a song, or coming up with a certain idea, or body parts<sup>9</sup> and genetic material, the 'feel and look' of computer programs, an individual's image or even quoting cartoon characters (Halbert, 1999: ix). The quoting of Daffy Duck by a local newspaper in Honolulu led to contact from the cartoon character's intellectual property lawyer saying they could not quote the duck.<sup>10</sup>

The individual's image, such as that of a well-known celebrity, is becoming recognized as an abstract property right and leads to the implication that in cases such as Douglas–Zeta-Jones, celebrity image is

interpretable as a relevant issue within the increasingly contested and complex field of intellectual property. This is supported by the court stating that the Douglas–Zeta-Jones wedding was not simply a personal affair, but a commercial entity allowing the use of the law of confidence, which relates to the protection of trade secrets.<sup>11</sup> Zeta-Jones highlighted the role of the photographic images upon her celebrity image, saying that they were important ‘not just personally but professionally as well [because] directors take into account the public’s perception of actors and actresses when casting for films’.<sup>12</sup> This highlighted the actress’s belief that negative photographs can undermine the commodified celebrity image leading to loss of earnings.

Douglas echoed such sentiments, stating the importance of controlling and protecting his image as a form of property by saying, ‘On a professional level, because my name and likeness is a valuable asset to me, it has always been important for me ... to protect my name and likeness and to prevent unauthorized use of either.’<sup>13</sup> Although the court acknowledged that the Douglas–Zeta-Jones claimants were ‘truly claiming a non-existent intellectual property right corresponding to copyright in the visual aspect of the wedding’,<sup>14</sup> the relationship of celebrity image to intellectual property law was effectively promoted. Subsequently, the Douglas–Zeta-Jones case asserts the increasing commercial capital of intangible celebrity status, which necessitates steps being taken to protect and gain ownership over image and privacy by the well-known.

### **Celebrity, consumption and identity**

Celebrity is contributing to the provision of mass meaning and identity, which entered a recognizable and evident crisis during the early twentieth century (Barbas, 2001: 41–2). This crisis followed the rise of urbanization, women entering the workforce, the development of national communication and transportation networks, and the decline of religion as a social force. All these developments contributed to undermining notions of meaning and identity that had previously been rooted in religion, local community or nationalism (May, 1980: 29–30, 201–2; Rojek, 2001: 31). Combined with the global economic crisis of the early twenty-first century, the role of consumption and identity has continued to be intertwined. This is particularly well reflected by Prime Minister Gordon Brown’s call for the British public to consume rather than save during the economic crisis, suggesting that it is a duty to consume as part of British society. These severe changes in the economic climate can also be identified as playing a part in identity crisis and to which celebrity can contribute.

Celebrities contributed to societal meaning and identity during the Great Depression of the 1930s by providing a rare bit of glamour during hard times and were admired and discussed accordingly. In the current economic crisis, which has become known as 'the credit crunch', the consumption of celebrities has become no less important, although not in the same way as during the early twentieth century. Instead, there appears to be a satisfaction in witnessing celebrities suffering financial hardship alongside the wider public. It would seem that during a time of global instability celebrities provide reassurance that no one is exempt from economic hardship and loss.<sup>15</sup> The result of social changes emphasizes that the process of intimately interwoven notions of meaning and identity has undermined the attainment of either in a stable form. The growth of the culture industry with its emphasis on standardized consumption and entertainment created by a mobile, leisure-orientated mass society has necessitated a new way of conceiving social identity at both an individual and a mass level.

It would appear that identity is increasingly flexible, or, as Bauman (2000) argues, liquid. In contemporary society we are experiencing liquid modernity where identities are fluid, merging into one another and causing difficulty in maintaining identity-defining boundaries. Consequently, mass meaning and identity are flowing and mutable and thus play a role in the decentralized control exerted by the culture industry as government and celebrity as governance. The liquid state of identity means that the culture industry through celebrity can sell consumable identity to replace the one that has been shaken by the social change of the twentieth century (Abercrombie, 1994: 51).

Consumption has become a method of control over individuals by becoming a key tool in constructing an intelligible universe where social relationships are made and maintained (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979: 59). It wields a subtle power embodying the culture industry's promotion of desire for entertainment and pleasure by encouraging conformity to the standardized narcissistic dream and glamour myth of celebrity culture. People *en masse* conform to a standardized dream, which is consumed via the celebrities who live them out and the products and image associated with them, because both the myth and celebrities represent the 'antithesis of a generalised psychological lack in ourselves' (Rojek, 2001: 35). The celebrity is an effective tool to correct the psychological lack or need created and emphasized by the culture industry. Accordingly celebrities govern individuals by providing a consumable method of fulfilment which provides meaning and identity.

Celebrities encapsulate and exemplify a success story of the constructed needs and desires created by the culture industry such as wealth, well-knownness and beauty. They represent individuals who have triumphed over 'impassive nature'; they are the eternal conqueror's song of the common man, a self-styled triumph (Adorno, 1941: 28). In effect, celebrity is a celebration of democratic capitalism (Marshall, 1997: 4) invoking a message of possibility within a democratic age while the former hierarchy determined by merit or wealth is decreasing in validity. Consequently, celebrity is empowered and becomes the 'ideal representation of the triumph of the masses' (ibid.: 6). They become an ideal; representative of the everyman and woman, they embody the possibility of achieving the culture industry-created notion of success, namely wealth, beauty and well-knownness.

As a consequence of representing a shared ideal in society, celebrity has become a useful form of social solidarity or 'communitas' that binds the fragmented late modern society together, providing mass meaning and a sense of identity. Anthropologist Victor Turner's notion of 'communitas' describes a state of liminality where there is liberation for humans from normative constraints which are incumbent on social status. It is illustrated by instances of societal solidarity, such as the death of Princess Diana in 1997, which led to a national outpouring of grief. Therefore, communitas is a relational quality of fully unmediated communication between definite and determinate identities. These identities are argued by Turner (1969; 1978) as arising spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations and circumstances that are freed of the structures which normally separate them, forming an essential and generic human bond. Celebrities are a recent form of communitas forming a source of solidarity, identity and meaning among society members living in a celebrity culture founded within the culture industry. They provide a route for mass identity or group solidarity as they 'bind an increasingly diverse, mobile and atomised nation' and become the dominant ethos with 'celebrity consciousness our new common denominator' (Gabler, 1994: xiii). Thus celebrity as governance within the culture industry as government helps replace the crisis of meaning, identity and social solidarity forms of the past through the consumption and entertainment of celebrity.

The culture industry as a producer of culture seeks to tackle the identity and meaning crisis by focusing upon generating and fulfilling the purpose of making life meaningful (Tomlinson, 1999: 17–18). A central method of achieving such a purpose is through celebrity, which contributes to the culture industry as government by being a governance

form that directs the search for meaning and identity on an individual and mass scale. Social solidarity has shifted away from societal events and activities such as penalty, where retaliatory legislation is actually a symbolic gesture of sovereign might or an orchestrated ritual of mechanical solidarity. Penalty was intended to stimulate a social response and unification for individuals in society, for whom condemnation and punishment serve as an expressive release of tension and unity in the face of crime and insecurity (Garland, 2001: 142). Instead, the culture industry and celebrity as government and governance are performing a similar role as a source of social solidarity by forming mass meaning and identity.

The composition of celebrity reflects the shift into celebrity culture at the end of the twentieth century and also the governing control wielded by celebrity in relation to identity and consumption. Celebrities represent pleasurable consumption and, as a result, there is increasingly no limit to what, where or how something is to be consumed or celebrated. It would appear that society has disintegrated into 'an amorphous crowd of consumers' (Lowenthal, 1961: 123). This demonstrates the controlling power of celebrity in that it creates value out of worthlessness. Due to the consumerist attitude of the culture industry it appears that public esteem of what Lowenthal (1961) calls productive idols (well-known individuals on social, cultural, commercial and natural sciences fronts) are in decline. Instead, the masses celebrate idols of consumption 'the headliners of the movies, the ball parks, and the night clubs' (ibid.: 116). Therefore, as individuals accept the culture industry with regard to consuming to fulfil the need for pleasure and entertainment, idols of production have declined while idols of consumption have flourished (Cross, 1993: 154). As a result, the choice of who becomes celebrated can be seen to correspond with the culture-industry creation of need and emphasizes celebrity as a form of governance through gratification.

In revisiting the culture industry it is apparent that despite the limitations of its original conception it still has much to contribute to current debate when readdressed and updated through Foucault's conceptions of power and control via governmentality. It appears that the culture industry in the twenty-first century is rooted in social control through apparent freedom. The culture industry highlights not only its own subtle social-control abilities as government via constructions of need and desire, but also through its governance form of celebrity. Celebrity as the quintessence of the culture industry is a manufactured collaborator that contributes to pervasive social control in governing through consumption, which leads to conformity and the provision of a rallying point for social solidarity in a time of instability and flux.

## Notes

- 1 D. Gross 'Arnold's bad business', 11 August 2003  
<http://slate.msn.com/id/2086889>
- 2 French legislation on privacy, 25 Sep. 2007  
<http://www.ambafrance-us.org/atoz/privacy.asp>
- 3 'Celebrities to clarify privacy law', 18 Nov. 2006  
<http://media.guardian.co.uk/pressprivacy/story/0,,1951227,00.html>
- 4 'MPs call for media privacy law', 16 June 2003  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/2991772.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/2991772.stm)  
'Singer Church demands privacy law', 18 Nov. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/3279651.stm>
- 5 *Douglas and others v. Hello! Ltd and others*, Chancery Division [2003] EWHC 786 (Ch), [2003] All ER (D) 209 (Apr), (Approved judgment) p. 1.
- 6 *Ibid.*, para. 1, p. 1.
- 7 *Ibid.*, para. 186 (iii), p. 43.
- 8 *Ibid.*, para. 195, p. 48.
- 9 J. O'C. Hamilton, 'Who told you you could sell my spleen?' *Business Week*, 23 April 1990, p. 38; *Moore v. Regents of the University of California*, 793 P.2d 479 (Cal. 1990).
- 10 'Ducking the issue of the little black duck' *Honolulu Advertiser*, 21 Feb. 1995, p. B1.
- 11 *Douglas and others v. Hello! Ltd and others*, Chancery Division [2003] EWHC 786 (Ch), [2003] All ER (D) 209 (Apr), (Approved judgment) para.195, p. 48.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *Ibid.*, para. 215, pp. 50–1.
- 15 'Credit crunch celebrities: Mirror.co.uk's Top 10', 7 Nov. 2008  
<http://www.mirror.co.uk/advice/money/2008/11/07/credit-crunch-celebrities-mirror-co-uk-s-top-10-115875-20877048/>

# 3

## Resonance and Celebrated Criminality

The culture industry provides a structure in which there are no limitations, regulations or restraint on who becomes a celebrity, allowing even crime and criminals to become celebrated. However, a structure alone does not guarantee success for the emergence of the celebrated criminality trends of criminal-celebrity (criminals who become celebrities) or rogue celebrity (celebrities who are found guilty or become associated with crime and deviance). For an individual to become celebrated they must be connected to by the public, both as individuals and as a collective. It is the existence and strength of the public connection to a potential celebrity that leads to a celebrity career or their disappearance back into obscurity. Therefore, to achieve celebrity the public must not only be provided with a structure that makes potential celebrities visible for the voyeuristic public, but they must be able in some way to connect and relate to the individual in order for them to gain celebrated status.

The connection to an individual that leads to the development and achievement of celebrity and criminal-celebrity status can be tied to the concept of resonance. This concept asserts that the public as individuals and as a collective can resonate with a person to the extent that celebrated status can occur. Resonance is suggested as being more than a simple connection to a person, but a connection which stimulates a response or interaction. Responses to people and events that subsequently become celebrated vary from emotions of excitement or disgust to the motivation of consuming certain products or dressing in a particular way or becoming involved with charities or other organizations that resist crime and deviance. This chapter will explore the celebration of criminality as a route by which the voyeuristic, interactive individual and public can resonate not only due to pleasure or



fun but through fear, rebellion and horror. Additionally, a conceptualization of celebrated criminality will be used to highlight the forms of criminality that achieve celebrated status.

### **Understanding resonance: origin, purpose and effect**

To resonate 'is to resound, or reverberate' (*Collins English Dictionary*, 1995: 293) or, according to physics, the term 'resonance' refers to 'the reinforcement or prolongation of sound by reflection or synchronous vibration'.<sup>1</sup> Using the synchronous vibration of resonance highlights the idea of people reverberating with a source of resonance whether that is an object, idea or person. This metaphorical vibration illuminates the subtle or sometimes unsubtle connection and interaction that can be made between people and resonance sources such as celebrity or crime. People resonate to a greater or lesser degree depending on the strength of the vibrations. Therefore, resonance can be felt strongly just as the vibrations of a pneumatic drill digging up a road can be felt by passers-by through the ground and the air or as people in a nightclub can feel the bass beat vibration from speakers through their bodies.

Resonance does not only mean to connect or relate with a celebrity and/or criminality for this is merely to identify oneself with something or someone. Instead, to resonate is to go one step further than identification by not only relating and connecting to something or someone, but to be stimulated into a response and interaction: it is directional. The pulsation of resonance stimulates a response or degree of interaction between the source and individual or group who are affected by the vibration. Therefore, for a person or the public to resonate with something is for them to interact, respond and relate to the resonance source. It is this response that marks the progression from merely identifying with celebrity/criminality to resonating with them. The response to celebrity or crime can be diverse, ranging from active pleasurable consumption as a fan, to reading or watching news stories which lead to scornful comments with another person, to simply being unable to avoid awareness of a celebrity or crime due to their presence in the media. Consequently, resonance stimulates response even if it is dismissive of something that can be considered vulgar, superficial and worthless.

The notion of resonance reflects Virilio's (2000) *The Information Bomb*, which explores his concern about information technology blurring the boundaries between reality and virtual reality. The destruction of these distinctions through digital and analogue processes leads to his warning of physiological, psychological and cultural damage as people

become unable to distinguish between the real and the unreal. Virilio asserts that information technology penetrates and stupefies; it is an information bomb that has the power to cause long-term destruction as truth becomes less easy to distinguish. In the era of the information bomb there is a move away from material and objective social reality where people inhabited actual time and space and had relationships with real people. Instead, people now exist in advanced artificiality where they inhabit an increasingly virtual universe and develop an emotional connection to people they will never meet. These emotional connections to individuals such as celebrities highlight the concept of resonance. Much like the vibrations of a bomb blast, it appears that the information bomb projects public resonance with celebrity to new heights across time and space.

The process of vibrating with a source of resonance causes a shake-up; a reaction is caused even if it is to reject the source and move away to stop the effects. It is through this reaction that the person who resonates creates, or is provided with, meaning and value at a personal, social and cultural level. The production of meaning and value through resonance varies in type and degree. Meaning can be produced for a teenage girl through her resonance with a pop star whereby a range of responses can ensue. She may develop a crush; build friendships with fellow fans; spend money on concert tickets, posters and albums; reject the pop star completely as overrated; or be simply aware of them due to media coverage but have no direct interest. Each response or combination of responses aids the individual in developing meaning and a sense of value for themselves and their place within society, particularly within their own range of friendships and relations with other people. Interestingly, this resonance with celebrity figures is an emotional response to an image without substance. Celebrity figures portray an image which is resonated with rather than the real person. Therefore, celebrities are a cipher, a pool of refracted symbols and images which bounce around, occasionally connecting with sections of the public.

Resonance with celebrity is related to the characteristics that form celebrity. For example, celebrity is the embodiment of a possible role that compensates for the fragmented productive specializations (namely, the average working lifestyle) that are actually lived (Mills, 1956: 71; Debord, 1983: 60). Therefore, resonance with celebrity can be related to the possibility of any individual attaining such status. Celebrities, it would appear, stimulate resonance in a manner that they are 'nothing greater than a publicized version of us' (Boorstin, 1972: 83). Consequently, resonance with celebrity can be a result of relating and interacting with the

publicized version of the self or rather what we would like to be. In addition, resonance with celebrity can also be related to celebrities encapsulating both the ordinary and extraordinary in that they are typical enough to be accessible and recognizable, yet individuated enough to be unique and interesting (Reeves, 1988: 150). Celebrity demonstrates itself as being accessible to the public, increasing the possibility of resonance by making each individual able to resonate through a personal response which is interwoven with desire. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that desire is an active, positive force, while May (1993: 4) goes on to assert that desire is a field of immanence and is a force 'without which no social system could ever come into being'. As such, desire is the inner will of all processes and events (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000: 609) and can create and propagate resonance.

Resonance occurs at both an individual and a collective level whereby multiple individuals resonate as a unit made up of many components. This does not mean that each individual resonates in the same manner or for the same reasons, as the public are not necessarily of a single nationality, background or interest but share something in common via a mutual resonance. It is perhaps best to describe resonance as an assemblage whereby there is a common outcome but not necessarily any functional unity between the components. 'Assemblage' as developed by Deleuze (1986; 1992) and with Guattari (1987) is founded on ideas of surveillance. It was used to describe and embody the multiplicity of surveillance, which is traditionally considered bounded, structured and stable (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000: 608). This use of assemblage as a term to describe a notion that is multiple with a diversity of layers and depths can be applied to phenomena other than surveillance. The consistency of assemblage is of a 'multiplicity of heterogeneous objects, whose unity comes solely from the fact that these items function together, that they "work" together as a functional entity' (Patton, 1998: 158). Therefore, it comprises discrete flows of an essentially limitless range of other phenomena including signs, knowledge and institutions (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000: 608). Therefore, to dig beneath the surface of any entity is to encounter a host of different phenomena and processes working in concert (*ibid.*: 608). Any particular assemblage is consequently composed of different discrete assemblages which are themselves multiple.

The construction of resonance as assemblage is perhaps best understood through social divisions, which encourage different routes for individuals to resonate with the same subject, namely celebrity. Social divisions of class, gender, age, race and ethnicity all play significant roles in influencing how and why an individual resonates with celebrity. There

is no completely separate type of social division with class, gender, age, race and ethnicity all co-existing (Payne, 2006: 4–7; Roberts, 2001: 7) and interacting ‘to form a new status that has elements of [all] but which is not reducible to either [or any]’ (Morgan, 1986: 46). Interestingly, long-standing divisions such as age, gender and ethnicity are ceasing to be subordinate to, or overshadowed by, class and now play stronger roles in identity and social-consciousness formation and in political action (Roberts, 2001: 17). Social divisions are nearly always life-long statuses and make a major impression on everyone’s consciousness (Payne, 2006: 4–7; Roberts, 2001: 18). Therefore, although it is possible to conceptually separate these divisions they are thoroughly interwoven in real-life situations and thus it is important to acknowledge this interweaving and how this can impact upon an individual’s ability and manner of resonance.

The study of gender as a social division has brought to light workplace and income inequality between the sexes as well as further inequality with regard to age and also race and ethnicity (Bowling and Philips, 2002: 32). Age in relation to gender has been traditionally ignored, according to Arber and Ginn (1995). However, they argue that age, like gender, must be treated as fundamental to understanding social organization because as we grow older we are differently influenced by the societal, cultural, economic and political context (ibid.: 1). This gender- and age-related experience of the world is only exacerbated by the inclusion of the social division of race and ethnicity, for those of different ethnic groups will experience their class, gender and age differently. For instance, older ethnic-minority women’s relationship to the British economy cannot be equated with, or reduced to, that of male/female or being old or by being of a certain class. In such an example ethnicity works in combination with class and gender to the detriment of minority women (Bowling and Philips, 2002: 32).

Human experience is mediated by an individual’s ethnic origin and this is shaped by beliefs about racial difference and ways people act upon them which are similar to how our experience is shaped by being male or female, gay or straight, rich or poor, or an urban or rural dweller (ibid.: 32). Social divisions consistently influence individuals’ views of the world in which they live and thus also in how they resonate. Consequently, the ability to resonate with events, people and concepts such as celebrity is moulded by social divisions experienced by the individual. This channels how and why the individual resonates, creating an assemblage of resonance, whereby there are multiple reasons for resonance; however, this does not detract from the fact that people are resonating.

The public are asserted as being increasingly homogeneous due to the consumption of standardized goods promoting individuality while actually encouraging similarity and conformity. Admittedly, the similarity of values shared by the public undermines notions of individuality; however, the norms of cultural practice are quite different. Namely, different people will resonate in different ways regarding the same resonance source. Therefore, this homogeneity does not mean the public are passive, gullible or victims of a capitalistic conspiracy but active participants with limited material. The public are not simple or straightforward in that they are a mass of separate individuals but instead are a complex and diverse system of interacting social groups and individuals with varying degrees of agency. Just as resonance is an assemblage with multiple layers so is the public who make up society. Resonance challenges the notion of public passivity due to engagement and interaction with culture-industry products and messages, such as celebrity. Instead, resonance highlights the public as an active audience, as illustrated by audience theories of encoding/decoding and uses and gratifications (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 15, 7; Hall, 1980: 128–38).

The resonating society is able to resist manipulation and form social groupings despite fears to the contrary regarding the growth of mass culture. However, the resonating public is in a paradoxical position of being both able and unable to resist the culture industry. For example, the public through their ability to decode and encode messages incorporate them simply by any participation denying the chance to resist any involvement. However, at the same time the public are not passive for they actively decode messages allowing them to make use of the culture industry and use their own initiative in self-gratification. Thus the public are empowered, discerning and consciously expressing their own choice by buying into the culture industry and resonating with what they choose. In other words, the public rationally choose to engage with and use the culture industry to gratify themselves even if this entails resonance that plays along with the pleasures and artificiality of the culture industry.

The public's perverse resonance with criminality raises the question of why the public who make up society should celebrate criminality when 'crime is something done to society, criminals are the enemy of society' (Schur, 1969: 9). Resonance explains this even to the earliest roots of celebrating crime via the reverence and mysticism surrounding the corpses of executed criminals. For instance, skin from the corpse of a criminal was in ancient times supposed to cure skin diseases, while

their blood could stop a variety of complaints including epilepsy, and their small bones, if kept in a purse, were believed to prevent it from ever being empty. Resonance as assemblage illuminates why the multiple superstitions existed and which subsequently made executions a popular celebration associated with pride and glory not shame and dishonour (Hibbert, 1963: 296).

As a consequence of resonance, an understanding of why the public are attracted to, and fascinated by, crime and criminality is substantiated. To resonate is to connect, respond and interact with a multiplicity of sources that do not exclude unpleasant and disturbing occurrences that can stimulate resonance via feelings of rebellion, disgust, horror, loathing or fear. Additionally, there does not need to be any functional unity between the components in that the public may resonate for different reasons. Therefore, resonance as an assemblage provides a useful concept for exploring and explaining the plurality of different identifications, responses and interactions with a diversity of individuals and events with regard to the criminal/celebrity relationship.

The power and range of resonance are reinforced and promulgated by the existence of an effective structural support network, namely the culture industry. This does not mean that resonance did not occur prior to the structural support, as is illustrated by forms of celebrity prior to the emergence of the culture industry. The central component of the culture industry, namely the mass media, can be seen as a key mediator and unifier of the relationship between celebrity, criminality and resonance. It provides a source from which mass individuals can be exposed to the same stories about celebrity and celebrated criminality encouraging identification, response and interaction or, in other words, resonance.

This structure enables resonance with celebrity to be accessible and open to interpretation at multiple levels by allowing the public to resonate through an individual personal response. Not only does this consolidate the controlling power of celebrity as governance, but it also has the subversive and unintended result of encouraging the criminal/celebrity relationship to develop into celebrated criminality. Resonance as assemblage also sheds light on why celebrity and celebrated criminality as forms of governance can be undermined by damaging public resonance with them and will be explored in the following chapter. Such a stance is founded upon the assertion that if the public do not resonate then celebrity and celebrated criminality are ultimately disabled as forms of governance.

The culture industry as Foucauldian government is supported by celebrity and mass media as forms of governance, and both government and

governance forms are substantially reliant upon the concept of resonance. Resonance is used in a dual manner to examine the public resonating with subversive forces, namely criminality as well as celebrity. It is, firstly, used as a heuristic tool to examine the criminal/celebrity relationship and, secondly, as an explanation (a causal factor) for the development of celebrated criminality, which is argued to be an unintended and perverse third form of governance. As a tool of explanation and investigation, resonance suggests it is impossible for the culture industry, celebrity or mass media to possess any form of controlling power without it. In addition, criminality would not attain a celebrated state, preventing the relationship between criminality and celebrity and thus also celebrated criminality. Consequently, it is important to use the concept of resonance to examine why and how criminality can achieve celebrity, thus highlighting the criminal/celebrity relationship, and how this relationship combined with resonance ultimately leads to celebrated criminality as a form of perverse governance.

### **Resonance with criminality and deviance**

Having established resonance as assemblage it is important to explore why the perverse, violent and subversive nature of crime stimulates public resonance leading to celebrity. This is particularly crucial in the light that the public choose to undergo this process of resonance and celebration with only a limited number of criminals (Kooistra, 1989: 21). In order to explain why the public resonate with criminality, the research of Kooistra (1989) into heroic criminals is invaluable. His work is a revisionist collection that is concerned with what people believe about criminals as opposed to a study of what the criminal actually does. He sees criminal-celebrities as a by-product of group conflict and proposes his varying interpretations of criminality to reflect this conflict. This is convenient, as it suggests that the celebration of criminality is part of the culture industry as government, which marks a period of change and instability.

Kooistra (1989) uses three theoretical approaches – psychological, cultural and sociological – to explore the celebration of criminals within which public resonance is implicit. His stances present a foundation upon which resonance is a consistent explanatory source for the celebration of criminality. No single theoretical approach is adopted but rather a hybrid is used, drawing upon psychological, cultural and sociological contributions in order to benefit from the different exploratory insights of resonance into the criminal/celebrity relationship and also its provision of an explanation for the development of celebrated criminality.

### **The psychological stance: fascination with the Other**

The psychological explanation offered by Kooistra (1989) asserts that narratives about criminal-celebrities serve a critical mental function for those individuals who read and write such tales. He proposes that such stories release rebellious feelings generated by restrictions imposed by authority, via either parents or the state, while reiterating that in the long run 'crime does not pay' due to the demise of such rebels (*ibid.*: 9). Resonance explains why the law-abiding citizen will be interested in criminality due to the psychological release through the rebellious deeds of the criminal-celebrity (*ibid.*: 18). In other words, the public are able to live vicariously through criminal-celebrities.

By imaginatively identifying and resonating with the criminal and letting them act out deviant or criminal behaviour, the majority of the public will not actually perform the act personally, but still experience the same psychological relief (Ohlgren, 1998: xxviii). For example, the Great Train Robbery of 1963 in England, where over £2 million was successfully stolen from a postal train, led to a massive international hunt for the culprits. This daring and audacious robbery has arguably provided a route for psychological release for the public through the exploits of those involved, including prison escapes and failure to successfully evade the British police pursuing them around the world.<sup>2</sup> The use of criminals and their crimes as a psychological release is important as a form of social control, because it provides a safety valve for channelling and releasing aggressive impulses and rebelliousness. As a result, resonance perversely aids in governing the public through criminality, which because of its dissidence provides a psychological point of control and manipulation.

Marshall (1997: 247), although he focuses on just celebrities not criminal-celebrities, makes an important contribution by suggesting that celebrities as the representation of public action have become the manifestation of private experience, exemplifying a cultural psychology within the public sphere. The celebrity functions as a vehicle that reduces the cultural meaning of events, incidents and people to their psychological make-up, rendering celebrity as 'instrumental in the organisation of an affective economy' (*ibid.*: 247). Subsequently, when applied to the celebration of criminality at a psychoanalytic level, the criminal-celebrity is a response to any form of fundamental event or problem facing the human species in either the public or private sphere.

Duclos (1998: 8, 11) supports this assertion, arguing that crime actually helps society when it loses its sense of perspective and place within the human race. For instance, the bank robber John Dillinger provided a



vibrant and stimulating focus for the 1930s public, distracting them from their economic and social distress. As a result there is a revival of the initiation passage from savagery to civility, for as traditional signs of identity and meaning are being shattered it seems that perverse psychological inclinations, even violent ones, are reassuring. Duclos's (1998) sentiments echo McLuhan's (1976) claim that violence is a quest for identity and the meaningful whereby the less identity means the more violence. Therefore, a sense of collective unity, via the celebration of criminality by indulging violence through crime, is made both permissible and useful in times of identity crisis.

Resonance in relation to celebrating criminality can produce collective unity at a psychological level and has been aided by the culture industry using crime and criminals as entertainment. Mass media as governance within the culture industry provide a channel through which resonance is stimulated regarding criminality. At a psychological level, resonance is shown not only through public fascination with glamorous, romanticized and thrilling portrayals of criminality, but also through fascinated anxiety and fear. Wilson (1994) argues that fascination with criminality is related to increasing fear and concern about crime rates, the appearance of violence becoming more random and a belief that increasingly young offenders are causing a growth in crime to be a point of widespread public resonance. Meanwhile, Beckett (1994) links popular concern and fear about drugs to match trends in sponsorship of the issue by political elites, but not actual drug-abuse rates. Consequently, the diversity of possible psychological sources and motivations for resonance is multiple, reiterating and affirming its composition as an assemblage.

Brophy (1986) offers a further psychological explanation for the public resonating with criminality. He moves beyond mere concern and anxiety to fear and horror as a motivation for public resonance. Although Brophy's work is directly related to analysis of the horror genre, it is linked to resonance with criminality at a psychological level by the elements of horror and fear in many crimes. Brophy (1986: 5) argues that the public experience a perverted paradoxical pleasure and excitement through the fear and horror of violence. Through forms of criminality, the public gain a paradoxical, shocked pleasure or a nervous giggle of amoral delight as horrific images are viewed or stories are read, because 'the pleasure of the text is, in fact, getting the shit scared out of you – and loving it; an exchange mediated by adrenalin' (ibid.: 8). The 'nervous giggle of amoral delight' is not always evident in relation to the most gruesome non-fiction crimes but a twisted fascination is present com-

bined with a shiver of revulsion. Fascination with real-life horror stories causes a twisted entertainment, particularly as they initially unfold through media coverage attracting public attention. The public, despite being horrified, revolted and shocked, cannot fail to be intrigued by certain dramatic crimes.

An example of intrigued revulsion is through the case of prolific British serial killer Dr Harold Shipman. Shipman was jailed for murdering 15 patients while working in Hyde, Greater Manchester; however, it is estimated that he killed between 215 and 260 people over a 23-year-period, making him the most successful UK serial killer. However, his success as a killer combined with his apparently mild manner and status as a well-respected GP raised national horror and shock, with lasting implications for the medical profession. His successful suicide in 2004 in Wakefield Prison only reiterated his apparent ability to disguise his intentions as there had been no pre-suicidal behaviour observed.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that Shipman embodied some of society's deepest fears of authority: of trust being abused and the vulnerable being preyed upon. Despite the subject matter, certain crimes, such as those committed by Shipman, become a form of twisted entertainment attained by resonance through horror, fear and disgust. This resonance with negative emotions and topics becomes a form of perverted pleasure, founded upon gratification based on tension, fear, anxiety and revulsion. Consequently, people can gain psychological resonance with criminality through a perverted fascination through fear and horror in relation to criminal acts.

Schubart (1995: 226) takes Brophy's work further by arguing that a specific focus is developed in the form of a monster or Other commonly fulfilled by criminals. The monster or the Other becomes a figure of disgusted and fearful pleasure; it is a focal point for embodying repressed desire or social taboos. Criminals, such as serial killers, live up to the notion of the monster or Other by their consistent portrayal in the media as a faceless predator lurking in the midst of society. As a monster, the criminal is dehumanized and reduced to an animal, allowing resonance with perversion to feed the culture industry's created need for pleasure even from a negative source. All the principles of the werewolf metamorphosis, whereby a normal human is also a horrifying, deadly and violent beast, are fulfilled to varying degrees by criminals and crimes (Duclos, 1998: 67, 179). Subsequently, criminality as monstrous or Other becomes a route for attaining celebrated status through public resonance via perverted fascination.

Perhaps nowhere is the monstrous Other more apparent than in the shape of the female criminal. The perceived otherness of women,

according to Shapiro (1999: 4), has allowed the metaphoric woman to stand in for an array of qualities, values and meanings of femaleness, namely an innate maternal and caring womankind, thus endowing her with special symbolic resonance (*ibid.*: 5; Jenks, 2003: 125). The female criminal transgresses this metaphoric womanhood, making her the lightning rod of social and cultural tensions of the period. In other words, the figure of the female criminal allows the opportunity to draw distinctions between good and bad women, women and men, natural and unnatural mothers, the sick and criminal as well as defining a range of gender-appropriate behaviours (Shapiro, 1999: 5). As a result, the female criminal consolidates and legitimizes the practices and conventions of both domestic and public life; she reaffirms the essence of women, ensuring the resistance of an abhorrent case (*ibid.*: 7; Jenks, 2003: 125). The conviction in 1995 of female serial killer Rosemary West is a prime example of female criminality that reinforces the metaphoric woman and also encapsulates Brophy's monstrous Other. West fails to fulfil the female maternal role that is presumed by society to be natural by being involved in sexual violence with the victims before murdering, dismembering and burying the bodies with her husband Fred, at their home, 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester. West reinforced her appearance of lacking maternal feeling for her victims, including her own daughter, stepdaughter and her husband's pregnant lover.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, she is the monstrous Other combined with the 'Otherness' of women; she has double the allure of a typical male serial killer and so is a more prominent target for public disgust, fear and loathing.

Through the culture industry and the mass media, public resonance is able to increase due to multiple sources which can be resonated with, allowing a merciless voyeurism of criminality to occur. This largely mediated voyeurism of crime and criminality is intriguing, according to Young (1996), who asserts that resonance has developed beyond the need to actually view the violence. She argues that the imaginary blurs the boundaries between reality and unreality, as well as perceptions of what is seen and the self. Consequently, more fear and horror can be conjured than via the most graphic descriptions if the imagination is fed correctly and resonance is attained. Therefore, imagination enables the formation and consumption of the well-known monstrous Other and draws attention to Kooistra's psychological stance as an important component in the celebration of crime and criminality.

The power of the imaginary upon the public is encapsulated by the James Bulger murder in 1993.<sup>5</sup> The murder of toddler James Bulger by ten-year-olds Robert Thompson and Jon Venables exhibits the con-

trasting visibility and invisibility of the crime as an effective stimulant of public resonance through fear, horror and disgust (ibid.: 111). Both the press and the public were fascinated by the varied visibility of the Bulger abduction, which had 38 eyewitnesses and was captured on 16 security cameras, while the actual murder on a railway line was invisible (ibid.: 128). The public preoccupation and resonance with crime was increased by the Bulger murder, leading to widespread fear and concern regarding children that kill. Public and parental fears reached fever pitch regarding whether other children were at risk or were a risk. Newspapers fed these fears, stating, 'we will never be able to look at our children in the same way again' (*The Sunday Times*, 28 Nov. 1993 cited in Young, 1996: 128–9). The horror of the death of two-year-old James Bulger, which was not seen but left to the imaginary, came to stand for all the horrors of contemporary society (ibid.: 128). Bulger's image spoke, and continues to speak, of a terrifying reality that resonates with the public's fears, disgust and sense of horror. It would seem that resonance at a psychological level can lead to a powerful response among people with regard to crime, criminals and victims through media coverage that enables criminality to attain celebrated status.

### **The cultural stance: challenging the circumstances**

The second theoretical concept in understanding criminal heroes, according to Kooistra (1989), is that of the cultural approach. This approach suggests a simple but narrow definition, that the criminal who achieves celebrity status reflects the values and conflicts of a group of people at a certain time. In other words, the celebration of criminality challenges the rigidity of a closed political or economic system by breaking taboos and violating societal norms. This cultural definition supports an understanding of resonance with criminality at a time when bad statutory laws and oppression occur. In such circumstances resistance, even by those who break the law, stimulates resonance and reaffirms values that have been subverted, such as self-preservation, freedom, equality and justice (Ohlgren, 1998: xxix). Criminality done with style and an assortment of endearing qualities turns certain criminals into candidates for the role of a celebrated cultural hero and evokes widespread public resonance (Kooistra, 1989: 22). A key example of this cultural resonance with criminality is Robin Hood, who encapsulates the 'good', honourable and cunning individual who becomes a criminal in order to stand up for the public against an oppressive regime, by stealing from the rich to give to the poor. Through a cultural stance, Hood, despite being a criminal, achieves celebrated status and a flattering portrayal, which further

encourages resonance. Importantly, the cultural stance does not consider that resonance may occur in negative ways, such as violence or perversion, as illuminated by the psychological approach.

Resonance with criminality leading to the attainment of celebrity through a cultural explanation ties in neatly to anthropologist Levi-Strauss's (1963: 268) argument of how criminality plays a key role in enabling traditional figures to be revived and reinterpreted. This argument highlights that new versions of traditional individuals' lives are being told, which leads to old tales being given new life by inserting contemporary figures into them. For instance, the beloved and traditional English figure of Robin Hood has re-emerged in a corrupted form in contemporary society through individuals such as the British gangsters Reggie and Ronnie Kray in the 1960s. These two men were interpreted as Robin Hoodesque characters due to fulfilling many of the facets of the traditional cultural figure.

The Krays possessed glamour, cunning and daring, and despite not fighting a specifically dictatorial state or giving all their gains to the poor, they resisted the law and were reputedly generous to charity and were self-professed protectors of their local community. Criminals such as the Krays marked a merger of contemporary individuals with traditional figures, providing the public with a point of cultural familiarity. Consequently, resonating with criminality to the extent of it achieving celebrity status carries a reminder of admired and romanticized legendary tales. Traditional figures being reinterpreted in a corrupted contemporary form provide a focal point which reflects 'a modern-day echo of a past full of adventure and brawling' (Duclos, 1998: 4, 7).

The gangsters and bandits (bank robbers) of the USA in the 1920s and 1930s are also useful examples of resonance explaining a cultural stance as a reason for criminality being celebrated along with the revival of traditional figures. These criminals, such as Al Capone, John Dillinger, 'Pretty Boy' Floyd and 'Baby Face' Nelson, represented the values and conflicts of a specific group of people at a certain time, namely the concerns and fears of the American people in the era of the Great Depression. This period provided the cultural conditions for lawbreakers to become symbolic representatives of justice while the legal and political system seemed to be operating against the interests of the people (Kooistra, 1989: 126). These bandits and gangsters also provided a crucial psychological release for the US public from their cultural conditions.

Characters such as Dillinger attacked what was identified by the public as the source of their financial suffering, leading to bank robbers becoming seen as Robin Hoods when, as part of their robbery, mortgage records

sometimes got destroyed.<sup>6</sup> Their displays of daring and ruthlessness and their narrow getaways from the police made them prime media material inspiring widespread public interest. Consequently, gangsters and bandits who posed as modern-day Robin Hoods were romanticized by the media, leading to this type of criminality gaining celebrated status. Gangsters became hero-worshipped because of their defiance of law and order, no matter what the odds (Lee and Van Hecke, 1971: 12). This hero-worship by the public displayed their ability to resonate with the criminality of gangsters whose values, despite being motivated by personal gain, were seductive. The psychological state of the US public due to the cultural conditions of the time allowed criminals to become celebrated heroes by representing resistance to the structures of domination.

A key illustration of the romanticized gangster, as a means for why and how the public can resonate both culturally and psychologically with criminality, is Bonnie and Clyde. This couple fulfilled the 'endearing' characteristics described by Kooistra (1989) as part of the cultural-stance understanding of resonance with criminality by being consistently depicted as 'a young and attractive couple' (Friedman, 2000: 8). Bonnie and Clyde were also portrayed to be 'fighting moral codes and repressive social institutions' of the 1930s, making them counterparts for the public's own personal and communal struggles. They also exemplified the intrinsic drama of violence via two years of improbable escapes from prisons, ambushes and spectacular shootouts (ibid.: 8; Carson, 2000: 44). This criminal couple fulfilled the cultural-approach definition of embodying a romanticized criminality while also representing values and conflicts of a certain group of people, such as the US public, at a certain time period, for example the 1930s. As a result, their 'short, fierce lives provided all the elements sufficient for mythic fabrication and moral instruction' (ibid.: 44) which explains public resonance that led to Bonnie and Clyde's criminal-celebrity status.

Criminal individuals in the era of the culture industry are mediated to a previously unprecedented extent, widening the opportunity for resonance with their criminality. Thus buying into the gangster myth was made easy in the 1920s and 1930s through mediated popular culture of the culture industry, which reworked criminals through the notion of justice. In a society oppressed by the Great Depression, gangsters were moulded into figures of romance and ideological longing who battled against the state with automatic guns and fast cars. Criminals themselves have displayed the ability to resonate with their own illegal actions in relation to gaining celebrity and to believe mediated portrayals of what criminality entails and the celebrity status related to it. For example,

Bonnie's letters to Clyde when he was in jail demonstrated her belief in the glamorous crime myth in which they were living by using language from movies, radio, magazines and pop songs (Bond Potter, 1998: 82). The belief in living out their gangster myth was only reinforced by the pair indulging their mobster image by submitting poems and photographs of themselves in mock gangster poses with guns and cars to newspapers in order to further their self-aggrandizement (Carson, 2000: 44). Consequently, the cultural approach supports resonance with criminality leading to celebrity largely through a romanticized and constructed transmission in the mediated age of the culture industry.

Through the cultural stance, media portrayals of criminality have granted it the opportunity of fulfilling the four characteristics of celebrity which resonate with the public by becoming an ideal, a role model, an inspiration and an escape from reality (Giles, 2000: 61). In fulfilling the four characteristics, not only is celebrity achieved by criminality, but also iconicity, which refers to recognizable images forming the basis of a person's recognition. A person is iconic not only when they stimulate public recognition of them, but also when they dominate our encounter or experience of them to the extent that one almost forgets the actual reality of the person (Shapiro, 1999: 1–2). 'Iconicity' represents the possibility that a criminal as a celebrity has entered the language of the culture and can exist whether they continue to 'perform' or die (Marshall, 1997: 17). Therefore, gaining 'iconic quality ... is also the zenith of a [celebrity] career', whether or not that is achieved through criminality (*ibid.*: 17).

Despite the efficacy of the cultural explanation developed by Kooistra, this approach does have significant flaws in explaining why the public resonates with and celebrates criminality. Firstly, the cultural approach fails to adequately explain why criminals are needed to serve as models of cherished values or why heroes are made out of criminals at all, unless it is assumed that the public truly epitomizes the values they are held to represent (Kooistra, 1989: 9). In response to this criticism, Bell suggests that the cultural approach reflects crime as a contorted reflection of society by 'caricaturing [its] morals and manners', thus increasing societal curiosity and interest (cited in Kooistra, 1989: 21). A second key failing of the cultural approach is that it does not recognize that the celebration of criminality is not always limited to romanticized characters, which, according to the definition of celebrity in this research and also the psychological approach, does occur. Thirdly, the cultural stance encourages parochialism by focusing on themes embedded in a single localized narrative, making it easy to pay little heed to resonance with criminal-

celebrities who are celebrated on a global scale (ibid.: 22–3, 27). Consequently, cultural explanations shed limited light upon why resonance leading to the celebration of criminals occurs, due to the narrow basis of its definition. However, resonance as assemblage, whereby there are multiple ways of connecting to the same central point, offers both a cause and an explanation for why cultural circumstances encourage the celebration of criminality to develop.

### **The sociological stance and symbolic violence**

Kooistra's (1989) final proposition for understanding why and how criminality becomes celebrated is a sociological stance. This approach suggests criminality becomes celebrated due to being a product of particular structural conditions. As a result, the celebration of crime and criminality largely happens when many people are disenchanted with the quality of justice represented by law and politics (ibid.: 10). This sociological account makes public resonance implicit in the emergence of criminal-celebrities who do not appear randomly, but as a consequence of specific social conditions including a long-standing societal problem such as deprivation. This concurs with the psychological approach on the basis that resonance does not have to occur with a specifically romanticized figure and differs from the cultural stance by not being restricted to a set time period.

Castells (2000) echoes Kooistra's sociological argument that the appeal of criminality is intimately related to the social condition of deprivation. He reflects that crime and criminals are increasingly role models in the post-modern age for those who do not see an easy way out of poverty and who have no chance of enjoying consumerism or living adventure. Although this interest and celebration of criminality is limited in Castells's work to youth who are fascinated with the Mafiosi, it is applicable on a wider scale, for

In a world of exclusion, and in the midst of a crisis of political legitimacy the boundary between protest, patterns of immediate gratification, adventure, and crime becomes increasingly blurred. (ibid.: 210)

Therefore, resonance with criminality, often resulting in its celebration, displays a very particular appeal implying resonance among those within certain restricted economic situations, which are often structured by society or class.

It is not only deprivation or class conditions that stimulate resonance and thus explain the celebration of criminality, but also societal



developments such as the culture industry in the twentieth century with its emphasis on the pursuit of pleasure via consumerism and the mass media. The culture industry provides a route for resonance with criminality through the media, which offers pleasurable sensation particularly through dramatic, frightening and sometimes disgusting acts of crime. It is how acts and representations of criminal violence are portrayed that has caused them to become a social flashpoint. Subsequently, the public becomes inseparable from spectacles of bodily and mass violence (Seltzer, 1998: 21), raising questions of morality whereby actions associated or labelled as evil become fascinating and enjoyed.

Badiou<sup>7</sup> rejects theological and scientific (namely psychological, sociological etc.) interpretations of evil. Instead, he locates good and evil in the structure of human subjectivity, agency and freedom, highlighting that although we may not live in a condition of evil we are not necessarily living in an ideal of goodness either. This move away from clear-cut good and evil by Badiou<sup>8</sup> helps explain admiration for the spectacle of mediated image. Or as Žižek (2002: 9–10) argues, ‘passion for the Real ends up in the pure semblance of the spectacular effect of the Real ... in an exact inversion, the “postmodern” passion for the semblance ends up in a violent return to passion for the Real’. Žižek (2002) uses the example of cutters – individuals who self-harm – to illustrate this passion for the real. Self-harm, where there is an urge by an individual to cut with razors or otherwise to hurt themselves, is a desperate strategy to return to the Real of the body. These individuals are not suicidal but are attempting to regain a hold on reality, to ground themselves in bodily reality against the unbearable anxiety of perceiving oneself as non-existent. For once the warm red blood from a wound is flowing, the self-harmer feels alive, firmly rooted in reality (Strong cited in Žižek, 2002: 10). Therefore, this pathological phenomenon is an attempt to regain normality (ibid.: 10).

The notion of opening up the body through violence is explored by Seltzer (1998) in *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture*. Seltzer goes beyond the questioning of good and evil and instead examines and analyses forms of violence in order to explain public fascination with bloodshed, cruelty and brutality. Although his study is based on America, his ideas are largely applicable to other Western nations, namely Britain. According to Seltzer (1998), there has been a long-term focus and resonance with violence, particularly via the wounded body, which has held lurid attractions for the public. By 1900 interest regarding the wounded body shifted so it was no longer a mark, stigmata of the sacred

or heroic, or a source of stigma, but rather a routine, everyday openness of the body that preoccupied the public (*ibid.*: 2). In other words, public interest in the wounded body is a key focal point of resonance within society dominated by the culture industry.

In this society, celebrity and the media have enabled the development of a social structure that encourages a wound culture centred on trauma. In this culture, atrocity exhibition has led to people wearing damage like badges of identification or a fashion accessory (*ibid.*: 2). Wound culture is founded on the transition from resonating with crime as a criminal act to resonance with the criminal. Consequently, resonance with dramatic and horrific criminals such as serial killers enables them to become celebrity superstars (*ibid.*: 2, 4). The apparently senseless and random murders by serial killers are where the public's basic senses of body, society, identity, desire, violence and intimacy are secured or brought to crisis. These killers stimulate resonance with the socially structured, collective spectacle of addictive violence, highlighting it to be a crucial crossing site for private desire and public fantasy (*ibid.*: 2, 4).

Seltzer's (1998) work on wound culture has a dual use for understanding resonance with criminality. Firstly, wound culture provides an exploration and understanding of the relationship of resonance with criminality of a violent nature, which can lead to celebrity. Secondly, it demonstrates resonance as a cause for celebrating criminality due to the public response and interaction with crime. Wound culture reflects both Durkheim's (1960) and Duclos's (1998) suggestions that resonating with violated bodies has come to function as a way of imagining and situating our notions of public, private, social and collective identity in a shifting societal structure. It enables individuals to imagine relationships of private bodies and people in public spaces, through exhibitions of violence, wounds, and torn-open bodies, further feeding public resonance (Seltzer, 1998: 1–2, 21, 253). This ties in neatly to the culture industry and celebrity for even 'art [has] ... an interest in probing the wound and exploring the effects of the repetition of the trauma', allowing the reality of trauma to be affirmed by its containment in representation (Stewart, 1991: 280–1). The very notion of sociality and social structure is bound to resonance as the torn and exposed individual is a mediated public spectacle.

Resonance with criminal violence in wound culture has become the crossing-point of the pleasure of private desires and fantasy with collective space, between the individual and the collective, the celebrity and the public (Seltzer, 1998: 21, 254). It has become the arena in

which to respond to a long-standing societal problem of change and instability in the twentieth century onwards. Or, as Ballard (1974: 5) writes,

In the past we have always assumed that the external world around us has represented reality, and that the inner worlds of our minds, its dreams, hopes, ambitions, represented the realm of fantasy and imagination. These roles it seems to me have been reversed.

The reversal of the external and internal world suggested by Ballard supports Seltzer's (1998) argument of a breakdown of boundaries between private and public experience. The breakdown has encouraged mass exhibitions and individual fantasies aiding and encouraging public resonance with criminality to the point of celebration. It is these exhibitions of atrocity that indicate more than a taste for senseless violence; they demonstrate the make-up of wound culture which resonates with the public and provides a route to structuring society during uncertain times (ibid.: 21).

### **The celebration of criminality: celebrated criminality**

Celebrity represents a celebration of individuals for varying degrees of achievement or simply well-knownness. Therefore, celebrity's relationship with criminality is to do with celebrating transgression, deviance and rebellion, which often involve breaking the law and will be referred to as celebrated criminality. Celebrated criminality embodies the notorious celebrity category, which consists of a wide variety of cases where criminality achieves celebrated status. For instance, the celebrity status of a serial killer differs from that of a successful thief or well-known gangster, and both differ from a celebrity committing or becoming associated with a crime. All of these instances are forms of celebrated criminality. Two central trends comprise celebrated criminality, of which the first is dominant: criminal-celebrities, who are individuals who have been convicted, or suspected, of crime and thus become celebrities; and rogue celebrities, who are celebrities 'gone wild', becoming associated with or found guilty of crime or deviance. (This latter trend will be analysed and categorized in Chapter 6.)

Celebrated criminality includes individuals who existed prior to and during the culture industry, which dates from the turn of the twentieth century onwards. Therefore, Rojek's (2001) notion of celebrity as being both figurative (prior to the culture industry) and mediated (the

culture-industry period) is applicable to celebrated criminality. This two-step periodization connects the criminal/celebrity relationship to the establishment and growth of the culture industry, which has increased in the age of mediation, encouraging public acclaim and ritualization of bonds of recognition and belonging (*ibid.*: 146). Prefigurative and mediated celebrated criminality contributes to the different degree of celebration and different types of celebrated status that can be gained. The two-part periodization of celebrated criminality emphasizes that criminal-celebrities are now ubiquitous and accessible due to a plurality of media, while in the time prior to the culture industry they existed in a limited but potent form. These prefigurative criminal-celebrities are considered potent on the basis that they have achieved celebrity status which has stood the test of time and without the initial aid of the mass media.

### **Criminal-celebrity**

The classification of criminal-celebrities is subdivided into four groups all of which evolved prior to the mass media, but have continued within the culture industry's mediated society. Firstly, there is the social bandit, which is used to describe individuals who are criminals not by choice and who fight on behalf of an oppressed public. Social bandits remain largely consistent with heroism, being based on the dual status of a hero who is recognizably one of us and yet is also set apart by virtue of actions or experience (Seal, 1996: 197). They embody the spirit of defiance and protest by voicing popular discontent; they are a construct, a stereotype, or a figment of the human imagination that represents the fundamental aspirations of people (Hobsbawm, 1959: 1–29; Blok, 1972: 500). They can be linked to particular structural conditions which help them to flourish in times of extreme poverty and economic crisis (Hobsbawm, 1969: 22). The social bandit emerges when survival is hard and oppression seems strong, leading to the public turning to heroes who are from the people, for the people and fight against whatever seems to be the cause of the hardship. The social bandit is predominantly a prefigurative criminal-celebrity who has survived into the culture industry's mediated age. As a result, it is necessary to be aware of the potential of romanticizing the social bandit as a friend of the poor, just as much as accepting an official image of them as an evil criminal (Moore Jr, 1968: 214). The flattering romantic portrayal of social bandits is vastly aided by an assortment of endearing qualities that make it easy for the public to resonate, leading to the criminal becoming a celebrity figure (Kooistra, 1989: 22).

Various motifs have been associated with the social bandit, including his ability to be a cunning master of disguise, a generous robber (even

to his arch-enemy), not indulging in unjust violence, being forced into outlawry (the social bandit must not choose it) and to live on after death via myth and legend (De Lange, 1935; Seal, 1996: 11). A prime example of a social bandit is Robin Hood, whose legend describes his character and actions in terms of the motifs. It is the following of such motifs that creates the social bandit as an acceptable type of criminal, defining him as symbolic of the fight against oppression. He is the ultimate social bandit in the struggle against tyranny and oppression, making him representative rather than individual and thus ensuring his survival in a non-primitive and mediated society (Keen, 1961: 207, 210).

In a mediated society the social-bandit definition is being eroded to become less noble and heroic than is traditional. The culture industry's mediated society allows a criminal to sometimes be interpreted by the media and the public as a social bandit, due to partially fulfilling social-bandit characteristics. But the fulfilment of all the social-banditry motifs within traditional social circumstances is not occurring, thus suggesting that current-day 'Robin Hoods' are a corrupted form of social bandit. For instance, criminals in the mediated age may fulfil the social-bandit characteristics of daring and cunning, and lead the public to interpret them as social bandits despite their motivation for personal profit rather than sharing with the poor, failure to fight an oppressive regime and not being forced into a criminal lifestyle but having chosen it.

This social banditry is illustrated by India's 'Bandit Queen', Phoolan Devi, whose reputation as a social bandit who struggled against the caste system and the traditional female role is undermined via her association with violent killings. Devi became a dacoit gang leader following her lover's death and her repeated rape and brutalization by a rival dacoit member. Her pursuit for vengeance led to a massacre of higher caste members in Behmai that led to her status as the government's most wanted criminal. Her eventual surrender was witnessed by government officials and a crowd of over 8000. Following her release from an 11-year prison sentence in 1994 she ran for the Indian Parliament's lower house, promising a voice for women and the poor, and was elected in 1996. However, in 2001 she was assassinated in revenge for the Behmai massacre.<sup>9</sup>

The second criminal-celebrity category is the criminal hero, comprising criminals who become popular for their daring, audacity, recklessness, pursuit of profit and, often reportedly, humane treatment of their victims. The criminal hero originated in prefigurative times between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries through the gentleman highway robber. The highway robbery scene encouraged a widespread fascination

to develop along with a rich tradition of stories and ideas about these gentlemen thieves, who were beloved for being both dashing and brave. In the eighteenth century highway robber Dick Turpin is widely believed to have made an epic journey from London to York on his faithful mare, Black Bess, in less than 24 hours. Instead, the journey was probably made by highwayman John 'Nick' Nevison in 1676 to provide himself with an alibi. The novel *Rookwood* by William Harrison Ainsworth, published in 1834, in which Turpin featured as a secondary character, ultimately deprived Nevison of the credit and added to Turpin's posthumous celebrity status.<sup>10</sup>

Spragg (2002) claims that the avid public following of highway robbers laid the foundation for the later development of a romanticized cult of criminality or, in the words of this research, celebrated criminality. However, to limit the criminal hero to highwaymen would be erroneous, for other romanticized criminals captured the public imagination in the prefigurative era, such as self-styled Colonel Blood, who stole the crown jewels from the Tower of London in 1671. Blood's act caught the imagination of the country, including that of King Charles II. The king was reported to be greatly amused by the sheer audacity of the thief who declared to his face that the crown jewels were not worth £100,000 but only £6,000.<sup>11</sup> Subsequently, Blood was pardoned (Hibbert, 1963: 294) and even rewarded for his crime with lands in Ireland worth £500 per annum, turning him from a mere criminal into a criminal hero. Blood may have become a romanticized thief but his actions did not turn him into a national hero as did those of Australian bushranger Ned Kelly. Kelly, despite being a murderer, hostage taker and thief, has become recognized as a romantic folk hero.<sup>12</sup> His audacity and dramatic capture in 1880, despite wearing homemade armour, has left him an intriguing and hugely high-profile criminal hero.

Criminal heroes have flourished in an age mediated by the culture industry, particularly with regard to those whose criminality is dramatic and sensational. Criminal heroes have thrived via the media, including some prefigurative criminal heroes, such as Turpin and Kelly, whose status has only increased with television programmes and movies being made about them. Additionally, there appears to be a decreasing need for the prefigurative criminal hero's characteristics such as gentlemanliness, avoidance of violence and the humane treatment of victims. In the mediated age, being a gentleman is becoming less necessary in order to gain criminal-hero status. For instance, the public now demonstrates its willingness to heroize individuals simply for violence, such as Charles Bronson,<sup>13</sup> who is reputed to be the most violent prison inmate and serial

hostage taker in Britain. Bronson is heroized for his strength and dangerousness that has led to him spending 24 years in solitary and making him into a form of anti-hero consolidated by the 2009 movie *Bronson*. In the culture-industry age, criminal-celebrity is becoming corrupted, allowing criminals such as Bronson to become heroized without the gentlemanly characteristics of the original criminal-hero cases.

The mediated age has provided popular news coverage of criminal heroes on both a national and an international scale, resulting in criminal heroes being able to achieve greater celebrity status than in pre-figurative times. The media attention focused on criminality of a sensational nature has created large quantities of high-profile criminal cases that have encouraged the development of criminal heroes. For instance, the escapades of former British public enemy number one, John McVicar, made him into a criminal hero. McVicar's status was based upon his infamous escapes from prison, of which one breakout led to a two-year stint on the run from the authorities. The actions of McVicar were immortalized in the film *McVicar* (1980) starring lead singer of The Who Roger Daltry, whose own celebrity status added to the glamour of the UK's most wanted man of the 1960s. In addition, McVicar's achievements as an author, sociologist and journalist have further endeared him to the public and thus gained public interest by his apparent success as a bad guy gone good.<sup>14</sup>

Similar to McVicar, in ultimately 'going straight' and adding to his criminal-hero status, is convicted murderer Jimmy Boyle, who has increased his celebrated status by becoming a successful novelist and sculptor, whose work is valued at more than £10,000 a piece.<sup>15</sup> His dramatic shift from violent criminal to a husband, father and artist has provided a mediated success story of the rehabilitation of a criminal hero. However, it is perhaps Ronnie Biggs who best encapsulates the mediated criminal hero. Biggs's participation in the infamous Great Train Robbery led to legendary status following his escape from jail to exile in Brazil in 1965, and several failed kidnapping attempts to return him to Britain and ultimately his return to England in May 2001 to face his prison sentence catapulted him back into the public eye.<sup>16</sup>

The underworld exhibitionist is the third criminal-celebrity category and consists of criminals who actively manufacture a celebrity career from their past activities with the intent of financial and status profit. Therefore, the underworld exhibitionists' motivation differs from that of the criminal hero and the social bandit who do not intentionally seek celebrity status. Underworld exhibitionists can be identified in pre-figurative times as early as 1724, when thief and prison-breaker John

Sheppard recommended to the public at his execution the story of his life, which he had dictated to novelist Daniel Defoe (Hibbert, 1963: 293; Carrabine, 2008: 89–90). Sheppard's promotion of his book was perhaps one of the earliest attempts to launch a career as a celebrity, albeit posthumously, by 'cashing in' on his criminal past. However, these individuals have developed further in seeking well-knownness after death. In contemporary society they are enthusiastic advocates of a fantasized version of capitalist ideology. They love capitalism and embrace its ethic of accumulation and competition, and believe in utilitarianism and economic liberalism. Using consumerism and celebrity culture where anyone appears able to become a celebrity, they project their own rebellious image in an attempt to cash in on their own professed naughtiness.

The underworld exhibitionist faces a number of problems in the pursuit of celebrity status through criminality, namely reconciling their celebrated status with their past activities and reputation. Their celebrity status rapidly becomes out of date and potentially lacking in interest to the public, who require a constant supply of new and sensational information to consume according to notions of newsworthiness in the culture industry. As a result, the underworld exhibitionists are forced to choose between trying to balance both a criminal and a celebrity career, which often leads to the publication of crimes and subsequent arrest, or giving up criminality and relying on marketing themselves as sensational nostalgia. Underworld exhibitionists' potential as high-profile or long-term celebrities is limited, for they are forced to give up the source of their celebrity status in order to profit from it. It is important to note, however, that many underworld exhibitionists do not need to make the choice over whether to give up their criminality, as they are serving long prison sentences which have largely terminated their life of crime.

The consequence for underworld exhibitionists who rely on their past actions is often a short-lived and diluted criminal-celebrity category, particularly in the mediated era. The use of the mass media is both the strength and weakness of the underworld exhibitionist, for it provides the opportunity for exposure to the public, but also undermines their celebrity status by drawing solely on past events which rapidly lose their newness and novelty. Thus underworld exhibitionists have a restricted lifespan as a celebrity, in that their existence is often short-lived with a limited profile, and they are largely observed in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries where the media provide an easy route to well-knownness.

A prime example of a mediated underworld exhibitionist is British ex-gangster 'Dodgy' Dave Courtney, also known as the 'Yellow Pages of



Crime' and 'Heir to the Krays'. Courtney (2000) publicly professed to have given up his life of crime, stating that he had 'gone legit', and he now works to turn his self-proclaimed notoriety into celebrity status through various publicity and promotional stunts. Courtney appears to be keenly aware of the image that he conveys or rather needs to convey in order to achieve and maintain celebrated status by using books, a website and a touring entertainment show 'An Audience with Dave Courtney OBE'. His self-promotion has also been aided through claims about his past gangster activities, such as slamming a sunbed lid down on a person who was inside (Courtney, 2000: 204, 397), which was replicated by the Vinnie Jones character in *Lock, Stock and Two Smoking Barrels* (1998).

Courtney also illustrates the underworld exhibitionist characteristic of a layered image. This layered image refers to a combination of a 'hard man' or 'naughty' image reflected by tales of violence and crimes with the apparent contradiction of generosity and gentlemanly behaviour towards the needy. For example, Courtney donated for auction his personal, 18ct gold diamond-encrusted knuckle-duster<sup>17</sup> at a charity event in 2002 and he has also been involved with a range of charities and charity events tackling cerebral palsy and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). Through this association, Courtney conveys his 'hard man turned good' image, a good ex-gangster.

Courtney's underworld exhibitionist status is also aided by his association with other well-known figures to help support, promote and consolidate his image. Pictorial images on the Dave Courtney website include a catalogue of Courtney photographed with well-known individuals such as glamour model and television personality Jodie Marsh, ex-boxer Nigel Benn, actor Steve McFadden and comedian and writer Frank Skinner. Other photographs capture Courtney with well-known ex-criminals or 'naughty men' such as the Kray brothers and Joey Pyle Senior. These images are reminiscent of photographs capturing the Kray twins with the rich and famous such as Judy Garland, Lord Boothby, Barbara Windsor and Shirley Bassey, to name but a few. Being photographed with the 'right people' is important to underworld exhibitionists for, just like would-be celebrities, mixing with the already well-known can provide publicity and associated status. Thus the underworld exhibitionist can appear to be well known through their association with the well-known granting them celebrated status. However, Courtney has not achieved widespread celebrity. This is in contrast to the celebrated status gained by social bandits and criminal heroes. He has not entered folklore as social bandits fighting oppression tend to do and he has failed to reach heroic standards due to his consistent pursuit of celebrity.

Courtney, like many other underworld exhibitionists, has remained a minor, specialized, subversive celebrity who is a nonentity in wider celebrity circles. Some criminal-celebrities such as the Krays, who remain celebrated even after death, overcome the limitations of celebrity status rooted in criminality and deviance and achieve wider, more mainstream well-knownness. However, it would appear that underworld exhibitionists, despite being well known for certain actions, lack the widespread recognition, longevity or appeal of the other criminal-celebrity categories. Admittedly, members of the public whose interest specifically lies in criminality may well know of individuals such as Courtney, but he, like others, remains far from achieving the household-name status achieved by the Krays. Consequently, many underworld exhibitionists remain unknown in comparison to other subversive and non-subversive celebrity types.

However, some underworld exhibitionists are highly successful in gaining celebrated status due to their association with mediated culture-industry forms such as music genres, particularly hip-hop and its subgenre of gangsta rap. Gangsta rap emerged in the 1990s when rapper Ice Cube and his former group N.W.A. (Niggaz With Attitudes) began attacking each other with music lyrics. As a music form it is characterized by lyrics about Black street gangs in the USA, often with violent, nihilistic and misogynistic themes.<sup>18</sup> Hip-hop originated on the East Coast of the USA, particularly in the Bronx and New York area, while gangsta rap's origins lie in the West Coast region, particularly California. The rapping 'war of words' battles or 'Beef' largely centre on disputes between the East and West Coasts. The significance of gangsta rap is that it effectively embodies underworld exhibitionism that is not based upon public nostalgia. Instead, many gangsta rappers continue their gang membership and illegal activities. Balancing a celebrity career with deviant and criminal behaviour adds to gangsta rappers' criminal-celebrity image, but also often leads to imprisonment or criminal charges, which limits their celebrity career.

Examples of gangsta rapper underworld exhibitionists include Marion 'Suge' Knight, who in the early 1990s founded Death Row records, now known as Tha Row.<sup>19</sup> Having founded his record label, Knight was charged with assault and weapons violations and put on probation in 1992. He was sent to jail for five years in 1996 after being videotaped beating a gang member in a hotel, has broken parole twice since he was given probation for assault<sup>20</sup> in 1997 and faced a federal investigation into the murder of rapper Christopher Wallace, known as 'Notorious B.I.G.' or 'Biggie Smalls', in the same year. Wallace's murder followed the shooting of rapper Tupac Shakar, who was shot dead in Las Vegas while riding in a car driven by Knight in September 1996.<sup>21</sup> Knight, who filed

for bankruptcy in 2006,<sup>22</sup> is not alone in his criminal acts and associations with other gangsta rap stars who have similar background. One example is New York rapper Curtis '50 Cent' Jackson, who rose to prominence in 2003. Jackson has been convicted of drug possession and spent time in prison, along with having been shot nine times in 2000.<sup>23</sup> He courted controversy with his first film, *Get Rich Or Die Tryin'*, in 2006, which was criticized for its violence and its advertisements that glamorized guns.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, gangsta rappers highlight that underworld exhibitionists 'cash in' on their past and current criminality and deviance to gain their celebrity. It is the bad and rebellious image that propagates their criminal-celebrity status.

The fourth and final category within criminal-celebrity is the iniquitous criminal, which is used to describe criminals who cross a cultural line that alienates them from the public; they are anti-celebrities just as heroes can be anti-heroes. The iniquitous criminal refers to a criminal individual who achieves celebrity due to their well-knownness for committing unforgivable horror crimes, which are actions inspiring a universal public fear, loathing and disgust on a national or international basis. Unforgivable crimes by the iniquitous criminal are horror crimes that target the vulnerable such as the old or very young, and involve sexual assault, abuse or large-scale murder, often using torture, sadism and cannibalism. The association with such crimes leads the iniquitous criminal to possess the strongest longevity and celebrity status of all the criminal-celebrity categories.

Fascination with the iniquitous criminal is evident throughout prefigurative history across the world, making it the most extensive category within the criminal-celebrity trend. For instance, an early prefigurative iniquitous criminal who remains a celebrity figure today is the medieval Romanian Vlad the Impaler, on whom the tales of Dracula were later based.<sup>25</sup> Significantly, in the mediated age the iniquitous criminal has gained extensive coverage by the media, which seek to provide the public with entertaining sensation. Hence the iniquitous criminals of whom serial killers are predominant have become a popular and key source of horrific sensationalist entertainment for the media. For instance, American serial killer Ted Bundy was executed in 1986 for the murder of 36 young women, which had involved rape, necrophilia, sodomy and violent assaults on the victims. The media coverage of the suspicion that Bundy had committed a further 100 murders, along with his successful escape attempts, a long denial of guilt and a posthumous movie, *Ted Bundy* (2002), has only added to his iniquitous criminal-celebrity status.<sup>26</sup> Yet another serial killer whose mediated iniquitous status has granted celebrity is

that of Jeffrey Dahmer. Dahmer was convicted of the murder, cannibalism and sexual assault of his victims in 1992, earning him 15 life sentences. Dahmer's iniquitous celebrated status was consolidated through the movie *The Secret Life: Jeffrey Dahmer* (1993), the biopic *Dahmer* (2002) and heavy metal band Macabre, who released a concept album about Dahmer in 2000.<sup>27</sup>

The public reaction to iniquitous criminals displays a passionate, even obsessive, quality that also encapsulates Durkheim's collective conscience as a demonstration of public temper. Collective public horror is effectively highlighted by the consistent public and mass-media abhorrence of British serial murderess Myra Hindley. Hindley was, and still is, a particularly potent image of what is conceived of as the embodiment of evil. Her iniquitous state is particularly related to her gender, for she was a woman who committed an unforgivable crime, failing to fulfil the societal role of the maternal female. In addition, Hindley's highly publicized trips to the moors and drawing of maps to help find the bodies of her victims,<sup>28</sup> along with her repeated appeals against her sentence,<sup>29</sup> resulted in her infamy outweighing that of her male partner-in-crime, Ian Brady.

The iniquitous criminal-celebrity status of Hindley has been further increased and immortalized in her police mugshot. She is forever locked in the time period and context of her crime as a 1960s blonde with black eye make-up and a sullen expression on her face; she is a young, living, non-fictional and female Dorian Gray. Hindley's image reflects and perpetuates her iniquitous status, inspiring public disgust. She was, and continues to be, the epitome of the iniquitous criminal, for even in death she remains present within society. Iniquitous criminals such as Hindley achieve celebrity status on the basis that the definition of celebrity declares anyone can be celebrated by simply becoming well known. Consequently, iniquitous acts supply a route to celebrity status by achieving well-knownness despite not being likeable, admirable or legal and instead inspire disgust, revulsion, horror and fear. In other words, iniquitous criminals achieve celebrity through a reverse heroization. They are the ultimate anti-hero. As a result, iniquitous criminals are the embodiment of the dark side of not only celebrity, but also criminal-celebrity. Iniquitous criminals combined with the other subgroups of criminal-celebrity construct celebrated criminality. They embody extreme violence and danger, encapsulating the dark heart of the worst crimes that can be committed.

The conceptualization of criminal-celebrities highlights the various forms of criminality that achieve celebrity status in both the past and the celebrity culture of contemporary society. The social bandit,

the criminal hero, the underworld exhibitionist and the iniquitous criminal are all rooted in deviant or criminal acts but with diverse motivations, varying degrees of success and ultimately different access to mediation due to context, namely time and place. The criminal-celebrity categories will be used throughout this book both separately and as a generic group of people who commit criminal and deviant acts. This is in order to thoroughly explore why and how successfully criminality and deviance are celebrated in celebrity culture. The concept of resonance builds on the structural support of the culture industry. It helps explain why fascination with celebrity and crime occurs and how the relationship between crime and celebrity has developed. In the next chapter, celebrated criminality will be analysed as a type of decentralized control, drawing in the argument that it is a form of Foucauldian governance.

## Notes

- 1 *Compact Oxford English Dictionary* online (2008)  
[http://www.askoxford.com/concise\\_oed/orexxsonance?view=uk](http://www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/orexxsonance?view=uk)
- 2 [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/8/newsid\\_2714000/2714055.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/8/newsid_2714000/2714055.stm)
- 3 'Harold Shipman found dead in cell', 13 Jan. 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/3391871.stm>
- 4 '1994: West charged as death toll mounts', 1 March 1994  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/1/newsid\\_2514000/2514189.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/1/newsid_2514000/2514189.stm)
- 5 [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/14/newsid\\_2541000/2541171.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/14/newsid_2541000/2541171.stm); and also 'Bulger Murder 10 years on', 12 Feb. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2748667.stm>
- 6 [http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters\\_outlaws/outlaws/dillinger/1.html](http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters_outlaws/outlaws/dillinger/1.html)
- 7 C. Cox and M. Whalen (2001/2) 'On evil: An interview with Alain Badiou' *Cabinet*, Winter, 5.  
<http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/5/alainbadiou.php>
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 [http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters\\_outlaws/cops\\_others/phoolan\\_devil/index.html](http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters_outlaws/cops_others/phoolan_devil/index.html)
- 10 P. Rose (1998) 'The Real Dick Turpin', *British Heritage Magazine*  
<http://www.britannia.com/BritHeritage/turpin.html>
- 11 <http://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/England-History/ColonelBlood.htm>
- 12 <http://www.ironoutlaw.com/>
- 13 <http://www.bronsonmania.com/index2.html>
- 14 'A life after crime', 6 July 1999  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/your\\_money/386374.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/your_money/386374.stm)
- 15 'Jimmy Boyle's life less ordinary', 27 Aug. 1999  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special\\_report/1999/08/99/edinburgh\\_festival\\_99/431661.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1999/08/99/edinburgh_festival_99/431661.stm)

- 16 'Ronnie's return', 7 May 2001 [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/world\\_at\\_one/programmes\\_highlights/1317387.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/world_at_one/programmes_highlights/1317387.stm)
- 17 'Ex-gangster's good deed for appeal' , 27 May 2002.
- 18 <http://www.uic.edu/orgs/kbc/hiphop/rap.htm>
- 19 'Rap boss Suge Knight leaves jail', 24 April 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/3655221.stm>
- 20 'Rap boss Knight back in jail', 1 Aug. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music.3115587.stm>
- 21 'Rap boss Suge Knight leaves jail', 24 April 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/3655221.stm>
- 22 'Rap producer files for bankruptcy', 5 April 2006  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/4878224.stm>
- 23 '50 Cent leads billboard shortlist', 9 June 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/2974516.stm>
- 24 '50 Cent ad "glamorised" gun crime', 4 Jan. 2006  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/4578818.stm>
- 25 [http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial\\_killers/history/vlad/index\\_1.html](http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial_killers/history/vlad/index_1.html)
- 26 [http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial\\_killers/notorious/bundy/index\\_1.html](http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial_killers/notorious/bundy/index_1.html)
- 27 'Jeffrey Dahmer, the Milwaukee cannibal'  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/crime/caseclosed/dahmer1.shtm>
- 28 'Hindley maps aid hunt for body', 13 Nov.2001  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/1653451.stm>
- 29 'Hindley freedom bid fails', 30 March 2000  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/695470.stm>

# 4

## Celebrated Criminality and Governance

The celebration of crime and deviance has a long history and yet in the era of celebrity culture it appears to have gained in both prominence and popularity. A range of criminal and deviant activities and the individuals who carry out such actions are gaining status that can be classed as that of a celebrity. This enthusiasm and popularity of crime can be explored through celebrated criminality which tackles widespread public fascination with the illegal, rebellious and dangerous encouraged by the visibility provided by the culture industry. Celebrated criminality is intertwined with both the culture industry as government and celebrity as governance, and as a result has emerged as a governance form revealing itself as decentralized control. This chapter addresses celebrated criminality as Foucauldian governance and explores how it exerts control through its paradoxical strengths and weaknesses – the type of crime, the context and the image. Additionally, an in-depth case-study analysis of the Krays in 1960s Britain is conducted to illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of celebrated criminality as governance and also to explore the crossing of criminal-celebrity-type boundaries.

### **Celebrated criminality as governance**

The celebration of crime, criminality and deviance to the extent that such actions and people can become well known for their well-knownness effectively reiterates that in celebrity culture anyone can become celebrated. It appears that celebrity status in celebrity culture is open to any actions, whether they are dangerous and frightening, cunning and audacious or simply due to appearing on a television programme and becoming visible on a large scale. The 'notorious' category of celebrity refers to celebrated criminality whereby people become

celebrities on account of their crimes or deviance, which earn them high public visibility through media attention. In celebrity culture, interest and enjoyment of crime, criminality and deviance have led to the celebration of crime. The criminal or deviant is able to become a celebrity due to their rebellion against the law and societal norms; they are the ultimate anti-hero at the beginning of the twenty-first century, representing gritty truth of life rather than the classic heroic ideal of a 'knight in shining armour'. Those individuals who can be classified as celebrated criminality represent a thriving collection of anti-heroes, those people who appeal to the public despite many unattractive traits and unheroic characteristics.

If in celebrity culture the anti-hero has become an important component, the question is raised as to why. Why is the anti-hero, in the form of criminal-celebrities, so popular? What is the appeal of the unheroic? Anti-heroes have a long and distinguished history, including characters such as Shakespeare's Hamlet, Scarlett O'Hara from *Gone with the Wind* and Pinkie Brown from *Brighton Rock*, and have gained in popularity and visibility in contemporary society. The growth of the celebrated anti-hero can be connected to Bauman's (1993) consideration of ethics in the late modern world. He asserts that in our current post-modern world we are in a society that is morally ambiguous; it is a modernity without illusions (meaning that modernity is post-modernity refusing to accept its own truth) (ibid.: 23). In such a world of insecurity and uncertain boundaries of right and wrong it becomes comprehensible that the anti-hero can gather resonance to a degree previously not witnessed or experienced in society. It appears that by the early twenty-first century celebrity culture is such that the anti-hero can flourish.

In attempting to understand the appeal of the anti-hero, Presdee's (2005) reflection on whether we ought to celebrate crime and deviance is insightful. He asks, regarding the celebrated status of certain illegal, deviant, violent or dangerous activities and individuals:

Should we, ought we, to celebrate defiance in all its forms, even though it might be violent, racist, sexist? Should we, ought we, celebrate the immoral and the unethical just because it 'resists' overwhelming oppression? Is it the sheer joie de vivre, against all odds that we want to applaud, those irrational and irresponsible acts that fly in the face of official rational life? (ibid.: 45)

The questions by Presdee (2005) are pertinent for they highlight the somewhat questionable interest in crime and deviance. They also



suggest that the celebration of criminality and deviance is often more to do with people being in tune with notions of rebellion, success against the odds, sheer audacity and entertainment rather than true applause and appreciation of illegal actions. So therefore, perhaps, we should not be asking 'should we?' or 'ought we?' but rather 'to what extent?' Exploring celebrated criminality in order to understand why it occurs can shed light on public fascination with celebrity and criminality and provide insight into the consequences of this apparent addiction, particularly regarding control.

Celebrated criminality as governance is a specialized controlling force specifically relating to crime and deviance with regard to celebrity status. As a result, it covers two trends – criminals who become celebrities due to crime or deviance (criminal-celebrity) and celebrities who commit or become associated with a crime or deviant activities (rogue celebrities). It combines both the appeal and the control wielded by celebrity and also the powerful lure of crime and deviance as embodying the dangerous 'Other', waywardness and evil. Therefore, celebrated criminality has even greater celebrity appeal in that it combines fascination with 'the Other' as well as the spectacle and glamour of celebrity.

A key component of celebrated criminality as governance is its substantial reliance upon the concept of resonance. This reliance is founded upon the necessity for the public to resonate with criminality or deviance in order for it to become celebrated. Without resonance, a crime, criminal or deviant will fail to become celebrated and as a result remain simply another illegal or rebellious individual within society. As a result, resonance in relation to crime and deviance helps explain why one particular rule breaker is labelled as 'the excreta of society' and another as 'its finest flower' (Balchin, Forester, Linklater and Sykes, 1964: 10).

The importance of resonance to celebrated criminality is clear in that, without it, criminality and deviance would be unable to become celebrated. However, what else is important about the role of resonance for celebrated criminality? This question is best answered through scrutiny of celebrated criminality's trend of criminal-celebrity. Criminal-celebrity has been the dominant trend over rogue celebrity up to the beginning of the twenty-first century, and through an examination of how and why resonance occurs with criminal-celebrity it is possible to identify the significance of resonance for celebrated criminality. Therefore, in order to critically explore celebrated criminality as a form of governance, an analysis will be conducted using criminal-celebrity to shed light upon why and how resonance contributes to the celebration of criminality as a governance form.

## **Resonance, celebrated criminality and governance**

The strengths and weaknesses of celebrated criminality as a governance form are related to the contribution of resonance in the process of criminality becoming celebrated. If resonance is removed or not achieved by an individual seeking celebrity, celebrated status is undermined. This dependence on resonance to achieve celebrity status is linked to three factors that can both strengthen and weaken the potential of gaining well-knownness. The factors comprise crime type, context and image, and these will be used to suggest why some criminals attain resonance and become celebrated while others do not.

### **Crime type**

The first strengthening and weakening factor is 'crime type', whereby the general public will resonate to a greater or lesser degree depending on the type of crime committed. Significantly, resonance does not have to be favourable – such as through a daring or exciting crime – but can be negative, through fear or horror. Consequently, stimulating resonance through a type of crime can be divided into three categories – acceptable, interest and horror – which will now be analysed.

Acceptable crime can range from robbery to murder, depending on the publicly perceived motivation of the crime and criminal and also the time period in which the act is committed. For example, the crimes of the legendary Robin Hood have been deemed acceptable, due to his motivation for fighting injustice, while robberies for personal profit may not achieve the same level of acceptability among the public, if at all. Therefore, the important factor in criminality being acceptable is simply whether the publicity at the time of a particular crime resonate with the illicit action. The interpretation and acceptance of crimes are heavily influenced by the portrayal of the illegal activities in the media. For example, Robin Hood is consistently portrayed as a hero resisting the villainous Sheriff of Nottingham and Prince John.

Rule and Wells (1997: 156) present an excellent illustration of the crossover between criminality that is acceptable and that which is not, along with explaining why this is the case. They highlight dividing lines between a person who has broken the law but is still supported by the public (category one), such as Robin Hood; an individual who has broken the law but does not receive public support (category two), including criminals committing heinous crimes such as Dr Harold Shipman's serial murders of an estimated 236 elderly victims;<sup>1</sup> and, thirdly, a person who has committed a deviant act (not illegal but outside the accepted norm)

but is still 'acceptable' in the eyes of the community (category three), for instance celebrity association with criminals, such as Barbara Windsor with the Krays.<sup>2</sup>

The Rule and Wells (1997: 156) categories highlight the interconnection and fluidity of some criminality and deviance that are considered acceptable by the public while others are not. They also emphasize the dependence of some criminal-celebrities on gaining and sustaining public resonance in order to keep their celebrated status. Without resonance, a criminal does not progress beyond being just another law-breaker of no noticeable note and unworthy of widespread recognition. He will simply be considered as a drain on society. Rule and Wells (1997) accommodate the criminal whose actions are legitimized and considered acceptable by the public and also imply the significance of resonance as a result. However, they fail to go on and examine how this resonance with criminality, which defines what is 'acceptable' illicit behaviour, is connected to celebrity.

The second crime type that enables criminal-celebrity to occur is that of interest crime. Interest crime refers to criminals whose actions engage with a controversial or contentious issue within society which excites public resonance and results in celebrity status, whether or not the criminal is seeking such prominence. The interest crime is usually interlinked with topicality or the up-to-dateness of the illegal actions to the period that can aid or alienate a crime from public resonance. For instance, the creation of criminal-celebrity Tony Martin was aided by his 'topicality' when in 1999 he shot dead a young burglar in what he declared was defence of himself and his property which was being repeatedly victimized. The Martin case increased public debate regarding the extent to which defence of property can be taken, and what sentence should be given, namely, manslaughter or murder. Accordingly, Martin was a conveniently topical-interest emblem for groups both supporting and opposing extreme actions taken in defence of property. The actions taken by Martin struck a chord among the public as a result of his actions, making him into a celebrated figure. Celebrated status due to his crime was consolidated by his farm becoming a tourist attraction following his release from prison.<sup>3</sup>

Yet another instance of a topical crime gaining public interest and support is that of the case of 'Baby P', which emerged in 2008. Two men were found guilty of causing or allowing the death of Baby P, a 17-month-old boy, along with the child's mother, who admitted the same charge. The trial highlighted a catalogue of missed opportunities to save Baby P's life which has echoed the death of Victoria Climbié in 2000,

particularly as both Baby P and Climbie died under the care of Haringey social services in North London.<sup>4</sup> This case of child abuse – leading to the death of an infant with horrific injuries including a broken back – seized public attention. Thus, through this interest crime, despite the perpetrators' names being protected for legal reasons, public resonance led to well-known status and a national discussion of child-protection systems.

The concept of interest crimes complements the often ignored public fascination, which is interpreted here as resonance, with criminality. The criminal-celebrity fits neatly into 'the trickster', whom Radin (1956) describes to be:

at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and who is always duped himself. He knows nothing consciously. At all times he is constrained to behave as he does from impulses over which he has no control. He knows neither good nor evil yet he is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being.

Radin's list of characteristics highlights the popularity of criminality which Ohlgren (1998: xxix) proposes fulfils the defining attributes of what makes a 'good tale' and thus stimulates resonance.

Good tales contain sturdy honest heroes, vile villains, adventurous chases, daring deeds, bold disguises, tricks and cunning that are combined with lots of narrative suspense. Therefore, as Ohlgren (1998) asks, who could not be fascinated with lawbreakers who embody such exciting and paradoxical characteristics? However, both scholars fail to contemplate the reasoning for why resonance occurs with the 'good tale' characteristics. This research suggests that the public resonate because they are able to live vicariously through certain criminality. There is a type of voyeurism whereby the individual can watch and track criminals and crimes through newspapers, television, books and movies, for example Great Train Robber Ronnie Biggs, whose escape from prison, life in Brazil and eventual return to Britain and prison sentence provided a 'good tale' through which the public could experience the daring and thrill of criminality (albeit at second hand).

Horror crime is the third crime type that stimulates the public resonance that is necessary in order for a criminal to gain celebrity status. Horror crime is defined by the actions of 'iniquitous' criminals which incite public disgust and distaste on the basis of the crime being considered unforgivable and heinous. For example, in 2008 Josef Fritzl's

horror crime was discovered whereby he had kept his daughter for 24 years in a secret cellar where he sexually abused her and fathered her seven children.<sup>5</sup> The sheer atrociousness of such crimes by individuals causes resonance via disgust and fear that is identifiable across the world and throughout recorded history, and not simply in Britain and the USA. A classic example of an iniquitous horror crime outside Britain and the USA that has maintained its celebrated status across time is that of Hungarian countess Elizabeth Bathory in the seventeenth century. Bathory was rich and beautiful but tortured and murdered around 650 young girls and women and reportedly bathed in their blood.<sup>6</sup> Cases such as that of Bathory reach across periods and cultures largely because humans identify with horror crime due to the realization that their worst nightmares have been actualized. Therefore, it is through horror crimes that the 'extreme seductiveness [of crime] ... at the boundary of horror' collides and as a consequence the public resonate (Bataille, 1985: 17). Subsequently, horror crimes are the most extensive crime type to stimulate public resonance with criminality.

Horror crimes committed by iniquitous individuals in the mediated age of the culture industry gain much coverage by the media with their growing focus on shocking, sensational and fear-inducing crime. However, there is also another factor that became apparent in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries regarding horror crimes, in that crimes are being committed with the deliberate intent of gaining celebrity status. John Lennon's killer Mark Chapman shot the ex-Beatle because he wanted to steal his fame. Although Chapman did achieve this goal in some ways it was, unlike Lennon, a celebrity status based on something negative.<sup>7</sup>

Chapman has gained a parasitical celebrity status through his association with Lennon. He is only famous because he preyed upon Lennon and it is this story of the murder that provides Chapman with well-known status.<sup>8</sup> Chapman's experience of gaining celebrated status through a horror crime is echoed by other criminal-celebrities with some differences. It appears that committing a horror crime can also achieve celebrated status within anonymity, in that the criminal's crimes gain celebrity prior to the criminal being identified, leaving the crime itself to be celebrated more than the criminal. For instance, John Allen Muhammad and Lee Boyd Malvo are less well known than their actions as the Washington Snipers of 2002.<sup>9</sup> In their anonymity they became celebrated for their horror crimes.

Assassination-based horror crimes fall within the horror-crime category, but perhaps the most noticeable horror crime is that of serial

killing. Significantly, a number of prominent serial-killer cases have exhibited the desire to 'to be somebody', achieving celebrity status as a 'natural-born killer' (Seltzer, 1998: 135). Seltzer's (1998) analysis of such desire is that even serial killers aspire, like many others, to achieve celebrity status under the conditions of an anonymous mass society. It is worth noting that such individuals actually appear to be a type of non-person, a profile constructed to compose a criminal type (ibid.: 130), and often it is this, rather than the individuals themselves, that attains celebrated status.

An illustration of a serial killer indulging murderous tendencies with the intent of being noticed and celebrated in order to consolidate and enjoy their celebrity status is Aileen Wuornos. Wuornos was a violent and sexual serial killer in the USA, who admitted to friends that she wanted to do something 'no woman has ever done before' and to have a book about her life.<sup>10</sup> Wuornos not only achieved these aspirations, but has even had her life story made into an Oscar-winning film, *Monster* (2003), due to her iniquitous criminal-celebrity status. Although she did not necessarily state that she desired celebrity status through criminality, there is evidence implying that she wished for it and subsequently found it through her crimes and as a notable female serial killer.

### **Context: time period and place**

The second strengthening and weakening factor of celebrated criminality is that of context, which emphasizes the need for the correct period and place. In other words, context supplies social, political and cultural circumstances in which the degree of public resonance with a criminal-celebrity will aid it to either flourish or founder. It is notable that context is the most uncontrollable factor that develops and undermines the celebration of criminality, because an individual cannot choose when or where they will be born in order to seize the best opportunity to become a criminal-celebrity. Kooistra (1989: 158) links congenial or disagreeable contextual situations to his argument that lawbreakers only become celebrated 'because they were in the right place at the right time'. Subsequently, it can be argued that the context must be favourable in order to successfully attain and maintain criminal-celebrity status.

In order to resonate with criminality to the extent that celebrity status is achieved, the public must be in a contextual position that makes them susceptible to resonating with actions that are usually condemned as wrong and illegal. On the basis that popularity and the celebration of criminality are dependent on context, which is largely determined by

social, cultural and political conditions, the question is raised as to what specific factors make a context conducive to the development of criminal-celebrity figures? A significant element that makes a context susceptible to producing criminal-celebrity is the extent of media communication. This interlinks with Rojek's (2001) assertions about celebrity, whereby celebrities prior to the culture industry's mass media (that is, pre-twentieth century) are referred to as prefigurative, whereas those in the culture-industry era of the twentieth century onwards are mediated.

Prefigurative individuals are those who became items of public discourse with honorific or notorious status, but who were unable to carry the illusion of intimacy that is part of celebrity status in the age of the mass media. Celebrities who are prefigurative developed with both uneven distribution and the rate of occurrence, because their conduits were kinship and friendship circles along with the possession of literacy (ibid.: 19). Meanwhile, mediated celebrities, unlike their prefigurative counterparts, benefit from the mass media, which have permitted celebrities and criminal-celebrities to develop in larger numbers and with a more even distribution rate. Consequently, the culture industry as government and the subversive celebrity culture have provided fertile ground for criminal-celebrity, with its foundation laid in sensationalism. The media provide a prime context for criminal-celebrity to flourish as they reiterate the importance of the culture industry, along with its governance forms, as a controlling structure.

Kooistra (1989) goes further than highlighting the importance of the media in providing a context that encourages the celebration of criminality. He argues that a conducive context for criminal-celebrities is often a period of social and political strains where there is change, instability, oppression or repression, feeding a market which is created for symbols of extra-legal justice (ibid.: 158). Nowhere is this more evident than when the public feel that law and political office are in the hands of a special interest group who wields them against the interests of 'the people' (ibid.: 38). For example, Robin Hood is said to have become a criminal-celebrity due to the context of an oppressive government under the usurper King John, brother to Richard the Lionheart, at the end of the twelfth century. However, the factual context of Robin Hood remains unproven other than that he is interlinked with a time of instability marked by political and social unrest. Consequently, social meanings and values of a context can become attached to criminality, encouraging public resonance with them among certain social audiences (Escarpit, 1968: 424).

As public meanings and values change, so does the form of criminal-celebrity. For instance, contemporary British and US society demonstrate themselves capable of celebrating criminals who seek personal gain and commit sensational violence. In the past, these two nations, like others, have primarily celebrated criminals who fought publicly perceived oppression, such as England's Robin Hood or India's Bandit Queen, Phoolan Devi, or 'social injustices', such as ex-drug dealer Howard Marks, 'Mr Nice', who has campaigned against the continuing illegality of cannabis, which he argues is beneficial with no harmful effects. Many criminal-celebrity stories contribute to criminal self-definition of their own celebrity, particularly those of a legendary nature that establish their own form of folklore. For example, Ronnie Biggs became a legend through association with the Great Train Robbery in 1963 and his successful evasion of the British law in Brazil for many decades. He marketed himself as a criminal-celebrity by allowing the consuming public to have access to him, whereby any individual in Brazil, whether native or tourist, could buy a ticket to join Biggs for an afternoon barbeque or pay to have their photographs taken with him.<sup>11</sup>

Criminal-celebrities who arise directly in response to the oppression and repression of the public are fewer than those who emerge and take advantage of the context in which they find themselves. The American gangsters of the 1930s are an example of this, whereby context was successfully used to attain celebrated status. The 1930s were dominated by a severe, worldwide economic depression which led to social discontent and loss of faith in the social system, particularly in the USA. Millions of people faced brutal economic hardship and even starvation, due to and combined with high unemployment, banks collapsing and a floating population of the homeless. The USA also faced moral pressures through Prohibition legislation. The social, moral and economic pressures of this situation led to an apparently very real possibility of violent revolution according to Bernstein (1960), Piven and Cloward (1979) and Schlesinger (1957). This situation provided a prime environment for criminals to become celebrated, as the public looked for symbols of extra-legal justice, hope and excitement outside the pressure of normal everyday life.

It is against the context of the 1930s that one of the most enduring images of criminal-celebrity developed in the form of urban gangsters, of whom John Dillinger is among the most well known. Dillinger reflected the national preoccupation with the breakdown of law and order and became a figure of menace and glamour. He represented a new and 'barbaric nobility' that was violent, laconic and tough, based



in the urban jungle environment of automobiles and machine guns (Baxter, 1970: 7; Lee and Van Hecke, 1971: 11; Kooistra, 1989: 119). This particular type of criminal was celebrated within the media as if they were heroes fighting the system on behalf of the public, thus endearing them to the populace. Popular resonance was aroused despite such gangsters being self-seeking and sharing none of the wealth that was gathered with the public. However, gangsters did successfully provide tales of daring and drama in spite of the odds, which encouraged, inspired and sparked interest among a struggling public. The celebration of gangsters in the 1930s met a public need for colour and excitement in a context that appeared to portray a society falling apart. Subsequently, it can be argued that the gangsters flourished due to the context in which they arose because the period and setting in the USA provided fertile ground for this form of criminal-celebrity to grow.

### **Image: blurring boundaries**

The third factor is the notion of image, which is crucial in the creation of criminal-celebrities, particularly via control, management and marketing, which can be manipulated for the purpose of attaining celebrated status. The failure to construct and convey an image that wins over the public and gains resonance results in the failure to gain criminal-celebrity status. Therefore, in order to gain and maintain celebrity status through an image of criminality, the image must be effectively handled. The success rate is inextricably intertwined with the context, particularly in relation to whether an individual is living within a prefigurative or mediated era. Although accessibility to celebrated status has grown during the 'mediated' age, it would seem that new celebrities have to take their image to the greatest extremes to satisfy their audiences. As a result, the opportunity to gain public resonance has grown with the visibility that the mass media supply. The consequence of increased visibility is that the criminal-celebrity has to compete with not only other criminal-celebrities but also other celebrity categories in order to maintain resonance. In order to attract the necessary public resonance, criminal-celebrities are dependent on the projection of an image to survive in an uncertain celebrity-culture world (Baxter cited by Hebdige, 1975: 9).

The conveyance of an image with which the public will resonate relies heavily upon public romanticization and heroization and can be achieved both intentionally and non-intentionally. Criminal-celebrities can gain resonance by acceptable crimes such as those committed by Robin Hood,

or through their look or physique, which renders them susceptible to becoming interpreted as romanticized heroic figures. Attaining heroized romanticism based on physique is intriguing in that appearance appears to win public resonance over past actions. For example, despite highwayman Dick Turpin being a brutal murderer, cattle rustler and rapist, he appeared to have been forgiven at his execution where the public reportedly admired his handsome appearance and courageous last words (Hibbert, 1963: 294).

The romanticized heroic image, if gained by a criminal, can be a route to celebrity because it captures the

people's imagination [which] has always been more readily caught by the outsider than by the upholder of authority, by the *gay* and *daring* sinner than by the humdrum saint, although the saint may be the real upholder of liberty which the criminal does not want for others but only for themselves. (ibid.: 301, italics not in original text)

Hibbert's (1963) statement highlights the contribution of the heroic image to criminal-celebrity by emphasizing the very 'gayness' and 'daringness' of certain criminals. It suggests that criminals who gain celebrity are appealing and likeable; they possess a level of irresistible attraction. The characteristic of being 'daring' is particularly important to the romanticization of any individual or act, because it projects an image of boldness, adventurousness and courage in taking sensationally reckless risks. To be associated with a romanticized heroic daredevil image leads to wide admiration, because few people possess or act upon such qualities, thus recommending such persons, even those who are acting illegally, to the public heart.

The implication of Hibbert's (1963) statement is that any individual who embodies the 'outsider' characteristics is associated with a romanticized heroic ideal. As a result, committing crimes can become romanticized by their portrayal to and interpretation by the public. Crimes can therefore be understood as being achieved by individuals living out exciting, intoxicating and dramatic existences that are worthy of recognition and celebration despite these actions impacting on often innocent victims. Thus, in a sense, the criminal is bound to be a hero, for he is a rebel, in revolt against law and morality and a talisman of liberty and pleasure (ibid.: 301). Criminal-celebrities portray a lifestyle and activities that make all else seem pallid and boring, illustrating a vision of great magnitude to the public. The image of the romanticized

heroic criminal holds the ability to take the public out of the ordinary everyday world of convention into fantasy that is sometimes fearful in its fascination, but successfully provides an escape from the rigid boundaries of reality.

Criminal-celebrities are not all romanticized heroes, as certain forms of criminality wield a dangerous glamour that is often violent. For example, gangsters and the Mafia are perhaps the most easily identifiable as criminal-celebrities whose celebrated status is due to an ironically romantic image of violence, aggression and loyalty to their gang or family. The success of such criminal-celebrities, who are violent aggressors, is largely due to a crossover between fact and fiction which reinforces their infamy in a romantic light. Hebdige (1975: 9) argues that the boundaries between reality and non-reality (fact and fiction) are particularly well revealed by the fictional representation of gangsters. This is effectively portrayed through Graham Greene's (1938) novel *Brighton Rock*. In his book Greene illustrates Hebdige's point regarding the gangster being a crossover point, in that he modelled the text's fictional gangsters, Pinkie Brown and Colleoni, on the real gangster Darby Sabini, who was the head of one of the major English racehorse gangs in the 1920s (Fido, 1999: 30).

Other writers have followed in Greene's footsteps, sometimes with even more success; for example, Mario Puzo's book *The Godfather*, published in 1969, 'cashed in' on the 1950s and 1960s growing interest in the Mafia. This interest had been aroused by the Kefauver Senate Hearings of 1950–1, which claimed the existence of a nationwide criminal organization called the Mafia, and also Joe Valachi's testimony in 1963 about Mafia dealings, killings and ranks, as well as giving the names of many top-level Mafia bosses (Larke, 2003: 116–17). Puzo's *The Godfather*, although primarily a work of fiction, takes its content from Valachi's testimony and many of the events he described. The popularity of the books and subsequent films has made it possibly one of the most influential descriptions of the American Mafia in the twentieth century, because although the work is fictional, Puzo's story recapitulates factual statements and thus appears to confirm them (ibid.: 118).

The unveiling of the secret workings of the Mafia through clues in fiction, journalism and biographies has made their rules and traditions seem part of mainstream American culture. Commenting on fictional mob boss Tony Soprano in HBO's successful television series *The Sopranos*, Holden describes Soprano as 'a harried forty-something middle-class Joe who, except for his occupation, is not all that different from the rest of us' (Holden, 2001: xiv). However, Soprano is different from a middle-class

Joe, for his occupation sets him apart in the romanticized Mafia with its family loyalties and traditions. Consequently, a romanticized image offers loyalty, despite not being heroic, the chance to become celebrated.

The blurring of image, of unreality and reality, illustrates how criminal-celebrity balances the paradoxical image of being a villain and a hero, combining romanticized fiction and fact. The blurring in relation to crime allows criminality to become motivated by something other than selfish greed, desire for power or violence for the sake of violence or pleasure. It means that the public perception of criminal-celebrities can be manipulated by the combination of fact and fiction, reality and unreality, allowing resonance and subsequently celebrity status as a result for the criminal. The blurring of image is aided by shifting mass-media boundaries enabling the criminal-celebrity the advantage of crossing fiction into fact by using sensational factual news coverage and also media products that are designed to entertain, thrill and titillate. Effectively a criminal's actions despite often being for personal gain alone can become an exciting adventure of an individual working against the system and winning, which appeals to the public's resonance with elements of a good story.

The effectiveness of blurring fact and fiction surrounding a criminal is exemplified by the fraudster and conman Frank Abagnale, who was the youngest person to reach America's Ten Most Wanted Criminals. Between the ages of 16 and 21 Abagnale successfully posed as a lawyer, paediatrician, airline pilot and college professor while cashing \$2.5 million in forged cheques in every US state and 26 foreign countries. Having been caught in France, he served five years in French, Swedish and US prisons, and was released on the condition that he would aid the US government, without remuneration, by teaching and advising on fraud. In 2002 his life story was adapted into the popular Steven Spielberg movie *Catch Me If You Can*, which portrayed a factual individual as a daring, cunning and dashing individual who was the victim of his parents' broken marriage and his father's lies, and who ultimately repaid his debt to society.<sup>12</sup>

Abagnale's dramatic, youthful and 'hard to believe it's not made up' story has become blurred with the fictional portrayal of his life by director Spielberg and actor Leonardo DiCaprio, who played Abagnale in the film. Combined with performances by other Hollywood names such as Tom Hanks and Christopher Walken, Abagnale and his criminal actions become interwoven with unreality. Consequently, the real story of a criminal gains a level of glamour only achievable through association with celebrities and celebrity culture. The case of Abagnale is just one instance whereby the public are able to resonate with a particular

criminal and their illegal activities. This resonance is encouraged by the mass-media image of Abagnale that helps stimulate empathy with a likeable individual portrayed through factual or fictional portrayals of his criminality or ultimately a combination. The significance is that the success or failure of the criminal to gain celebrity status is related to the publicly perceived image, which is vastly aided by mediated times.

### **A case study of criminal-celebrity: the Krays**

So far this chapter has suggested three factors that strengthen or weaken resonance with the criminal-celebrity trend and celebrated criminality, namely crime type, context and time, and image. In order to further highlight the interweaving of these components as the foundation upon which celebrated criminality is a form of governance, a case-study analysis of the Krays is particularly illuminating. The twins Ronnie and Reggie Kray, of the East End of London, were gangsters who can justify the title of being the two most successful criminal-celebrities in Britain. They are the criminal-celebrities *par excellence*, becoming a *Zeitgeist* of the 1960s and legends within their own lifetime that only gained momentum with their deaths.

The Krays are a useful anomaly as they illustrate not only the resonance factors but also encapsulate the three different forms of criminal-celebrity via a mixture of the social bandit, the criminal hero and the underworld exhibitionist as analysed in the previous chapter. Consequently, the twins can be used to draw together and highlight the various components of criminal-celebrity. They effectively illustrate how criminal-celebrity status can be successfully attained when acceptable and interest crime types are committed, the context and time are congenial to capture public resonance, and image is efficiently handled. The power and influence of image upon the creation and maintenance of criminal-celebrity status are particularly evident through the Krays as they embody the blurring of fact and fiction, or, rather, reality and non-reality, combined with notions of romanticization, heroism and violence.

Although the Krays could not choose the physical context or period into which to be born, conveniently for them both facets were highly congenial to their subsequent status as criminal-celebrities. The context of London's East End was a significant component in the success of the Krays, as it was an area well known for its solidarity over excluding representatives of society's master institutions and supporting informal, but pervasive social control (Hobbs, 1988: 53). Thus the cultural heritage of the East End is rooted in independence and internal

solidarity with a lack of conformity to proletarian and bourgeois cultural stereotypes. Consequently, individuals with an entrepreneurial style were favoured and respected, largely due to the pre-industrial forms of bargaining and exchange remaining a strong facet of the locality. This meant that roguery was celebrated and included a variety of acceptable crime types in an environment that 'lionized its most ostentatious thieves and scoundrels' (Jenks and Lorentzen, 1997: 98). As such the Krays were from the beginning in a context that was susceptible to producing popular criminal icons that fulfilled a public desire for rebelliousness and unaccountability.

Significantly, it was not only the physical context that aided the Krays' emergence as successful criminal-celebrities, but also the time period. The Krays' career as criminal-celebrities coincided with the social and political climate of the 1960s which was a decade infused with the belief of an emerging culturally meritocratic society. It was also, according to Stratton (1996), a time when the shared societal vocabulary of moral values was being supplanted by the aesthetic and consumable. These changing societal circumstances contributed to the twins' criminal-celebrity status in two ways: firstly, through the consuming public who resonated with the media coverage of the Krays' activities, which were dramatic and violent interest crimes. Secondly, the time period offered the Krays the opportunity to rise above their working-class status, albeit through criminality, because class boundaries were shifting. The 1960s marked a time when those of working-class birth could sit as equals with the well-known, who were previously untouchable. In this society the twins shared a bond with other emerging celebrities who were self-made people through non-criminal means and who were also breaking out of their class position in an unequal world and undermining the bondage of the mundane. Such celebrities included fellow East End-born actress Barbara Windsor, who rose above her surroundings to become a successful performer but remained proud of her roots, associated with the Krays and even married local criminal Ronnie Knight.

The Kray celebrity status was not solely due to a convenient context, time period or committing acceptable and interest-crime types. Their status was also established on a careful balancing act between an image of violence and a romanticized air of heroic gentlemanliness, generosity and the apparent reinforcement of traditional social-order parameters of conservatism and restraint (Hobbs, 1988: 54). The Krays epitomized the golden age of crime – a revival of the old ways and old days when there was honour among thieves. Thus the Krays' principal image in their locality was one of maintaining traditional social order, such as respect for

women. For example, the twins displayed care and respect for their mother, Violet, and Reggie expressed disgust for a fellow inmate who boasted about violence towards his girlfriend, saying it 'was cowardly, bully talk' (Kray, 2000: 27).

This gentlemanliness played a key role in the twins' local popularity along with their perceived entrepreneurial success as self-made businessmen. The Krays became widely accepted as the unofficial representatives of the local community, enhancing their appeal as not only their own men, but men of the people (Jenks and Lorentzen, 1997: 99). This effectively tapped into public resonance using characteristics of the social bandit and criminal-hero categories within criminal-celebrity. However, it is important to note that this portrayal of goodness was an image, according to Tony Lambrianou, an ex-member of the Kray firm, who states: 'there's a myth they [the Krays] took care of their own, but I never saw that. The Krays were their own.'<sup>13</sup>

The amazing appeal of the Krays leading to public resonance is partially explained by their image and urban narrative of social banditry and criminal heroism. However, it can also be explained by their effective use of the culture industry's mass media to create their image similar to underworld exhibitionists. The successful management of image creation and manipulation, publicity and ultimately the promotion of their product, namely their image and urban narrative, highlight the Krays as some of the most successful English underworld exhibitionists of the twentieth century. The twins' approach made them exceptional, particularly considering their villain status, class and ability, relative to the age in which they lived.

The Kray twins were careful in creating and projecting a gangster chic image (ibid.: 93) that ranged from their dress and business format to their manipulation of mass-media coverage. They dressed with deliberate intent to intensify their twinning by wearing what movies associated with gangsters, such as discreet, dark, double-breasted suits with tight-knotted ties and shoulder-padded overcoats. Combined with garish jewellery, such as large gold rings, gold bracelet watches and diamond cuff links, the Krays conveyed a redoubtable image. They also adopted the lifestyle which they associated with gangsters, such as hiring a private barber and a tailor, as well as focusing their business pursuits on clubs and snooker halls (Pearson, 1984: 77–8, 86). The Krays' extraordinary presence was vastly aided by their behaviour as identical twins via apparent telepathy and uncanny similarity, producing quite literally double the effect of a normal individual (Jenks and Lorentzen, 1997: 12, 93–4). The Krays demonstrated themselves to be formidable image creators, recognizing

that the image they portrayed could elevate their status if carefully managed.

The consolidation of their image as premier gangsters was accomplished by the manipulation of mass-media forms, similar to that achieved by spin-doctors of the present day. They achieved this by encouraging and using newspaper coverage. For example, the police officer investigating the twins, 'Nipper' Read, was photographed drinking champagne with Ronnie at a party and the picture was subsequently leaked by the Krays to the newspapers. Read claimed he was tricked into entering the party and having his photograph taken, but as a result, Read was removed from the Kray investigation and sent to deal with the Great Train Robbery which had taken place in August 1963. Further media manipulation to the Krays' advantage was accomplished through association with photographer David Bailey. Bailey's portrayals of the rich, famous and beautiful were well received and well known among the 1960s public. His *Vogue*-style pictures, whereby non-professional models were captured in posed, stylised photographs, were characterized by close-cropping with strong lighting and stark backgrounds. Bailey's vivid picture of the Krays became, and remains today, an iconic representation of English gangsters. They have become a 'phrenological archetype of villainy and roguery', ultimately fitting popular expectations of how the criminal class should look (ibid: 88).

The Krays acquired a mystique of legitimacy aided by Bailey that prevented the twins from alienating themselves from the social elites of the 1960s, namely celebrities of a non-criminal origin. In fact, the Bailey picture projecting villainy seemed to recommend them, guaranteeing them acceptance in popular, fashionable circles, as well as providing them with a mythical deification (Hebdige, 1975: 45). The Krays rapidly became

darlings of the media of the sixties ... they exercised their privileges as celebrities ... They brought a style and polish to the projection of good image. (ibid.: 26)

Association with well-known celebrity figures such as Jackie Collins, Sybil Burton, Danny La Rue and Judy Garland, all of whom used to patronize the Krays' 'Double R Club', aided in the acceptance of the twins as apparently legitimate celebrities. Interestingly, the relationship between the two criminals and show-business celebrities, both of whom are dependent on image, reiterates the intimate relationship shared by celebrity and criminality.



There appeared to be a mutual fascination between celebrities and the criminal-celebrity Kray twins. Both the non-criminal celebrities and the Krays seemed to enjoy the reflection of the mystique and glamour surrounding the other. Celebrities basked in the radiance of the slightly dangerous darkness of the Krays, while they in turn revelled in the legitimate glamour and media exposure which the celebrities brought through their show-business status. The use of each other's glamour is also highlighted by instances of celebrities establishing links with the Krays even after they were serving prison sentences. For instance, the American band Fun Lovin' Criminals expressed an interest in putting some of Reggie's song lyrics to music and met with him, adding a dangerous, rebellious glamour to their celebrity band image (Kray, 2002: 250).

Ronnie and Reggie Kray successfully achieved celebrity status through their criminality due to public resonance being gained through both coincidence and careful manipulation. The twins benefited from the congenial physical context and time period in which they committed acceptable and interest crimes while effectively wielding their image as criminal heroes and social bandits. However, ultimately they revealed themselves to be underworld exhibitionists. They were

extreme examples; [belonging to] spectacular textbook cases in the psychopathology of city life, living out a full arc of possibility, which few of us begin to scale. (Raban, 1988: 77)

All of the necessary components that create criminal-celebrity were united in the Krays, leading them to formulate their own criminal-celebrity myth. As a consequence, the Krays achieved what so many other criminal-celebrities and criminals have sought and continue to seek ever since: an efficient and effective formula for the creation and maintenance of criminal-celebrity status during life and even after death. For 'the Krays [have] become almost an industry in their own right annually spawning new myths and legends with all the reality of a bad soap opera' (Kray, 2002: 7).

The analysis of the factors which strengthen or weaken celebrated criminality demonstrates not only a long historical existence of this form of celebrated criminality but also the impact and influence of the culture industry's mass media upon criminals who become celebrities. It also highlights that public resonance with a criminal is essential to the creation of criminal-celebrities within celebrated criminality as governance. In other words, the strength of celebrated criminality as governance through its dependence on resonance is also paradoxically

its weakness. Without resonance the public will not connect with the criminal and thus the criminal will remain simply a criminal, failing to gain any of the well-knownness necessary to cause an elevation of status to that of celebrity. This is supported and demonstrated through the Krays, which as a case study reveals a successful instance of criminality gaining celebrity by advantageously harnessing the crime type, context and image, and also hybridizing the criminal-celebrity categories, thus maximizing resonance possibilities.

## Notes

- 1 'Crime case closed – Harold Shipman', 21 Oct. 2005  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/crime/caseclosed/shipman.shtml>
- 2 'Funeral tributes for Kray', 11 Oct. 2000  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/967018.stm>
- 3 'Martin's farm a tourist attraction', 31 July 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/norfolk/3111805.stm>
- 4 'A short life of misery and pain', 11 Nov. 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7708398.stm>
- 5 'Fritzl returns to incest cellar', 26 Sep. 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7637663.stm>
- 6 [http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial\\_killers/predators/bathory/countess.html](http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial_killers/predators/bathory/countess.html)
- 7 'John Lennon killer "wanted fame"', 15 Oct. 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/3745492.stm>
- 8 'City premieres Lennon killer film', 27 Nov. 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/merseyside/7115908.stm>
- 9 'Death penalty for sniper Muhammad', 9 March 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3546967.stm>
- 10 'Teenage sniper gets life sentence', 10 March 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3498848.stm>
- 10 Interview with author Sue Russell about her book *Lethal Intent* (2002) based on Aileen Wuornos. [http://truecrimemfanatic.com/Aileen\\_Wuornos\\_Sue\\_Russell\\_Lethal\\_Intent\\_Int.htm](http://truecrimemfanatic.com/Aileen_Wuornos_Sue_Russell_Lethal_Intent_Int.htm)
- 11 'A lifetime on the run', 3 May 2001  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1310134.stm>
- 12 'Conman who came in from the cold', 27 Jan. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/2670091.stm>
- 13 C. Lambrianou (1995) 'Married to the mob' *Big Issue*, 139, 17–23 July, p. 28.

# 5

## The Undermining of Celebrated Criminality

Celebrated criminality impacts on the public understanding of the world, on consumption, on what is read and even on what is watched on television. As governance, celebrated criminality has been influential through the development of criminals attaining celebrity status. However, the celebration of criminality altered during the late twentieth century following societal, cultural and technological developments. Consequently, there are growing numbers of individuals classifiable as criminal-celebrities within celebrity culture. This growth, combined with shifting societal attitudes to crime and deviance, has had a significant impact on the size and consistency of criminal-celebrity within celebrated criminality as governance. This chapter seeks to provide an analysis of how celebrated criminality is being undermined as governance.

The examination of the deterioration of celebrated criminality as governance will be explored through the dilution of celebrated criminality's dominant trend of criminal-celebrity in two ways: firstly, through the growing category of underworld exhibitionists who are coming to undermine and replace celebrated criminality's previously dominant category of criminal-celebrity; secondly, via the impact of David Garland's (2001) culture of control. This will involve an analysis of the 12 indices of change and will be explored through three themes: new emotivism, changing criminological thought, and shifting criminal justice policy and structure. This analysis of the culture of control is particularly important as it is identified as a new form of Foucauldian government that through its governance forms (the 12 indices of change) is undermining celebrated criminality as governance.

### **Resonance, underworld exhibitionists and the dilution of the criminal-celebrity**

The most significant factor in the process of the undermining of celebrated criminality as governance is related to its fundamental reliance

upon consistent levels of resonance. Any rise or fall of resonance levels directly impacts on the strength or weakness of celebrated criminality as a form of Foucauldian governance, suggesting it can be destabilized. Consequently, any changes in resonance levels have a significant effect on celebrated criminality chiefly when they impinge on its dominant trend, criminal-celebrity. A dilution in resonance with criminal-celebrity is a decline not only of this trend's particular governing power but also celebrated criminality as a governance form because its dominant trend is weakened.

The dilution of criminal-celebrity has been notable through the growth of one of its four categories, namely underworld exhibitionists, which refers to criminals who seek celebrity status and financial gain through their criminality. Since the 1970s the number of case studies identifiable as underworld exhibitionists has increased with particular growth during the 1990s. This growth demonstrates that resonance with criminality continues to be prevalent but has shifted its emphasis away from the other previously more dominant categories that comprise social bandits, criminal heroes and iniquitous criminals. This shift in resonance does not suggest that the other categories are obsolete but it highlights that this previously small and limited category within the criminal-celebrity trend has found congenial conditions towards the end of the twentieth century in which to flourish beyond its counterpart categories.

Few underworld-exhibitionist cases are identified prior to the mid-twentieth century, although some criminals who are classified in other categories display some underworld-exhibitionist qualities such as an apparent desire to benefit from being well known. For instance, Ronnie Biggs, who is classifiable as a criminal hero, has also displayed underworld-exhibitionist tendencies. Biggs made a living during his time in Brazil, where he was protected from extradition to Britain, by selling interviews to the British media and souvenirs relating to himself such as mugs and T-shirts to tourists. More recently, there is Australian ex-criminal Mark Brandon 'Chopper' Read, who has convictions for armed robbery, assault, kidnapping and firearm offences and admits to involvement in 19 murders and 11 attempted murders. He gained infamy while in prison for having his ears cut off and started a prison war with a rival gang in the 1970s. Read has had a successful career as an author of crime novels and a stage show in 2007,<sup>1</sup> released a rap album in 2006 and even had a beer, 'Chopper Heavy', named after him. He has continued to court publicity including appearing in an award-winning commercial for the Pedestrian Council of Australia warning about the dangers of

drink-driving<sup>2</sup> and also for the Schwartz Foundation's promotion of a helpline for women suffering domestic violence, which was subsequently banned.<sup>3</sup>

Underworld exhibitionists, defined by their intentional and active pursuit of celebrity status through crime and deviance, openly admit and publicize their rule-breaking thus gaining public resonance. In an environment where anyone can be celebrated, this category of criminal-celebrity has multiplied in number and range in the early twenty-first century. Underworld exhibitionists who mostly, if not all, claim to be 'going straight', allow insight into a realm of danger, violence and lawbreaking through their public appearances, books and interviews. This pursuit of celebrity is achievable only through the culture industry with its provision of the mass media, and the post-modern belief that celebrity can be achieved by anyone and that it is a right to be well known, due to assertions that anyone can be celebrated. Subsequently, criminals or ex-criminals pursuing celebrity in such an environment can achieve the necessary resonance and become underworld exhibitionists by providing insight into the horror and danger of criminality in Britain and the USA.

The impact of the increasing number of criminals pursuing celebrity, leading to growth in underworld-exhibitionist numbers, is a self-destructive undermining force for the other categories of criminal-celebrity. Underworld exhibitionists focus on manufacturing themselves as rule-breakers worthy of celebration and marketing their image as a cultural sign, a commodity for consumption by the public. Underworld exhibitionists such as British ex-gangster 'Dodgy' Dave Courtney (as described in Chapter 3) draw upon the previously successful methods used by criminal-celebrities like the Krays, such as crime types and image, but in doing so undermine their own potential due to their manufactured and manipulated nature. This process of increasing control over image by underworld exhibitionists reflects a similar trend within the phenomenon of celebrity. Manipulating the elements which stimulate public resonance in terms of active management causes the paradoxical effect of undermining their success rate. Excessive management and control over image is self-destructive, in that it destroys the achievement of resonance through mystique and originality, thus limiting the ability to achieve celebrity status.

Dave Courtney is an effective illustration of underworld exhibitionists' ability to undermine resonance with criminality and thus impact upon celebrated criminality through management and control of image. Courtney seeks visibility and exposure to the public using his 'naughty' image

to convey that, despite having left his rule-breaking behind, he is still associated with the realm of the rebellious and of crime. His image is carefully manufactured as a marketable brand from which he can profit and also establish celebrated status. The construction of himself and his image has gone beyond simply writing books and attending book signings; he also does public speaking. In addition, cultural artefacts are used to create and maintain Courtney's well-known status which can be purchased through his website from pages devoted to 'The Official Dave Courtney Merchandise'. These artefacts largely comprise books, his album and single, videos and DVDs, photographs and autographs, allowing anyone, for a price, to buy into and possess part of Courtney and his image.

Through individuals such as Courtney, the commercial market for crime and criminality is flooded with manufactured goods, including pictures and information over which underworld exhibitionists exert intense control. It appears that underworld exhibitionists are only too aware that they can financially profit if they manage their image as a sign or a brand, resulting in steps being taken for protection and control. Courtney illustrates this protection through steps to protect and manage his image-based public career such as signing with the public relations agency Drum Consultancy in 2002 to promote his career as a writer, actor and singer<sup>4</sup> and his decision to disassociate himself from ex-agent Lesley Batin, who was perceived to 'be no good for me', as asserted on his website in 2008. It would appear that Courtney is only too aware of the importance of successful self-promotion by employing professionals in public relations who will work with and for him to his specifications. The consequence of careful image management is reflected by the narrow celebrated status achieved by most underworld exhibitionists, namely that they become well known in limited circles, rendering them nonentities within the wider celebrity circuit. Underworld exhibitionists through their tight control of a commercialized image based on past activity limits resonance potential.

The restriction of resonance by underworld exhibitionists has a two-fold impact. It undermines the criminal-celebrity categories of social bandits and criminal heroes, which are dependent on public resonance with the subversive, and consequently celebrated criminality as governance through the weakening of its dominant trend. Resonance is affected by the over-management and careful protection of image by underworld exhibitionists as it narrows the opportunities for the public to connect with the individual. The cultivated and manipulated image is sculpted with care and as such will reveal only select facets of the

underworld-exhibitionist character and activities. This is not so that the public will believe the image is more authentic or even to keep private certain character elements but rather to maximize opportunities to profit financially. The underworld exhibitionist is an astute businessperson, often with an agent's intent on squeezing the maximum benefits from their 'naughty' image and associations.

The possessive control, management and manipulation of image by underworld exhibitionists are not the only routes to weakening criminal-celebrity from within. Another contributing factor is the sheer plethora of underworld exhibitionists, who, due to their increasing numbers, are leading to their own (and also the entire criminal-celebrity trend) devaluation, due to over-saturation of the market. These cultural economic notions of undermining the criminal-celebrity trend are effectively illustrated by Goldman and Papsen's (1998) investigation into the growth and problems of sign value in relation to the Nike swoosh brand. They argue that the dominance and pervasiveness of the swoosh led Nike to become vulnerable to the possibility of an impending devaluation posed by massive overexposure. By attaching the swoosh to any surface, it becomes trivialized and cheapened, undermining the brand value and causing the impending threat of over-saturation and loss of resonance. In other words, overswooshification, whereby there is loss of value due to over-saturation and over-commercialization, is a distinct possibility in consumer society.

The notion of overswooshification can be applied to the undermining of criminal-celebrity through underworld exhibitionists causing devaluation through over-saturation and over-commercialism of the market. Underworld exhibitionists seek to supplement their incomes by attempting to enter the celebrity realm through selling their life stories and experiences to the public. For example, the ever-expanding and popular true-crime section in bookshops is filled with books written by or about underworld exhibitionists. It appears that there is no limit to who can pursue celebrity in association with criminality, for many texts are on the same topic, but written by those of increasingly vague association and often years or even decades after the events written about took place.

Once again it is the Krays who effectively illustrate this issue with texts about them and their activities having been written by both of the twins<sup>5</sup> and by family members, such as their brother Charlie, cousins<sup>6</sup> and also the women who married the twins, namely, Kate Kray, the ex-wife of Ronnie Kray,<sup>7</sup> and Roberta Kray, widow of Reggie Kray.<sup>8</sup> Further texts have been published by various members of their firm<sup>9</sup> and associates,<sup>10</sup> including witnesses to the murder of Jack 'the Hat' McVitie<sup>11</sup> and also various novelists and journalists.<sup>12</sup> These individuals in turn become

'associated celebrities' whereby they gain celebrated status through their association with criminal-celebrities. Associated celebrities surround successful criminal-celebrities in all categories, attempting to bask in their glamour and attain a degree of celebrity status for themselves. It appears that even vague associates or non-immediate family are also seeking to benefit financially or increase status, as shown by the multitude of books written about the Krays.

The significance of this parasitical pursuit of celebrated status and profit through association with established criminal-celebrities is its contribution to the devaluation and the dilution of the criminal-celebrity trend. By saturating the public with criminal-celebrity information as consumable data, it becomes devalued due to over-commercialization. Consequently, the wealth of material surrounding increasing numbers of underworld exhibitionists and associated celebrities makes it harder for criminals to attain resonance and thus celebrated status through other criminal-celebrity categories and celebrated-criminality trends. The impact of over-saturation and over-commercialization of criminal-celebrity, particularly through underworld exhibitionists, has been the significant restriction of resonance with criminals. Subsequently, it is less likely for an underworld exhibitionist to gain resonance through admiration or respect but rather through curiosity regarding their association with a specific crime, event or person.

Through increasing control over image, along with over-saturation and over-commercialization (the overswooshification effect), the underworld exhibitionist is successfully undermining the criminal-celebrity trend. The significance of this is that they undermine the criminal-celebrity trend through over-exposure, threatening it with triviality and a loss of mystique. Subsequently, the criminal-celebrity becomes common, familiar, somewhat ordinary and expected; celebrated criminals and crimes are devalued, and this previously dominant trend within celebrated criminality is diluted. As a result, the criminal-celebrity trend can be interpreted as having entered a self-destructive cycle with the growth of the underworld-exhibitionist category. The wider implication of the dilution of criminal-celebrity by a shift in resonance is the undermining of celebrated criminality as a governance form, due to its reliance upon the criminal-celebrity trend.

### **New Foucauldian government(s) and the culture of control**

Gilles Deleuze (1992) described the emergence of 'societies of control' which were replacing Foucault's (1977a) disciplinary society. No longer are individuals processed from one disciplinary institution to another



such as school, barracks and factory, and this makes Foucault's notion of power/knowledge less certain. Deleuze (1992) argued that control society is a more advanced form of power and control than disciplinary society because now there is constant and never-ending modulation between the forces and capacities of the human subject and the practices in which they participate. As a consequence 'one is always in continuous training, life-long learning, perpetual assessment, continual incitement to buy, to improve oneself, constant monitoring of health and never-ending risk management' (Rose, 2000: 325). Thus control is not centralized but dispersed with open circuits that are not hierarchical (ibid.: 325).

Deleuze's control society conveniently interlinks with not only Foucault's (1991) government and governance due to its decentralized control and possibility for an assemblage of possible public resonance sources, it also interweaves with Garland's (2001) notion of the culture of control that he argues has been emerging since the 1970s and which seeks to examine the 'accelerating movement away from the assumptions that shaped crime control and criminal justice for most of the twentieth century' (ibid.: 3). These changes bring with it 'risks, insecurities and control problems that have played a crucial role in shaping our changing response to crime' (ibid.: viii). As a consequence of the changing response to crime there has been a shift in resonance with crime as perceptions of criminality are altering.

Garland's culture of control has significant consequences in furthering the undermining process of the criminal-celebrity trend, and also celebrated criminality, by providing circumstances that damage its governing powers. Therefore, it can be considered the second major component contributing to the undermining of celebrated criminality other than underworld exhibitionists. The culture of control is suggested to be of twofold importance: it furthers the potential threat of undermining celebrated criminality by diluting and damaging the criminal-celebrity trend upon which it depends, and it is also a new form of Foucauldian government. As a new Foucauldian government, Garland's (2001) culture of control does not seek to replace the culture industry as government. Instead, it highlights that there can be multiple Foucauldian governments or governance forms at one time, but most significantly that the different governments can impact upon one another's controlling abilities. Subsequently, it is possible that the culture of control undermines celebrated criminality as a governance form within the culture industry as government. There are 12 characteristics, described as indices of change, that define the culture of control and

will be explored through three themes which tie these indices together: new emotivism, changing criminological thought, and shifting criminal justice policy and structure.

### **New emotivism**

Emotive outlets which are designed or intended to arouse emotion were both unwanted and even embarrassing in the modern world of the early twentieth century. According to Pratt, the use of emotion such as shaming within punishment was considered a pre-modern condition (Pratt, 2000a: 418; 2000b: 129). Therefore, in the modern twentieth century, policy makers were confident in combating crime and rationalizing policing through an invocation of 'decency' and 'humanity' as well as compassion for the less fortunate (Garland, 2001: 10). However, by the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century policy makers are demonstrating a shift back towards the pre-modern condition through use of the emotive. This new emotivism is a key motif of current penal development, with penalties formulated to deliberately vent human emotion. It is considered new for it reverses the long-standing non-emotive traditions hallmarking modern penal culture (Pratt, 2000b: 133).

New emotivism within the culture of control in the late twentieth century includes emotions of fear and anger, which in turn lead to an emotional desire for punitivity and retribution. Within new emotivism, six of the culture of control's 12 indices of change are evident:

1. above all, the public must be protected
2. a perpetual sense of crisis
3. the decline of the rehabilitative ideal
4. the re-emergence of punitive sanctions and expressive justice
5. changes in the emotional tone of crime policy
6. the return of the victim

These six indices of change fall within new emotivism, with the first five as contributors to fear of crime and the resulting retribution and punitivity, which weaken resonance with criminality. The last index of change, the return of the victim, also causes a deterioration of resonance with offenders but through pity and empathy for crime victims.

These six indices of change highlight new emotivism as undermining the ability of the criminal-celebrity to occur as well as being threatened as the dominant trend within celebrated criminality. New emotivism is characteristically anti-criminal-celebrity and also a potential undermining

threat to celebrated criminality in its current form in two significant ways: firstly, it encourages a decline of public resonance with criminals through the growth of public fear of crime. Increasing concerns about being victimized are undermining criminals becoming celebrated, for their actions lead to concern for personal safety and subsequent desires for retribution and punitivity, propagating an attitude and language of 'war on crime'. Secondly, it is argued that new emotivism stimulates resonance with victims rather than the victimizers (criminals), meaning that there is a return to the personalized victim and the depersonalized criminal. As a result of these two facets of new emotivism, a criminal's attainment of celebrity status is becoming alienated from gaining public resonance.

#### *Fear, crime and resonance*

Fear, through frightening imagery and stories, can successfully stimulate resonance with criminality, which leads to criminal-celebrities. However, fear of crime works in reverse and undermines the criminal's ability to gain resonance and thus celebrity status, as has been achieved in the past. The exceptions to this rule are iniquitous criminals who thrive in a fear-filled society by representing the monstrous Other and are therefore excluded from the dilution of criminal-celebrity. Fear of crime as an enduring emotion is only an issue for a small proportion of the population, while anxiety is commonplace and corrosive in its consequences (Hough, 1994: 1). Despite this difference, fear can, and is, used as an all-encompassing shorthand to refer to anxieties and worries about crime, particularly in becoming a victim. It is in this context that fear of crime is used. Most fear is subjective or perceptual and due to apparent social-structural factors (Box, Hale and Andrews, 1988: 341). Considering the perceptual nature of fear of crime to be subjective, the question is raised as to what influences public perceptions to make them fearful leading to the undermining of criminal-celebrity?

Box, Hale and Andrews (1988) specified six fear-contributing factors regarding crime and which subsequently damage criminal-celebrity – vulnerability, environmental clues and conditions, personal knowledge of crime and victimization, confidence in the police, perceptions of personal risk and the seriousness of the offence. These factors illuminate that fear of crime is not a 'far-flung fancy' based on highly irrational emotion, but instead displays logic and evidence through experience and knowledge as well as emotion. Consequently, the threat posed by fear of crime to the attainment of resonance by the criminal-celebrity trend and subsequently celebrated criminality is not to be lightly or easily dismissed. Instead, feel-

ings of fear and anxiety relating to crime need to be recognized as resonance but not a resonance that leads to celebration. Thus, as fear rises, resonance, leading to criminal-celebrity status, declines as offenders are no longer perceived as heroes or daredevils but as victimizers and a threat.

In a fearful society it is perhaps unsurprising that two of the culture of control indices of change involve, firstly, the perception that the public must be protected and, secondly, that there is a perpetual sense of crisis. Ironically, fear of crime helps create a sense of crisis, which highlights a need to protect the public. Fear can help lock neighbourhoods into a downward spiral of decline due to a perceived crisis of security. Consequently, people seek protection by changing their habits, often staying at home within surroundings they have made safer (income permitting) with locks, chains, bars and alarms. In addition, activities which are perceived as dangerous are avoided, including walking down certain streets, getting too close to particular types of people, going to certain forms of entertainment or travelling on public transport (*ibid.*: 341). This latter activity is particularly relevant due to the fear of using London public transport following the 7 July suicide bombs.<sup>13</sup>

Public fear also leads to more prosperous citizens protecting themselves and their property by moving from the neighbourhood, leading to incidences of crime being displaced onto those already suffering from other social and economic disadvantages (Sampson and Wooldredge, 1986; Hough, 1994; Lea and Young, 1984). Consequently, the sense of community and neighbourhood fractures, transforming some public places into no-go areas that only confirm the apparent need to protect the public from the surrounding crisis. This increasing public fear of crime is a structural feature of late modern urban society whereby life is intrinsically more insecure than for earlier generations. In these conditions of uncertainty it is likely to make people worry about the world becoming a more difficult, less controllable and more hostile place (Hough, 1994: 5). As a result of public insecurities, the criminal-celebrity trend is affected as public fear outweighs their ability to resonate with lawbreaker glamour, daring or subversive heroism, reducing the governing powers of celebrated criminality.

Crime coverage in the media has a considerable role in public fearfulness and perception of crime as it focuses on violent, dramatic and sensational lawbreaking and deviance (Wilson and Ashton, 2001: 45, 50). The media provide fuel for the fear of being victimized by focusing on the criminal acts themselves, along with the far-reaching and long-term impact of the offence on the victims and their families. Importantly, this

ties into the dilution of criminal-celebrity, for as people fear the consequences of being a victim of crime they fail to resonate, thus depriving the celebration of criminality of its key source of existence. The press portray a particular image of crime and criminality that is largely melodramatic, often with a focus on iniquitous crimes. This is easily able to increase fear through the random choice of victims, lack of responsibility or conscience accompanying criminal behaviour, and the dramatization of events and victimization risks (Best, 1999: xii; Box, Hale and Andrews, 1988: 342). For example, during the five years of the Yorkshire Ripper murders, thousands of women lived in fear fuelled by the media coverage and a highly publicized police investigation.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, melodrama aids in selling a perception of crime to the public that is not necessarily real, but capable of undermining the criminal-celebrity trend by stimulating fear of crime, while helping the media to profit through sales.

The market of fear is related by Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter (1993) to the distinctive tendency of people to mythologize what they fear, thus forming mythic monsters that represent social concerns and fears of the time. An exemplary crime myth in twenty-first-century society is the fear of random and seemingly senseless violence of the iniquitous crimes of terrorism and also serial killing, both of which have become iconic (Brownstein, 1995: 76–7). For example, the bombings of the New York Twin Towers on 11 September 2001, claiming thousands of lives, marked the beginning of a Western war on terrorism targeting Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda.<sup>15</sup> They have become a mythic monster, aided by the former Bin Laden remaining elusive following the attack. Fear in a society threatened by terrorism is high, not only due to the incomprehensibility of the act, but also that the victim could be anyone, at anytime and anywhere. Thus the projection and publicity of crime via the mass media have meant that 'fear is produced more readily in the modern community than it was earlier in our history' (Sutherland, 1950: 143). Consequently, criminal-celebrity's categories of social bandit and criminal hero are unlikely to occur while iniquitous criminals appear to flourish, marking a dilution of the trend towards something darker and less glamorous.

The role of perceptions of risk and fear is a phenomenon potentially quite separate from the actual risk of crime itself (Young, 2003: 567). Young suggests that fear can be regarded as a problem that is autonomous from crime, as it becomes a metaphor for other types of urban unease, including urban development, or the displacement of other fears, such as racism or psychological difficulties. Consequently, the existence and strength of the criminal-celebrity trend and thus celebrated criminality

are threatened by fearful perceptions of risk and crime that cannot necessarily be reassured or satisfied by the production of opposing evidence. Hence flawed public understanding is part of the spiralling fear of the crime problem. This is despite the fact that such fears of a perpetual sense of crisis and a need for public protection are not necessarily in accord with the evidence.

Fear of crime as part of new emotivism within the culture of control can be interpreted as an important component in undermining both criminal-celebrity and celebrated criminality. Increasing levels of fear of crime lessen public resonance and the opportunity for the criminal-celebrity trend to thrive. This situation is only exacerbated by a groundswell of support for more retributive and punitive crime measures, due to fear. Interestingly, these changes continue despite a steady decline in crime rates for suburban middle-class whites who are the segment of the population from which the strongest support for new get-tough measures comes (Simon and Feeley, 1995: 154). The culture of control further displays new emotivism via retribution and punitivity in the indices of change: the decline of the rehabilitative ideal, the re-emergence of punitive sanctions and expressive justice, and changes in the emotional tone of crime policy. These three indices of change reflect that with the growth of fear the public emotional response has shifted towards retribution and subsequent punitivity. Consequently, the appeal of liberal penal policies such as rehabilitation has been reduced and there is growth in incarceration and punishment. Thus three more of Garland's culture of control indices of change mark new emotivism as contributing to the undermining of the category composition of criminal-celebrity.

The ideal that rehabilitation works is declining according to the culture of control, while growing punitivity and expressive justice reflect growing fear of crime among the public, who seek protection in a time of perceived chaos. These two indices of change – the decline of the rehabilitative ideal and re-emergence of punitive sanctions and expressive justice – highlight a successful juxtaposition of a frightening present against a romanticized past, creating a market for outrage, and with punitivity being employed as cultural capital (Sanders and Lyon, 1995: 31). In such circumstances fear is expressed through retribution and punitivity, particularly with the media portraying the harm inflicted on victims in ever more harrowing terms (Jenkins, 1992: 7, 9). A crime story can become a morality tale that is a form of manufactured social control. It draws upon a combination of fear, retribution and punitivity, shaking public support and belief in the usefulness or success of rehabilitation and promoting the need for harsh punishment.

The campaign for the naming and shaming of paedophiles, following the abduction and murder of Sarah Payne in 2000, led by the *News of the World*, effectively illustrates the power of public fear leading to retribution and punitivity towards this particular crime. The newspaper's campaign led to street disturbances and protests in the Paulsgrove area in Portsmouth (Mason, 2003: 7–8). Attacks even occurred on a paediatrician and his family as a result of being mistaken for a paedophile due to his job title. The events in Portsmouth exemplify the shift towards retribution and punitivity, along with the dangers of such responses when motivated by emotivism, while also highlighting the relationship between public fear of crime and melodramatic media campaigns and coverage. It would appear that the media's melodramatic view can distort the nature of crime, and frighten and confuse the public, while stimulating desires for retribution and punitivity and a decline in the belief of rehabilitation (Best, 1999: xii). Therefore, the media contribute to the restriction of public resonance with criminality, rendering little hope of improving declining resonance for the criminal-celebrity trend while public fear remains irrefutable.

New emotivism demonstrates the governing power of the culture of control via growing retribution and punitivity along with a declining belief in the ideal of rehabilitation. It governs the public in a manner that rejects the celebration of criminality, stopping resonance by asserting crime and criminality as the enemy. Within such an emotive environment, where the public are fearful and angry regarding crime, there are important consequences at a policy level. Garland (2001: 11) argues that, 'the emotional temperature of policy-making has shifted from cool to hot', highlighting changes in the emotional tone of crime policy, which is the fifth of the culture of control indices of change that contribute to new emotivism. In the culture of control a range of emotive criminal justice practices are occurring that reflect a new emotive tone within crime policy. For instance, there are growing penal practices with the intention of humiliation, degradation or brutalization of the offender, including probation or community work sanctions where the individual wears stigmatic clothing and/or menial labour is conducted in public (Pratt, 2000: 418–19). Perhaps the most evident example of the latter is the use of prisoner chain gangs in America who have to advertise their offender status through clothing and work in public places.

The most revealing evidence of the changing emotional tone of crime policy is the use of vocabulary to articulate and respond to public anxieties while also feeding fears and anger (Hough, 1994: 5). The tone of much crime policy discussion and promotion is carefully constructed to

demonstrate the seriousness with which policy makers treat public concerns regarding crime as well as public fears, whether or not they are based on evidence. Subsequently, policy moves implement and reinforce the decline of the rehabilitative ideal and the re-emergence of punitive sanctions and expressive justice. In other words, policy and the public emotions of retribution and punitivity reflect each other. An illuminating example of this changing emotional tone of crime policy is the war on crime rhetoric which provides further support for new emotivism and plays an important role within culture of control as government, and dilutes criminal-celebrity as a controlling force.

War on crime rhetoric is used in increasingly mediated campaigns and policy steps against certain forms of crime. The rhetoric of the war on crime policy taps into emotivism by verbalizing its intent to protect the public and demonstrating expressive and punitive justice. Furthermore, it tackles the culture of control's indices of change, such as the perpetual sense of crisis, in its ability to convey firmness and resolve in the face of the problem that is being attacked. It suggests and portrays a common threat or enemy, encouraging the public to resonate with those declaring war. Consequently, new emotivism is displayed through the language of war, which is not merely a strategy evoking emotion, but a route to inspire resonance with the authorities rather than with criminals. Thus criminal-celebrity is further undermined in its ability to control. Wacquant (1999: 339) refers to 'mots d'ordres' to describe the language of politics as possessing symbolic value and also as an agency to incite law and order. This symbolic value is being used in both the USA and Britain through the terminology of war in association with publicly perceived threats such as drugs and anti-social behaviour, thus exploiting the capital of symbolic action (Newburn, 2002: 175).

New emotivism, as part of the culture of control as government, constructs a world and society that need war on crime campaigns. It suggests that the only response is through a language that crime understands, namely, force and war (Elias, 1993a: 22). For example, the language of war on crime focuses on being 'alert', 'battling', 'crackdown', 'mission', 'peril' and 'search and destroy'. Thus 'war is how we address crime' (ibid.: 23-4) and as such the culture of control governs through seeking war and not peace. This is despite successive wars on crime failing to fulfil their aims and objectives of radically decreasing crime and protecting the public from victimization (ibid.: 23-4). It is crucial to note that such wars cannot be won completely, for drugs, crime and poverty are not fully eradicable, leading such wars to represent both the best and worst of symbolic politics (Newburn, 2002: 175). As Elias (1993b) argues, society is



increasingly a culture of violent solutions, even if our violence solves nothing at all. Thus when random official violence does not suffice, the organized violence of war is used (Elias, 1993a: 21).

The rhetoric of war on crime neatly ties together the first five indices of change identified by Garland in the culture of control and which contribute to new emotivism. New emotivism through war on crime highlights that there is a perpetual sense of crisis regarding crime from which the public must be protected, which in turn perpetuates the decline of the rehabilitative ideal, the re-emergence of punitive sanctions and expressive justice, and ultimately changes in the emotional tone of crime policy. Thus war on crime as an embodiment of new emotivism highlights the undermining process of the celebration of crime by stimulating public resonance to reject crime through fear and angry desires for retribution and punitivity, and the government has responded to this with a new emotional tone within its crime policy.

#### *The return of the victim*

The last of the culture of control's defining indices of change that fall within the definition of new emotivism and contribute to the undermining of celebrated criminality is that of the 'return of the victim'. This refers to the victim being placed in the position of a key player within criminal justice at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The return of the victim makes a significant contribution to the culture of control undermining criminal-celebrity and celebrated criminality in its current form as governance, because it provides a rival focal point to the stimulation of resonance. This is effectively illustrated by high-profile child-abduction victim Madeleine McCann, whose disappearance in 2007 led to international outrage and a reward of £2.5 million being offered for information leading to her return.<sup>16</sup> Several years after the event it is still possible for well-wishers to donate via the official website, fundraising events are still being held and wrist bands and T-shirts are for sale, all in order to continue collecting money to support the investigation into the disappearance of McCann. It would appear that a celebrated victim, if marketed correctly, is able to amass large sums of money. This association of a celebrated victim with money is reflected in the Shannon Matthews case, which involved nine-year-old Matthews being kidnapped, drugged and hidden by her mother and her partner in order to collect reward money which eventually reached £50,000.<sup>17</sup>

In a fearful society, the victim, particularly if they are a child, becomes a well-known celebrity figure while the criminal is demonized, making it

harder, even impossible, for the lawbreaker to become celebrated. Prior to the 'return of the victim', the individual victim hardly featured in the penal-welfare framework other than as a member of the public whose complaints triggered state action. They were reduced to being simply a complainant and witness rather than a party to the proceedings. Moreover, the injuries of victims were mostly unacknowledged or uncompensated, while care and attention were lavished on individual offenders in order to assess their progress towards rehabilitation (Garland, 2001: 11). The standard state response to the criticism that victims were being overlooked was that the victim's interests were subsumed within the public response. Or, in other words, in the long run, correctionalist policies were in the interest of the victim, the public and the offender (*ibid.*: 11, 121).

This situation has changed within the culture of control with the past tendency to overlook and ignore victims shifting so that victimization is no longer at the margins of social life and now represents a 'central motor of change' (Young, 1999: 35). The victim has become a symbolic figure taking on a life of its own as a representative character whose experience is common and collective rather than individual and atypical (Garland, 2001: 11). Their suffering comes to represent the immediate and is personalized with victims speaking directly to the fears and angers of the public, producing resonance through identification, which is subsequently turned to political and commercial use (*ibid.*: 144). Consequently, the media have come to view victims as a generic group who are both newsworthy and deserving of public and criminal justice support (Goodey, 2005: 12) resulting in a new cultural theme of collective victimhood. A novel relationship between the individual symbolic victim and the institutions of crime control and criminal justice has emerged (Garland, 2001: 12). The victim now plays a role in political debate and policy while also becoming detached from organized victim movements or opinions of surveyed victims. Thus they have become a focal point as a projected, politicized, image of the victim. This shift renders it important to establish why the victim has returned within the culture of control and how it undermines criminal-celebrity.

Garland's (2001: 179–80) musings about a reversal of the axis of individuation is insightful into why victims have returned during the culture of control as a new emotive force. He refers to the new individualization whereby the underdog status of an offender is undermined by their individualization as fully consenting and rational individuals who choose their criminality, rather than deprived and desperate individuals who need help. Therefore, the interpretation of an offender as the underdog declines along with the rehabilitative ideal

(*ibid.*: 179–80) and thus damages the public resonance with criminality. Meanwhile Goodey (2005: 12) comments that the return of the victim can be linked to an increase in official crime rates and hidden crime which have contributed to heightened fear of crime, intolerance towards crime and social disorder, failure of offender rehabilitation and its replacement by retributive justice. This ties in neatly to Garland's indices of change within new emotivism, reinforcing their contribution as part of the culture of control which dilutes and undermines criminal-celebrity.

Evidence of how the return of the victim is occurring and impacting upon society is highlighted by criminal justice agencies developing a very different relationship to individual victims. Interestingly, it is the question of *how* the victim is returning that sheds light upon how this is affecting criminal-celebrity as a dominant trend in celebrated criminality. The foundation of change regarding the victim was laid in the 1950s when developments began to give crime victims a voice in political and policy arenas (Mawby and Walklate, 1994: 69); however, it was not until the 1980s and 1990s that an organized victim movement gained momentum. This occurred through multiple routes including the women's movement, children's rights, the perception of a growing crime problem, and victim compensation and legal reforms (Doerner and Lab, 1998: 16–18). The success of the fight for victims' rights cannot be solely credited to special interest groups championing victim causes, but also the criminal justice system. The criminal justice systems of Britain and the USA made moves to rectify criticism over their handling of victims who have much to lose and little to gain in their involvement in case prosecution. As a result, there has been a growing focus on victim support and investing in increasing victim involvement (*ibid.*: 255–6).

The new focus on victims has led to efforts being made to understand and implement the best ways of aiding and supporting them by identifying their needs. The 1998 British Crime Survey (BCS) illustrated the return of the victim to the criminal justice system by tracing the variety of reactions by victims of crime in order to improve help. These reactions range from emotional problems to a need for practical help, and confirm the claims that what a victim wants depends on factors such as gender, ethnicity and the type of crime experienced (Wilson and Ashton, 2001: 56). Growing awareness of victim needs has, according to Goodey (2005), led to a series of victim rights and compensations, and a voice in criminal proceedings ranging from separate waiting rooms to victim-impact statements. In addition, victim opinions are also becoming valued and accommodated by being offered to the judge regarding sentencing, as well as

parole boards about release (Garland, 2001: 121–2). Restorative justice (see Goodey, 2005: 183–8) has also emerged, revealing victim-centred policy that seeks to restore not just property or compensate for personal injury, but also to restore a sense of security by re-empowering the victim (Braithwaite, 1998: 328). It would appear that the return of the victim is marked by them becoming valued and central to the criminal justice process.

The return of the victim has involved them becoming what appears to be the favoured constituency within criminal justice. This is reflected by agencies keeping victims better informed, treated with greater sensitivity and given access to support as well as provided with compensation for injuries (Garland, 2001: 121). However, according to Elias (1993a), there is another purpose behind the return of the victim than simply providing them with better rights and support. He argues that much of the favour shown towards victims demonstrates the political intent of producing a flurry of new policy and victim initiatives that reflect an agenda of emotional and punitive policy towards crime and society. For instance, the interests and feelings of the victims – actual victims, victims' families, potential victims and the projected figure of the victim – are being routinely invoked to support punitive measures (Garland 2001: 11). They are being used to portray that the best method to help themselves as victims and the public, who embody other potential victims, is to curb offender rights and increase police powers. Consequently, it can be suggested that the real meaning behind the return of the victim to crime policy is that victims are being politically manipulated rendering them still victims (Elias, 1993a: vii, 3). In such an environment where the victim has returned, opportunities for the offender to gain public resonance and thus celebrated status are undermined, limiting the ranks of criminal-celebrity other than through iniquity.

The congenial conditions provided by new emotivism within the culture of control have aided in the return of the victim which has in turn contributed to diluting and undermining the governing abilities of the criminal-celebrity trend and celebrated criminality. The victim is coming to replace the offender as a celebrated form. Offenders' actions are being rendered non-heroic, admirable or worthy of celebration by the new political imperative that victims must be protected, their voices heard, memory honoured, anger expressed and fears addressed (Garland, 2001: 11). Consequently, the returning victim does little to propagate criminal-celebrity as it creates personalized and visible victims, for example through the 1996 Victim's Charter, which provided rights to the victimized and contributed to making victims visible (Goodey, 2005: 128).

This visibility is important as it undermines the capacity of criminals to gain resonance and celebrated status because the victim becomes personalized, becomes a person with whom the public will feel sympathy. The possibility of resonance with criminality is further decreased by the view that presenting any compassion for them is an insult to the victim and their family (Garland, 2001: 143). Therefore, just as the victim becomes visible, so the offender (who is potentially a criminal-celebrity) is largely nullified.

The increasing return of the victim to visibility in the criminal justice system and their personalization via the celebrated victim trend has meant that a criminal has less opportunity to be romanticized as a rebel against an oppressive force. Instead, criminal-celebrities become victimizers of the innocent or simply vicious thugs. In turn their behaviour becomes virtually indefensible, for they are not fighting for a greater public cause, but for their own personal gain. Unlike their predecessors, who have been victims due to social injustice and tyranny or other forms of social instability, the majority of criminal-celebrities from the mid-twentieth century onwards have not been motivated by such causes. They have, in the eyes of the public, joined ranks with other perceived wicked, oppressive and threatening entities such as the wealthy and powerful, and also, at times, the government. As such the criminal cannot be embraced as a rebel, a free man in a society in which those who do not have liberty are seen as exploited and oppressed; they are not a revolt against law and morality or a talisman of liberty and pleasure (Hibbert, 1963: 301). Instead, the criminal-celebrity is beginning to be perceived without romanticization due to the return of personalized victims. Criminal-celebrities are being perceived as self-oriented, profit-driven and violent lawbreakers, which prevents them from playing down their role as a victimizer.

### **Criminological thought and criminal justice policy and structure**

The second part of the argument regarding the culture of control undermining criminal-celebrity by significantly damaging resonance and thus posing a credible threat to celebrated criminality in its current form, does not fall under new emotivism. Instead, it ties into changing criminal justice policy and structure, which can be related to the final six culture of control indices of change:

7. the transformation of criminological thought
8. politicization and the new populism
9. the reinvention of the prison

10. the expanding infrastructure of crime prevention and community safety
11. civil society and the commercialization of crime control
12. new management styles and working practices

These six indices of changes are interpreted as more than merely characteristic of the culture of control. They have a three-way role as causes, catalysts and also consequences of and within the culture of control. As causes, the indices of change within criminological thought and criminal justice policy and structure provide the foundation for the culture of control in that they cause it to occur; meanwhile, as catalysts, the indices encourage and speed up the development of the culture of control; and as consequences they are a direct response to other changes such as new emotivism. This three-way role reflects the diverse ways in which the culture of control can be interpreted. It cannot be pinned down neatly as simply a cause, catalyst or consequence, for these latter six indices of changes are hybrid of all three facets.

#### *Transformation of criminological thought*

The transformation of criminological thought beyond nineteenth- and twentieth-century modernity is important to the weakening of criminal-celebrity. This is because it highlights that criminological explanations for criminality have moved beyond simply suggesting that criminals possess abnormal psychology and physiology but instead also considers sociological contributions to the formation of lawbreakers (Hollin, 2002: 147–9; Rock, 2002: 74–5; Garland, 2001: 15). This modernist period was a

criminological *episteme*, [that] was both historically distinctive and structured in a fashion that was well adapted to the individualizing processes of criminal justice and the social rationality of the welfare state. (Garland, 2001: 15)

It was in this environment that, according to Rock's (1994) *The History of Criminology*, criminology was largely defined by the central explanatory theme of the modern world, namely, social deprivation. This suggested that the solution for crime lay in individualized corrective treatment, support and supervision of families and in welfare-enhancing measures (Garland, 2001: 15). The notion of social deprivation was useful to the formation of criminal-celebrity as criminality could tap resonance through public sympathies and pity for class deficiency. However, the post-modern period is marked by a different set of criminological ideas

emerging and influencing policy and contributing to the culture of control.

The theories of post-modernity, which shape public and official thinking and action, are predominantly control theories whereby crime is a problem not of deprivation, but of inadequate forms of control. Consequently, social controls, situation controls and self-controls are the dominant themes of criminology thought and the subsequent crime-control policies to which they give rise (ibid.: 15). Control theories are a dark vision of the human condition, which assumes that individuals are self-serving, anti-social and attracted to criminal conduct unless manipulated, guided and disciplined. For example, video and DVD piracy is being emphasized in campaigns as funding terrorism as well as drug and human trafficking.<sup>18</sup> Despite this, the market for illegal movies continues due to individuals who accommodate crimes that do not necessarily directly affect them in order to obtain cheap and pre-release movies. Such views and interpretations of society undermine the celebration of criminality, as it can no longer tap a romanticized, heroic image. The shift away from the modernist approach to crime towards the post-modern stance is significant as it marks the growing importance and consideration of control, supporting the culture of control as a governing force within contemporary society.

The growing importance of control to understanding and thinking about crime and criminality ties in neatly to another current of criminological thought that Garland (2001) identifies as developing within the era of the culture of control. Namely, control theories of everyday life such as criminology of the self, which strip criminal-celebrity of its celebrity by allaying disproportionate fears and promoting preventative action (ibid.: 137). Criminology of the self turns crime and criminals into mundane, routine events making offenders into normal, rational consumers who are 'just like us' (Rock, 2002: 60–1; Felson, 1994: 20). Crime is understood as an occurrence which necessitates no special motivation, disposition, pathology or abnormality. Subsequently, criminology of the self normalizes criminality and further contributes to undermining criminal-celebrity. It highlights a process whereby resonance with the criminal-celebrity trend becomes undermined by reducing the glamour and appeal of criminality because it appears to be mundane and routine. The achievement of celebrity by criminality is reduced through normalizing and deglamorizing crime, making it more difficult to achieve public resonance.

Interestingly, behind the criminology of the self-control theory is a diametrically opposed approach referred to as criminology of the other

(Garland, 2001: 137). This approach is of 'the threatening outcast, the fearsome stranger, the excluded and the embittered' which demonizes the criminal, acting out popular fears and endorsing state punishment (ibid.: 137). Although this stance does promote resonance with criminality through fears and melodrama, it does, however, inspire fear of crime that reduces the public ability to resonate with criminality, aiding in the dilution of the criminal-celebrity trend. Despite the theories of criminology of the other and criminology of the self being in stark contrast to one another, they co-exist within the culture of control and weaken criminal-celebrity as governance (ibid.: 182). Therefore, the contribution of the transformation of criminological thought towards the weakening of criminal-celebrity can be argued as a fundamental undermining process.

#### *Shifting criminal justice policy and structure*

New emotivism and the transformation of criminological thought as part of the dilution process of criminal-celebrity, and thus also celebrated criminality in its current form, are also joined by the final five indices of change which fall under the broad theme of a shift within criminal justice policy and structure. These shifts are interlinked with the decline of the rehabilitative ideal within new emotivism, which helps create a vacuum within criminal justice for the treatment and handling of criminals. Fitting into this space, and thus demonstrating itself as a response to circumstances, is the index of change referred to as politicization and the new populism. This change emphasizes the shift within politics towards a new consensus, which is formed around 'penal measures that are perceived as tough, smart and popular with the public' (ibid.: 14). In other words, public opinion is operating as a privileged source rather than being an occasional brake on policy initiatives as it was in the past (ibid.: 13; Pratt, 2002: 163). As a result, policy initiatives and attitudes are announced in political settings with sound-bite statements such as 'Three-strikes and you're out', 'Adult time for adult crime', 'Zero-tolerance' and 'Tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime' (Zimring, 1996: 243–56). Within this situation the existence of the criminal-celebrity as well as celebrated criminality in its current form is threatened. Resonance with criminality is undermined, which weakens criminal-celebrity and thus threatens the celebration of crime through increasing public involvement in rejecting it.

Within the arena of politicization and the new populism another culture of control's index of change, the reinvention of the prison, plays an important role. During the modern period prison was viewed as a



necessary last resort, despite being counter-productive and poorly oriented to correctionalist goals. However, post-modernity marked by the culture of control highlights a shift in this view of prison, in that since the 1970s the steepest and most sustained increase in the rate of imprisonment has been recorded in both the USA and Britain (Pratt, 2002: 177). The prison is no longer a last resort, but has been reinvented to portray that 'prison works' – not as a form of rehabilitation, which is in decline, but as a means of incapacitation and punishment that keeps the public safe (ibid.: 179–80; Garland, 1990: 289–90; Garland, 2001: 14). It has transformed itself into a seemingly 'indispensable pillar of contemporary social order' (Garland, 2001: 14). The reinvention of prison combined with politicization and new populism contributes to the undermining of criminal-celebrity by actively making criminality into the undesirable enemy of the public within criminal justice. This shift, supported by coinciding theories of the criminology of the other and criminology of the self, alienates criminality from public resonance and undermines the possibility of criminals gaining celebrity.

Besides the reinvention of the prison, other significant criminal justice policy and structural shifts are occurring that reflect the emerging culture of control as Foucauldian government. Such a shift includes methods of tackling crime, which have become decollectivized since the 1970s and are no longer the sole province of the state (Loader and Sparks, 2002: 88–9). These shifts involve two more of the culture of control's indices of change: the expanding infrastructure of crime prevention and community safety; and civil society and the commercialization of crime control. These two changes highlight the characteristic quality of the culture of control to shift away from state control towards multiple forms of governing. The expanding infrastructure of crime prevention and community safety creates a structure that is assembled at a local level to target crime made up of a network of partnership arrangements and inter-agency agreements.

Importantly, all these interconnections foster crime prevention and enhance community safety through community involvement (Crawford, 1998: 124–5; Garland, 2001: 16). For example, community policing (Crawford, 1998: 46–147), Safer City programmes (ibid.: 52–8), Neighbourhood Watch (ibid.: 147–50) and crime-prevention panels are all oriented towards prevention, security, harm-reduction, loss-reduction and fear-reduction, which are different to traditional goals of punishment (Garland, 2001: 17). The shift towards crime prevention and community safety is accompanied by what Garland (2001: 17) defines as civil society and the com-

mercialization of crime control, which reflects the cluster of preventative practices that straddles the public and private and therefore beyond the powers of the state. Consequently, there have been developments such as the rapid expansion of the private security industry (Loader and Sparks, 2002: 90–1) at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The culture of control indices of change towards crime prevention and community safety, as well as civil society and the commercialization of crime control, further the dilution and undermining process of criminal-celebrity and celebrated criminality, with both changes marking a normalization and routinization of crime. Crime prevention and community safety are particularly useful in weakening the celebration of criminality by making crime routine and a normal problem in society, with every individual member of the public responsible for fighting it. Criminals are made into a direct threat to the individual, who in response takes a role in preventing victimization by 'doing their bit'. For example, the neighbourhood watch scheme involves local people taking responsibility for their safety and preventing victimization through crime by supporting and watching out for one another. This provides further support and evidence that criminal justice policy and structure are changing to the disadvantage of the celebration of criminality through normalization and reconfiguration of how crime is tackled, as shown through increasing decentralization.

The five indices of change within criminological theory and criminal justice policy and structure lay a foundation which provides a congenial environment for the final culture of control index of change, namely, new management styles and working practices. This change demonstrates that criminal justice, despite being understood in the past to be a crime-fighting force, is increasingly a responsive public service aiming to reduce fear, disorder and incivility (Garland, 2001: 18). Feeley and Simon (1996: 368–9) refer to the shift towards new management styles and working practices as a new penology. They argue that criminal justice is no longer about punishing or rehabilitating offenders, but identifying and managing unruly groups. This ties in well to the notion that the culture of control is undermining criminal-celebrity by normalizing it and making it a mundane everyday occurrence, unworthy of celebration. In addition, new penology interweaves with the reinvention of the prison as a holding pen for the unruly and the need for expanding crime prevention and community safety as well as commercializing crime control.

The new management styles and working practices are particularly evident as criminal justice agencies become more business-like (Newburn, 2003: 260), for example through New Public Management (NPM).

According to Raine and Willson, 'the perceived attributes of the well-run private sector company (of high efficiency, of explicit accountabilities, of clear objectives, and of measured performance)' (1993: 23) are increasingly applied to management in the police, prison and probation services and other agencies. The key characteristics of NPM remain disputed but include emphasis on achieving results rather than administering processes, identification of core competencies, the redesignation of clients as customers, explicit targets and performance indicators, cost-effectiveness and management measures which narrow and regulate professional discretion (Newburn, 2003: 260). Within this environment little room is provided for resonance and the celebration of crime in the form of the criminal-celebrity trend as criminality becomes routine and bureaucratic, rather than rebellious and exciting.

The achievement of criminal-celebrity status is becoming undermined by a general decline in public resonance with criminality. This decline is twofold. Firstly, it is related to underworld exhibitionists and their growing pursuit of celebrity status leading to devaluation due to over-saturation and over-commercialization of criminal-celebrities. The second component in the decline of resonance is the emergence of the culture of control which undermines the celebration of criminality via new emotivism, as well as changes within criminological theory and criminal justice policy and structure. Of particular significance is the growth of public fear of crime that has confined and reduced the public ability to resonate with criminal-celebrity. As a result of reduced public resonance with criminality, which is largely due to the emergence of culture of control as Foucauldian government, the criminal-celebrity trend is declining, forcing celebrated criminality into a position whereby it must evolve in order to survive as a form of governance. The next chapter will explore how celebrated criminality has evolved in order to meet the threat of becoming undermined by changing circumstances. This will be through exploring the second trend of celebrated criminality, which is growing to replace criminal-celebrity, namely, rogue celebrity, whereby celebrities become associated with or commit criminal or deviant acts.

## Notes

- 1 'Chopper in the raw'  
<http://k2760.tripod.com/id3.html>
- 2 'Chopper Read – The Pedestrian Council of Australia commercial'  
<http://www.walk.com.au/pedestriancouncil/page.asp>
- 3 'Chopper Read Schwartz Foundation commercial'  
<http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/2007/chopper-read-on-violence-against-women/>

- 4 'Former gangster hires drum consultancy', 19 July 2002, *Stop Press*.  
[http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary\\_0286-6898070\\_ITM?](http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-6898070_ITM?)
- 5 R. Kray and L. Hamilton (2002) *Branded*, London: Blake; R. Kray and K. Kray (1997) *Sorted*, London: Blake.
- 6 R. Smith, Joe Lee and P. Gerrard (2001) *Inside the Kray Family: The Twins' Cousins Tell their Story for the First Time*, London: Carlton Books.
- 7 K. Kray, R. Kray and M. Bruce (1993) *Murder, Madness and Marriage*, London: Blake; K. Kray (2000) *The Twins: Free at Last*, London: Blake; K. Kray (1995) *Married to the Krays*, Cornwall: Atlantic Transport Publishers.
- 8 R. Kray (2002) *Reg Kray: A Man Apart*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- 9 T. Lambrianou and C. Clerk (1991) *Inside the Firm: The Untold Story of the Krays' Reign of Terror*, London: Smith Gryphon; C. Lambrianou and R. McGibbon (1995) *Escape from the Kray Madness*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson; B. Webb (1993) *Running with the Krays: My Life in London's Gangland*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.
- 10 C. Bronson (2004) *The Krays and Me*, London: Blake; D. Courtney, Foreword, in S. Wraith and S. Wheatman (2002) *The Krays: The Geordie Connection*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Zymurgy Publishing.
- 11 J. Morton and Mrs. X (1997) *Calling Time on the Krays: The Barmaid's Tale*, London: Time Warner.
- 12 J. Pearson (1984) *The Profession of Violence: The Rise and Fall of the Kray Twins*, 3rd edn, London: Granada; J. Pearson (2001) *The Cult of Violence: The Untold Story of the Krays*, London: Orion; M. Fido (1999) *The Krays: Unfinished Business*, London: Carlton.
- 13 'Parents avoiding trips to London', 6 Oct. 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/4315880.stm>  
In Depth London Attacks website:  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in\\_depth/uk/2005/london\\_explosions/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in_depth/uk/2005/london_explosions/default.stm)
- 14 'Crime case closed: Peter Sutcliffe, the Yorkshire Ripper'  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/crime/caseclosed/yorkshireripper1.shtml>
- 15 America's Day of Terror website:  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in\\_depth/americas/2001/day\\_of\\_terror/](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/americas/2001/day_of_terror/)
- 16 'Madeleine reward rises to £2.5m', 12 May 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6649951.stm>
- 17 'How the Shannon Matthews kidnap plot fell apart', 4 Dec. 2008  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/dec/04/shannon-matthews-kidnap-plot>
- 18 'Q&A: DVD piracy' 12 July 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/3887189.stm>

# 6

## The Evolution of Celebrated Criminality

The rise of celebrated criminality through the culture industry and its subsequent dilution through the undermining of its dominant trend, criminal-celebrity, changed in response to shifting circumstances. Celebrated criminality has evolved in the face of being threatened as a governance form with the growth and dominance of its second and previously subsidiary trend of rogue celebrity (celebrities who become associated with or commit criminal or deviant acts). This trend has emerged to become the dominant trend, replacing criminal-celebrity, within celebrated criminality. This chapter investigates the rise and increasing dominance of the rogue celebrity within celebrated criminality as briefly outlined in Chapter 3. By using media coverage of rogue-celebrity stories it will be argued that rogue celebrity is aiding celebrated criminality to evolve and survive the undermining processes of the Foucauldian government of the culture of control. A rogue-celebrity conceptualization and exploration of stories within the public domain of the impact of wild behaviour upon celebrity careers, image and status will be used to illustrate why certain rogue celebrities fail to survive their association with criminality and deviance, while others appear to benefit from their actions. Additionally, the wider implications of rogue celebrity are analysed in relation to their treatment within the criminal justice system.

### **Rogue celebrity, charisma and re-enchanting the disenchanted world**

Rogue celebrities are those celebrities who either achieve their status through being deviant from the outset or whose celebrated status becomes associated with, and subsumed by, criminal or deviant acts. Rogue celebrity encapsulates ordinariness in that they can err on the

wrong side of the law like any other member of the public can, while at the same time being part of the glamorous celebrated world. Thus rogue celebrity is a contradiction that stands within Max Weber's (1946) disenchanted world. Weber (1946: 155) wrote, 'The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the "disenchantment of the world"' whereby 'the bearing of man [has been] denuded of its mystical but inwardly genuine plasticity' (ibid.: 148).

Weber's use of the term disenchantment rather than secularization is suggestive because it points to his concern with subjective experience as well as patterns of social organization and thought. Disenchantment highlights the progressive disillusionment of the world whereby the magical, mystical and religious are being slowly eliminated in favour of the rational, scientific and bureaucratic. There are no longer 'mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation' (ibid.: 139). Weber's concerns over disenchantment depend on the assumption that humankind can in principle master all forces and thus destroy all mysteries. He argues that mystery is to be solved by science, technology or other worldly efforts, and, consequently, that the public no longer wish to enter into mysteries, but to conquer them by making them calculable and predictable. However, contemporary science suggests that not all of the factors that cause an event in all of its particularity can be known, therefore mastery can only ever be approximate. Therefore, contemporary society does have the phenomenon of celebrity and perhaps more significantly rogue celebrity, which fascinates and enchants, raising the question as to just how disenchanted is our society?

The disenchanted world is illustrated through charisma and the movement towards institutionalizing the independent realm of charismatic leadership. Charisma is

a quality regarded as extraordinary and attributed to a person ... The latter is believed to be endowed with power and properties, which are supernatural and superhuman, or at least exceptional even where accessible to others. (Weber, 1968: 241)

Those in possession of charisma are understood by Weber to be natural leaders who emerge in times of psychological, physical, economic, ethical, religious or political distress. They are not office holders and do not possess expert knowledge but instead they are those individuals whose specific gifts of body and spirit are not accessible to everyone and are often believed to be supernatural (ibid.: 18–19). These charismatic individuals

are an important source of enchantment in that they supply drama, daring, excitement and heroism. Unfortunately, the processes of rationalism and institutions of the post-modern world contribute to the disenchanting world by institutionalizing charisma. Charisma is absorbed into post-modern society where it undermines the charismatic, who represented the rejection of private gain for the service of others, gaining and maintaining authority solely by proving strength and basing it upon an emotional form of communal relations (ibid.: 21–2, 50, 54). The charismatic leader is becoming routinized, changing the message of charisma into dogma, doctrine, regulations, law and rigid tradition (ibid.: 88). Charisma is being disenchanting. As a result, even the charismatic leader ‘endowed with power and properties, which are supernatural and super-human, or at least exceptional even where accessible to others’ (ibid.: 241) is becoming disenchanting.

Although Weber’s understanding of the ‘disenchantment of the world’, particularly in relation to charisma, does shed light upon societal shifts, it fails to adequately accommodate for celebrity or celebrated criminality, raising the question as to just how disenchanting is our society? Celebrities, according to Dyer (1999: 42) orchestrate appealing contradictory elements which allow resonance. They are both ordinary, making them ‘one of us’ in the eyes of the public, and extraordinary, according to the mass media. Celebrities provide a route to re-enchanting the world via their dual status. However, contradictory elements are even better represented in the celebrated criminality trend of rogue celebrity than in celebrity as it asserts even more strongly the ordinary among the extraordinary. The increasing dominance of rogue celebrity as part of the evolution of celebrated criminality is coming to play an important part in re-enchanting disenchanting society. For although the charismatic leader, as defined by Weber, may be in decline due to the disenchantment of the world, the subversive trend of rogue celebrities is causing a re-enchantment of the world. Rogue celebrity offers re-enchantment by allowing the public to vicariously live out daring and rebellious dreams and fantasies, while also suggesting that there is no need to possess a Weberian supernatural charisma to enter the enchanted celebrity world. They also re-enchant by encapsulating elements of charismatic leadership. For instance, they stand outside the societal norms on a twofold level: as celebrities and as criminals or deviants.

The significance of this double status is that rogue celebrities bridge the gap between the enchanted world where charisma thrives and the disenchanting world where charisma perishes. They provide a form of entertainment that fulfils the ‘set of specific and fickle audiences ... by

[being], deviant, daring, and even oppositional to the values of these audiences' (Gans, 1993: 151). The rogue celebrity provides a charismatic re-enchantment of society by providing an escape from the mundane and routine world of work and society through distraction and entertainment. They can be used as a warning, in that the well-known can be deglamorized and their previous status destroyed, while also providing a new cohesive unifier to bind the public together by providing a focal point for shared mass meaning and identity. In so doing, rogue celebrity re-enchants a disenchanting world.

### **Conceptualizing the rogue-celebrity trend**

Rogue celebrities, like celebrity and criminal-celebrities, necessitate conceptualization in order to be able to classify different cases of celebrities whose image is originally deviant or criminal or becomes such after association with or conviction for such behaviour. Classification of rogue celebrities is different to that of criminal-celebrities in order to accommodate celebrities who are 'rogue' although not actually convicted of a crime, but whose image becomes dominated by their deviant or unconvicted criminal behaviour. Therefore, rogue celebrities can be classified as: celebrity suspect, celebrity deviant and celebrity criminal. The celebrity suspect refers to those celebrities who are suspected or associated with a crime whether or not the ultimate outcome is proven innocence. Therefore, in this category celebrity status is tainted by the suspicion of criminality, which is contrary to their previous image and thus potentially deglamorizes them leading to a downfall in their celebrated status.

Meanwhile, the celebrity deviant is not necessarily a criminal, but a celebrity who is a rebel. These individuals are a celebrity whose original celebrity status is based upon the portrayal of a bad or naughty image and are consequently expected by the public to be deviant or even criminal. There are some exceptions whereby celebrities with a more pristine image commit a deviant rather than criminal act and suffer consequences. The final category comprises the celebrity criminal, which refers to those celebrities who are caught and subsequently found guilty of a crime resulting in a conviction. Within the celebrity-criminal category the crimes that are committed range from minor offences, such as public drunkenness or speeding, to major crimes including murder, rape or paedophilia.

Rogue celebrity can be achieved through the same factors that form criminal-celebrity – crime types, context and image. It is these factors



which strengthen or limit the achievement and maintenance of celebrated status. The factor of image is different from criminal-celebrity whereby it is romanticized or idealized to achieve celebrity. Instead, for rogue celebrities image is affected by the transgression of that image. A transgression by a celebrity involves the contradiction of the original image they portrayed to initially gain their celebrated status. Such a transgression via compromising behaviour could, for example, involve a television presenter such as Jonathan King, who initially fell into the non-subversive celebrity category of Personality, but being jailed for sexual offences instigated his deglamorization and he shifted into the Notorious category of celebrity, or, in other words, celebrated criminality. Within celebrated criminality he would become classifiable within the rogue-celebrity trend. In such a case the rogue celebrity in question would be unlikely to survive their image transgression, and having been deglamorized they would be unable to regain their former status.

The potential for shifting categories, even between trends within celebrity and also within celebrated criminality, reinforces Bauman's (2000) theory of liquefaction or liquidity. Within a society liquidity suggests that identities are fluid, merging into one another and causing problems in maintaining any identity-defining boundaries. In such a liquid society it is perhaps unsurprising that celebrities easily and rapidly shift categories in response to their changing image, which is their identity. Consequently, applying the notion of liquidity is illuminating to the culture industry, celebrity and celebrated criminality because it sheds light upon the flexibility of Foucauldian government and governance forms to shift according to changing circumstances. This is crucial in providing an understanding of the ability of celebrated criminality to adapt and evolve in response to the undermining processes of the culture of control.

The classification of celebrities who have entered the rogue-celebrity trend within celebrated criminality depends on three components: who the celebrity is; what kind of image they present prior to their criminality; and what sort of audience their initial celebrity image appeals to. These components all contribute to which crime type (acceptable crime, non-acceptable crime or horror crime) will classify the rogue celebrity and that in turn is affected by the context (time period and place) with repercussions for image. As a consequence, a celebrity can be deglamorized, remain unaffected, or will actually benefit from their criminal or deviant exploits.

Historically, rogue-celebrity categories reveal that even suspicion or association with criminality or deviance had serious consequences. It

appears that notoriety is a resource for those who crave well-knownness, particularly for those desiring a route into a celebrity career; however, this course of action to celebrity status was avoided up to the 1980s (Cashmore, 2006: 144). From as early as the 1920s, when the first major mass-mediated celebrities began to emerge, there were fatalities via scandalous image transgression. For instance, screen comedian Fatty Arbuckle fell foul of public opinion and became deglamorized at the height of his fame when he faced a rape and manslaughter charge. Despite being acquitted after three trials, his screen career was ruined, and films awaiting release when the scandal broke were never released (Walter, 1970: 204). Ingrid Bergman also endured deglamorization for her deviant act of infidelity with director Roberto Rossellini and the consequent birth of an illegitimate child bringing about the downfall of her US career (Powdermaker, 1951: 251). She became a pariah in America virtually overnight, even being denounced in the US Senate.<sup>1</sup> These two examples reveal that despite innocence in the case of Arbuckle and a single deviant act in a private relationship for Bergman that some deviant taint is impossible to wash off of a celebrity image, leading to both celebrities becoming rogue celebrities.

Two major factors are traceable in the deglamorization of Arbuckle and Bergman and their entrance into rogue celebrity. The first factor is the important contribution of the contextual time period to their downfall, that is, the 1920s and 1950s. Both of these celebrities, in relation to the accepted morals and standards of the era, became associated with or committed acts that were considered unacceptable. The second contributing factor is that both celebrities' images had been non-subversive. Arbuckle's image was based on comedy and being a family entertainer while Bergman's celebrity image was pure and wholesome. Consequently, their association with activities of deviance and criminality rudely shattered the image that the public had resonated with, stimulating a dramatic and communal response that brought about the deglamorization of both celebrities. Interestingly, the deglamorization of Arbuckle and Bergman suggests that from the outset of mass-mediated celebrity there are different rules for those who gain well-knownness. It appears that for celebrities there is a paradoxical requirement for them to be an exemplary citizen who cannot transgress their image without facing the consequences of deglamorization. Being an exemplary citizen is difficult for celebrities due to the combination of high visibility and public fascination through mass-media coverage that leads to ever-closer scrutiny and exposure. As a result there are heightened chances of becoming a rogue celebrity despite attempts at secrecy or privacy.

The risk of public invasion into the private, leading to deglamorization via a decline in resonance, has grown along with mass-media forms and consumption. Subsequently, there is nowhere for the celebrity to hide; they are vulnerable to media and public criticism, judgement and condemnation for their actions (Thompson, 2000: 260–1; Bird, 1997: 100). The media and their ability to mould public opinion often lead to what has become known as a trial by media, and this was experienced by both Bergman and Arbuckle. Suspected or associated celebrities can be deemed guilty even before they are charged or stand trial within the criminal justice system; the scandal often leads to deglamorization and entrance into the trend of rogue celebrity. Scandal, according to Thompson (2000: ix), has the capacity to disrupt a flow of events, derail the most well-constructed plan and destroy the reputations and careers of the individuals engulfed by it. Unfortunately, the nature and extent of visibility are symptomatic of the transformation of public life by the Foucauldian government of the culture industry, and by the governance form of celebrity and its emerging culture of celebrity. Therefore, scandal, or the undermining of a projected image, reveals the nature of power or rather the ultimate lack of power, as well as the fragility, of celebrity image when it has been transgressed or tainted through suspicion (*ibid.*: 6).

It is ironic to consider how criminal or deviant behaviour can become acceptable and even normal in a different time period. For example, Bergman's adultery and illegitimate child would be considered unworthy of the deglamorization process, with infidelity and children born out of wedlock having become relatively commonplace. Elizabeth Hurley was not deglamorized on account of her pregnancy outside marriage, and film producer Stephen Bing only accepting his fatherhood following a court case and paternity testing.<sup>2</sup>

Association with serious crimes such as rape or murder is also no longer necessarily a death knell for celebrity careers, as is evidenced by Mike Tyson, who was convicted for rape, but still went on to continue a successful and popular boxing career.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, however, Tyson argued that the burden of being labelled a rapist had affected him, even leading to him allegedly saying that he would now rape Desiree Washington, most likely as a reflection of his anger about what he considered was a wrongful conviction.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, US gangsta rapper Marion 'Suge' Knight, despite facing a federal investigation into the murder of rapper Christopher 'Notorious B.I.G.' Wallace, is still a successful artist. It is notable that both of these examples of celebrities surviving association and conviction of the major crimes of rape and murder are individuals who became well known on the basis of subversive images. Therefore, it can be argued that celebri-

ties whose initial image is rebellious or 'bad' make it easier to survive a criminal or deviant act in any era, since the public expect it. For instance, Mick Jagger, who was convicted for marijuana possession in 1967, had his image confirmed rather than enduring deglamorization.

Crime type and image are particularly interlinked in strengthening and weakening rogue celebrity because some crimes are acceptable for certain images while not for others. An example of such deglamorization that impacts on a celebrity career is the case of Angus Deayton who presented the BBC's quiz show *Have I Got News For You* for 12 years. Deayton was asked to stand down from his position as a presenter following newspaper allegations of cocaine use and encounters with prostitutes in 2002.<sup>5</sup> This is in contrast to British radio DJ and television presenter Jamie Theakston, whose publicized encounter with a prostitute in December 2001, despite attempts to prevent its publication (Howarth, 2002: 265), did little to damage his celebrity career as it did in the case of Deayton. However, it is possible that Theakston's deglamorization was mitigated by his claims of blackmail by the photographer who photographed him in a brothel he had been tricked into entering.

Although much transgressive behaviour by celebrities leading to deglamorization is connected to the context and their image, there are some crime types that have consistently been considered unacceptable no matter when, where or by whom they are conducted. These unacceptable crimes lead to irreversible deglamorization whereby the individuals permanently enter rogue-celebrity status. A key example is a paedophile, whereby the offender physically abuses a child either sexually or through the possession, creation or distribution of child pornography. The cases of Gary Glitter and Jonathan King are especially illuminating of this argument. Glam rock musician Glitter was convicted in the UK for downloading child pornography from the Internet in 1999<sup>6</sup> while King was convicted for sexual offences on boys,<sup>7</sup> leading to a seven-year custodial sentence.

Both men's pop-music careers and reputations have been destroyed, with Glitter enduring self-imposed exile from Britain that is marked with infamy because of his eventual deportation from Cambodia and a custodial sentence in Vietnam following a conviction for child sex offences.<sup>8</sup> Following his release, deportation and failed attempts at entry into Thailand and Hong Kong in 2008, Glitter has talked about plans to continue with his music career.<sup>9</sup> King, meanwhile, following his release in March 2005, having served only three and half years of his sentence, continues to protest his innocence and seeks to resurrect his media career through the release of a CD and the stated intention

of writing a musical about Cole Porter.<sup>10</sup> It remains to be seen if his career can recover, with major doubts being raised in the media.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, certain crime types demonstrate themselves as remaining unacceptable, even in the post-modern age at the beginning of the twenty-first century, where previous deviant and criminal acts or associations have become acceptable. As a consequence, rogue celebrity demonstrates itself to be a fluid trend which shifts and changes according to the type of crime, context and image, making it ideal for providing celebrated criminality with the flexibility to adapt to the undermining processes of the culture of control.

### **Rogue-celebrity avoidance of deglamorization**

Not all celebrities who become rogue celebrities remain as such, but can shift back to the categories of celebrity, leaving behind their rogue status and become reglamorized. What is notable about crimes and deviant acts by celebrities is that sometimes these rule-breaking actions can glamorize and at other times deglamorize. The predictability of glamorization or deglamorization is related to the success or failure of techniques used to survive image transgression or at least to avoid permanent deglamorization. These techniques have varying degrees of success and some require more effort from the individual than others. Some rogue celebrities use their shift in status as a career boost while others seek to minimize deglamorization before attempts are made to regain their initial celebrity status.

### **Public expectation and image transgression as a career boost**

Rogue celebrities whose image is based upon things which are deemed deviant or criminal in society possess more leeway in surviving deglamorization by fulfilling public expectation than the average celebrity figure entering rogue celebrity. Even those celebrities who commit or are associated with crime or deviance in a non-congenial context can avoid deglamorization and enjoy a career boost by fulfilling their image. For example, part of Rita Hayworth's charm in the 1940s was her *femme fatale* image that was increased by her five marriages including to Orson Welles and Prince Aly Khan, which confirmed her *risqué* image. Likewise, FBI allegations of statutory rape and white slavery with regard to Errol Flynn had little effect on his celebrity status and career other than cementing the popular public perception of him as Hollywood's most scandalous leading man. Neither Hayworth nor Flynn transgressed the image with which they rose to stardom. Instead, they fulfilled public expectation by

being outrageous, rebellious and bad even in eras when such behaviour was considered largely unacceptable. Subsequently, these cases demonstrate that a celebrity does not have to live in a context that accepts their deviant or criminal behaviour if their original image is already subversive.

Towards the beginning of the twenty-first century, the celebrity deviant has had greater scope than their predecessors to fulfil their bad or rather subversive image, as is highlighted by association with fairly serious deviance or criminal acts that fail to damage images. For example, the image of ex-footballer turned actor Vinnie Jones failed to be affected by accusations of indecent assault,<sup>12</sup> which only reinforced his original 'bad boy' of football image. Other instances of accepted behaviour of celebrity deviants include the late British actor Oliver Reed<sup>13</sup> and footballing legend George Best, both of whose alcoholism and laddish or loutish behaviour became part of fulfilling their image. It was expected by the public that stories of misbehaviour would occur at intervals regarding these two men. This situation for Best highlights a deglamorized descent from Hero to celebrity deviant. Interestingly, despite his deviance, Best maintained a degree of glamour from his previous Hero status thus causing resonance through sympathy and pity for a living legend gone into decline. His development of severe liver problems,<sup>14</sup> due to decades of alcohol abuse, and his subsequent death,<sup>15</sup> only confirm his pitiable celebrity-deviant image.

Celebrity-deviant and celebrity-criminal images are particularly common and anticipated by the public among rock bands who emerged from the mid-twentieth century onwards, such as the Rolling Stones, whose reputation is based not only on their music but on allegations of drug use and wild behaviour. Many band musicians fulfil a rebellious image and gain public resonance via deviant and criminal misbehaviour that does not diminish the public's opinion of them. For example, former Stone Roses singer Ian Brown was jailed for four months following threatening behaviour on an aircraft in 1998,<sup>16</sup> while singer Courtney Love was arrested at Heathrow after her self-named 'potty mouth' was so severe that airline staff reported her to the police for air-rage.<sup>17</sup> Ex-vocalist and songwriter of Black Sabbath Ozzy Osbourne also illustrates how committing deviant acts can fail to deglamorize. Osbourne specifically courted a celebrity-deviant image by biting the head off a bat while onstage in 1982, resulting in treatment for rabies, and mooned the crowd during his induction into UK's Music Hall of Fame.<sup>18</sup> Acts such as these have helped reinforce the image of Osbourne as a celebrity deviant, making him appear more authentic to his fan base.

Hip-hop and rap musicians have gained a similar reputation to rock musicians as rebellious and deviant, particularly through a number of high-profile artists who have been convicted of crimes or who convey deviance as part of their image. Such behaviour is wide ranging; for example, rapper Foxy Brown served eight months of a one-year sentence for breaking her probation for an attack on two nail-salon stylists in 2004, by hitting a woman with a mobile phone in 2007. Brown's apparent tendency for attacking others even led to her spending 76 days in isolation after a fight with a fellow inmate.<sup>19</sup> However, it is not only physical violence that is being built into some hip-hop artists' image but also misplaced loyalty with regard to the law, with rapper Lil' Kim serving time in prison in 2003 on a charge of perjury, in which she lied to protect two friends involved in a shooting.<sup>20</sup> However, the relationship of some branches of hip-hop with violence, particularly involving guns, continues to promote the deviant image of this style of music. US and UK artists, including Jay-Z, P-Diddy and So Solid, have all been associated with knife and gun crimes which have strengthened their images as deviant, and support rap lyrics relating to violence. It appears that many hip-hop artists are fulfilling public expectations of them to be associated with violence, drugs and gangs, and fail to be deglamorized by their actions and associations.

However, for those celebrities who do transgress their images by their deviant or criminal actions there is a possibility of using the situation to strengthen their image by creating a new 'naughty' dimension. As a result, some celebrities are able to avoid deglamorization despite their context and time period and their original image. For example, in the 1920s Mary Pickford's image was founded upon that of being girlish, leading to nicknames of the Girl with the Curls or Little Mary. Pickford's status remained intact despite her deviant act of divorce (as it was considered in the early twentieth century) and her rapid remarriage to fellow film star Douglas Fairbanks. In spite of their deviance they became the country's ideal couple, embodying the notion of 'American Sweethearts' (McDonald, 2000: 35, 37). Instances such as Pickford and Fairbanks are extremely rare in that an original 'good' image was transgressed in a non-congenial context and yet both celebrities survived unblemished and actually benefited in status from their actions. However, the case illustrates that exceptions exist whereby deviance can have no apparent impact at all despite context and original-image transgression.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the role of context has shifted so that many forms of deviance and criminal activity appear

acceptable or forgivable. Thus deglamorization is restricted or prevented, meaning that rogue-celebrity status can be for a limited period only. For example, actress Halle Berry, who was charged with leaving the scene of an accident, has suffered no deglamorization,<sup>21</sup> and despite her brief entrance into rogue celebrity she has shaken off the status and regained her celebrity to the extent of going on to win an Oscar in 2002. Rogue-celebrity behaviour has also had little impact on the celebrated status of actor Russell Crowe, who, despite a range of verbal and minor physical assaults, has merely gained a reputation as a 'livewire'.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, singer and songwriter Amy Winehouse demonstrates behaviour which would have been deemed unacceptable and resulted in deglamorization in the past. However, in the early twenty-first century her alleged drug-taking has not affected her success in music, as highlighted by her winning five Grammy awards in 2008,<sup>23</sup> although admittedly her image has become dominated by her deviant behaviour.

These early twenty-first-century crimes committed by well-known individuals have ultimately had little apparent affect upon their status. It appears that some rogue celebrities' deviant or criminal behaviour, which would have been utterly unacceptable in the early twentieth century, have become tools for image construction. By gaining headlines and publicity a new dimension to a celebrity's public image can be created via association with deviant naughtiness or criminal acts. Through deviance celebrities can show they are humans who make mistakes, who are not squeaky clean or perfect. In other words, image transgression in relation to guilt or even suspicion of crime or deviance has become a career boost.

The carving of a new image through image transgression is not always by choice but through being 'caught short', highlighting that celebrity image is not necessarily a true reflection of the individual. For instance, Hugh Grant's encounter in 1995 with prostitute Divine Brown in a car near Sunset Boulevard revealed a previously unperceived element of Grant's character. Although the encounter injured his image as a coy and endearing Englishman, the publicity he gained came to compensate for any damage and ultimately boosted his star image (Thompson, 2000: 250). As a result, Grant displayed the fluidity or rather the temporal dimension of his celebrity image in that it can develop and change over time, shifting from the celebrity trend to rogue celebrity and back (Dyer, 1999: 64).

Grant illustrates that transgressing the image can become a positive career move, for as one image becomes tired and repetitive to the public a



deviant act can rekindle interest and popularity. This is particularly the case if it displays that the celebrity figure is only human, as in the case of Grant, allowing the audience to resonate with their weaknesses. Typically those celebrities who manage to escape deglamorization as a result of image transgression have to reinvent themselves with a more dark or worldly image. For example, Hugh Grant went on to play nasty character roles such as in *Bridget Jones's Diary* (2001) and *About a Boy* (2002), and has even had his deviance reinforced through the alleged assault of a photographer.<sup>24</sup> Despite the transgression of image potentially being a good career move, as has been highlighted, success in regaining or maintaining celebrity and preventing becoming defined as a rogue celebrity is heavily dependent on the original celebrity image, the type of crime/deviant activity and the context, namely the time period.

### **Minimizing deglamorization after image transgression**

Improving a career via crime or deviance is not always successful or even a possibility and therefore many celebrities seek to protect and minimize any deglamorization damage following an image transgression. Various methods are used by celebrities to minimize the damage of image transgression when they enter rogue-celebrity status, but wish to regain their non-subversive celebrity status. These protective measures are central to why the criminal-celebrity is in decline while the rogue-celebrity trend survives within the culture of control. This is because criminal-celebrities cannot rely on any previous celebrity image as rogue celebrities can, and are increasingly unable to claim the status of being victims themselves due to the rise of the personalized victim. Protective measures can be distinguished as laying a foundation from which a rogue celebrity may seek a return to their previous celebrity status. These measures comprise: penance, public declaration (response to the suspicion or conviction of criminality or deviance) and victimhood.

#### *Penance*

Penance is defined as voluntary self-punishment to atone for sin, crime or wrongdoing, often associated with Christianity whereby sinners must repent and be absolved (*Collins English Dictionary*, 1995: 840). As a result, penance gives the individual an opportunity to reconsider their actions and to feel shame and regret, leaving them to produce an external response (actively change their ways). However, 'penance seeks to reach deeper than mere penal censure does' by requiring a sanctioner, such as a church authority, to inquire into the individual's feelings or at least

fashion a sanction designed to reach those feelings (Von Hirsh, 1993: 74). Penance, according to Duff (1999), seeks to elicit an *internal* response with the intention of inducing a penitent understanding within the offender. The internal response of penance involves the individual's attention being focused upon their sin or crime in order to make them understand its implications, as well as accept the censure which punishment communicates (ibid.: 51). Consequently, penance as a form of punishment serves not only as an expressive external response function, but also as a form of communication, namely internal response, which only requires one person who expresses and another who will receive and respond. The communicated message of punishment is that censure or condemnation for the sin or crime is deserved (ibid.: 49–50).

Duff (1999) adapts the notion of penance, asserting that punishment through a penal method can be seen as a secular penance, because it is retributivist, by justifying punishment as an appropriate response to a wrongdoing. Punishment as penance is best exemplified by being committed within the community to bring the offender to internally recognize the nature and implications of what they have done as well as external recognition by making material or symbolic amends (ibid.: 52–3). Therefore, penance as a form of secular punishment provides a vehicle through which an individual can repent, receive forgiveness and be re-integrated back into society. This notion of penance and reintegration is a useful method for the rogue celebrity to minimize the damage of deglamorization. By conducting a penance the rogue celebrity who wishes to return to their celebrity status can limit deglamorization by strengthening and deepening the appearance of repentance and communicate it to the public via self-correction and self-reform (ibid.: 51). In receiving punishment a rogue celebrity is provided with the means to act out both an internal and an external atonement, which is an action to appease any wrath and disappointment the public may feel at their image transgression. In doing penance the celebrity asks for and can receive forgiveness from society, although the type of crime that is committed affects this.

The notion of rogue celebrities doing penance to prevent deglamorization ties in neatly to Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming, whereby an offender is rehabilitated due to a sense of shame for their previous actions and reintegration back into the community by making amends. Generally, the message depends on the individual's receptivity to the reinforcement of inhibitions against offending. In the case of a rogue celebrity seeking out penance to avoid becoming deglamorized for their actions, reintegrative shaming is both useful and convenient. Not only does reintegrative shaming allow public and private shaming, which

embodies external and internal penance, but it also encourages gestures of reacceptance by the public that occur to reintegrate the individual. As a result a rogue celebrity can publicly display external shame and remorse as evidence of their internal response and expect to be reintegrated into previous celebrity status and society by the public witnessing their penitent acts through the media.

A rogue celebrity doing penance is important in order to survive image transgression, as it is often the only way to survive their actions with minimal deglamorization. For example, US actress Winona Ryder's conviction in 2002 for grand theft and vandalism of goods worth \$5500<sup>25</sup> has largely been forgiven, resulting in her not being substantially deglamorized. This can arguably be due to her crime type of theft and vandalism of goods and subsequent penance, whereby despite evading a prison term of up to three years, she was severely punished by being placed on probation for three years, heavily fined and ordered to do 480 hours of community service.<sup>26</sup> Interestingly, Ryder has used her community service to improve her image by her commitment to her penance, as praised by Judge Fox,<sup>27</sup> which contributed to her conviction being reduced to a misdemeanor charge and lessening her sentence to unsupervised probation until December 2005.<sup>28</sup> Ryder is part of a long list of other rogue celebrities such as Christian Slater,<sup>29</sup> Robert Downey Jr<sup>30</sup> and Tom Sizemore,<sup>31</sup> who have emerged relatively unscathed from their convictions ranging from battery to drugs through penal penance. Admittedly, however, Slater, Downey Jr and Sizemore have all experienced a more severe penance than Ryder by enduring incarceration rather than community service.

Secular penance cannot be limited to convictions and incarceration, for it can also include entering a rehabilitation clinic or maintaining a low profile for a period of time before making a comeback. With regards to the latter it appears that alienation, or rather exclusion from the public, whose resonance creates and maintains a celebrity's status, can be considered a punishment. An example is Charlie Sheen,<sup>32</sup> who has bounced back from various drug and sex addictions as well as charges for battery, aided by attendance at rehabilitation clinics. This penance led to him recreating a non-subversive image initially through his marriage to Denise Richards (which lasted only four years) and subsequently via a career revival in television series *Spin City* and *Two and a Half Men*,<sup>33</sup> thus marking his readiness to re-enter celebrity having done penance.

British model Kate Moss followed a similar route of penance and forgiveness following press allegations of cocaine use in September 2005, which led to the loss of part of her modelling portfolio. However, by

December she had been in rehab and returned to her career with contracts lined up and little long-term damage done. Her time in rehab and the break-up of her relationship with Pete Doherty, whose reputation for drugs had come to taint Moss's own image, also contributed to her ability to minimize damage to her celebrity status. Therefore, although many rogue celebrities transgress their previously clean, respectable image, they can protect themselves by actively displaying acceptance of responsibility for their actions, as well as punishment through volunteering for counselling or entering a rehabilitation clinic. The rogue celebrity can limit deglamorization through penitent acts and a reinvention of self, suggesting that a criminal record and deviance are largely forgivable, although, interestingly, box-office failures<sup>34</sup> are not.

The success of penance can help lessen deglamorization through the crime type, context and image. For instance, a particularly serious type of crime such as domestic violence by a rogue celebrity can still be forgiven in the eyes of the public, leading to reintegration, if the individual adopts a suitable penance. Sheen<sup>35</sup> and Slater<sup>36</sup> are examples of such a scenario, with both having endured charges for drugs and battery, but have recovered their celebrity status following hybrid penances of prison, rehabilitation and counselling. Interestingly, in other cases a lesser crime or even innocence in the face of an accusation may still bring about significant deglamorization of a rogue celebrity, such as George Michael, whose lewd act in public toilets in 1998 transgressed his image by being forced to reveal his homosexuality.<sup>37</sup> Subsequently, Michael has struggled to regain his previous status, particularly as he publicly withdrew from performing and recording music.<sup>38</sup> He has returned to the music industry but his new deviant image has been extended through a drug conviction.<sup>39</sup>

The impact of the type of crime is affected by the original celebrity image because, in many cases of image transgression, who the celebrity figure actually is affects whether a crime or association with crime and deviance will bring about deglamorization. For instance, if two rogue-celebrity figures with previously similar images, during the same time period, commit a similar crime, one may well survive the scandal while the other may become deglamorized, as in the cases of Deayton and Theakston. As a result, the importance of context, specifically time period, in which a rogue celebrity occurs and tries to lessen deglamorization through penance, can be rendered largely obsolete. However, time period cannot be dismissed, as illustrated by Fatty Arbuckle, who, despite innocence and penance through alienation, never recovered his celebrity status to its previous extent in the early twentieth century.

Interestingly, it also appears that deglamorization is affected by the extent of the rogue celebrity's well-knownness. For example, John Gielgud was found guilty and fined for homosexual soliciting in public conveniences in 1953 but there was no huge impact on his popularity or career, arguably because despite his actions being publicized he was not part of the Hollywood system.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile Alec Guinness was also caught in a public toilet soliciting sex in 1946, upon which he gave the name Herbert Pocket, the Dickens character he had played in *Great Expectations* on stage (Cashmore, 2006: 147). Despite giving a false name to the police and court, and being fined for committing a deviant act, his acting career was not damaged, largely as this story only became public knowledge after his death in 2000. In both of these instances we have men who have committed similar acts in a similar time period and context who did not suffer deglamorization to the extent of career damage. However, both men did attempt to hide their actions, with Guinness being more successful than Gielgud.

Secular penance and reintegrative shaming that lead to being forgiven by the media and the public do have limitations in minimizing deglamorization. It appears that public forgiveness following rogue-celebrity penance can become less effective if used multiple times, as experienced by Michael Barrymore, because it reveals the previous penance demonstrations were not internal but simply an external response. Barrymore's revelations in 1995 about being gay and his subsequent break up with his manager-wife of 20 years, followed by admissions of alcohol and drug abuse, led to his deglamorization and shift from personality to celebrity deviant. Subsequently, he exhibited penance by entering a rehabilitation clinic and apparently settled down with a steady boyfriend, bringing about public forgiveness and acceptance, and leading to a resurrection in his show-business career and return to celebrity status. Barrymore was, to all intents and purposes, taken back into the hearts of a sympathetic and forgiving public who demonstrated reintegrative shaming. However, this forgiveness displayed itself as having been offered only on certain terms.

In 2000 Barrymore was deglamorized again when he was found to have once more transgressed his family entertainer comedian image with drugs being found in his hotel room and appearing drunk on stage at a children's charity fundraising event in 2001.<sup>41</sup> The final component in his deglamorization for a second time, which has proved to be long term if not permanent, was the death of Stuart Lubbock in his swimming pool with unexplained sexual-assault injuries. Barrymore became a celebrity suspect and in spite of not being convicted remains with his career in balance, for despite penance through rehabilitation,

alienation from the public and a self-imposed exile to New Zealand, his association with a mysterious death<sup>42</sup> has left the public wary. As a result, Barrymore has been deglamorized by being a celebrity suspect who has not been able to effectively use penance to minimize damage to his latest image transgression. Much like Fatty Arbuckle in the 1920s, the fact that Barrymore has been cleared in the eyes of the law has proved insufficient in the eyes of the public.

Nevertheless, Barrymore has made attempts to regain his celebrity status and overcome his rogue-celebrity image. He first talked about this during a surprise appearance on the Channel Four reality TV show *The Salon*<sup>43</sup> and joined one-time *Blue Peter* presenter Richard Bacon at an Edinburgh TV festival event called *Presenters Behaving Badly?* in 2003,<sup>44</sup> which debated the trials and tribulations of television stars' private lives affecting their screen careers. The event not only marked Barrymore's attempt at a public penance and self-defence, but was the first time that Bacon had spoken publicly about his fall from grace after allegations of drug use that led to his deglamorization and the loss of his children's presenter job on *Blue Peter*. Significantly, he managed to revive his celebrity career as a radio presenter and a host of BBC One's *Top of the Pops* by shifting his image away from that of being apparently squeaky clean. Barrymore has taken additional steps to recover his status, such as participating in *Celebrity Big Brother* in 2006, in which he came second, and also at the Edinburgh Festival 2007 in the lead role of the musical *Scrooge*.<sup>45</sup> However, the death of Lubbock continues to damage his comeback, with the dead man's father continuing to campaign for answers regarding his son's death at Barrymore's home.

*Public declaration: response to suspicion or guilt of criminality*

Penance is not the only response open to the rogue celebrity who wishes to minimize deglamorization effects. Reflecting on various rogue-celebrity cases, it becomes clear that particular responses to the public often through the mass media, which publicize celebrity-image transgression, play a key role in the extent of deglamorization. Therefore, a second method of limiting the damage of deglamorization is the rogue celebrity's public declaration as a response to an accusation or conviction for a crime. The response is vital for providing a denial, defence of actions or a confession of guilt ending public and media speculation. Therefore, responding immediately to accusations is an efficient and effective response to a potential trial by media. Additionally, telling the truth is an important factor in public declaration. Lying does not aid in minimizing

damage to celebrity status via deglamorization if found out, as reflected by celebrity figures who have deviated from their projected image and been caught out. An example is Britney Spears, whose original pure teen-girl image was sullied when her claims of virginity were later revealed as lies.<sup>46</sup>

Teenage actress/singer Miley Cyrus, daughter of Billy Ray Cyrus, is a prime example of image transgression leading to a swift public response in order to limit deglamorization. Cyrus, whose squeaky clean Disney Channel image is the foundation of her celebrity status, caused controversy through photographs taken of her by Annie Leibovitz for *Vanity Fair*<sup>47</sup> (see Beer and Penfold-Mounce, 2009). One picture shot in sepia, showing her wrapped in a satin sheet with a bare back and tousled hair, led to a public outcry at this apparently sexual image of a teenager. The Disney Channel responded via a statement saying that 'a situation was created to deliberately manipulate a 15-year-old in order to sell magazines'.<sup>48</sup> The response to this accusation was that Cyrus's father and minders were on the shoot the whole day and approved the shots which were taken, along with Cyrus herself, who was shown the digitally taken photograph. Meanwhile Leibovitz defended her photograph of Miley, asserting it to be 'a simple, classic portrait, shot with very little makeup and I think it is very beautiful'.<sup>49</sup> Despite this response, Cyrus followed the lead of the Disney Channel and released a public statement of apology saying:

I took part in a photo shoot that was supposed to be 'artistic' and now, seeing the photographs and reading the story, I feel so embarrassed. I never intended for any of this to happen and I apologize to my fans who I care so deeply about.<sup>50</sup>

It would appear that Cyrus recognized the need for a public response, in order to protect her celebrity status, that highlights her as vulnerable and as having made a mistake, and thus she spent only a brief time in the rogue-status trend as a celebrity deviant.

The power of limiting or preventing deglamorization by responding via public declaration ties in neatly to Mathiesen's (1997) synoptic society, where the many watch the few. In a synoptic society the few are unable to keep private those misdemeanours that they are accused of, whether true or not, making a public response essential to prevent deglamorization. Minimizing damage to a celebrity image by responding swiftly and publicly to suspicion of criminality can protect the celebrity image, as shown by The Who guitarist Pete Townshend.

Townshend was arrested on suspicion of possessing and making indecent images of children and of incitement to distribute such images in January 2003. He rapidly took steps to protect himself from deglamorization by going straight to the media proclaiming his innocence and that he was merely researching the field. In responding quickly and publicly, Townshend successfully limited the damage to his celebrity image by association with an iniquitous crime.<sup>51</sup>

Without a rapid public declaration by a celebrity, a significant and damaging effect can occur, particularly in regards to accusations of criminality rather than merely deviance. An example is UK television presenter John Leslie, who initially evaded a public response to allegations in 2002 of a string of indecent assaults. This silence led to public assumptions of guilt, and Granada Television terminated his contract as co-presenter of *This Morning* television programme<sup>52</sup> following photographs of him purportedly snorting cocaine were published. Leslie's eventual denial of the allegations to the police and ultimately the media and the public came too late to save his reputation and high-profile television career. Leslie's case demonstrates that without a public declaration he was tried and convicted by the media and portrayed as guilty to the public. Despite professed plans for a comeback he remained in a state of deglamorized limbo despite regaining some degree of celebrity status as a stage actor in a production of *Pride and Prejudice* in 2004.<sup>53</sup>

Any potential of regaining his celebrity career has taken a further blow by allegations of rape dating back to November 1995 made in June 2008. Leslie, unlike in the previous situation, responded quickly and publicly to the accusation, stating that he was the victim of 'the mother of all stitch-ups'<sup>54</sup> before being cleared in July 2008.<sup>55</sup> Leslie's public statement in response to the initial accusations was insightful to the impact of associated crime to a celebrity figure. He declared: 'I am forced yet again to talk about lies about my private life – lies that destroyed my public career in 2003 and which now threaten the private life I have been happy to lead since then.'<sup>56</sup> Leslie's statement openly admits the destruction of his public career, which includes his celebrity status, and this is highlighted by his current non-celebrity career as a property developer. It appears that despite the penance of a complete removal from the celebrity world and never being convicted of assault or rape, Leslie has failed to recover his public celebrity career.

Trial by media as experienced by Leslie is an increasing issue within contemporary society, particularly in regards to celebrity figures who become associated or found guilty of iniquitous crimes and from which they do not generally recover their previous status, as discussed earlier



with the case of Fatty Arbuckle. Interestingly, the tolerance for association with iniquitous crimes such as child abuse does appear to have increased in both Britain and the USA since the latter half of the twentieth century, as demonstrated by various celebrity figures surviving the accusations and investigations for such crimes. For instance, football team manager David Jones, who in 2000 was acquitted of child-abuse charges in court, was granted a year's paid leave from Southampton to fight his case, and although he did not resume the post after being acquitted he has returned to his football-related career.<sup>57</sup>

R&B star R. Kelly is another celebrity who has survived association with the iniquitous crime of child abuse and also largely avoided deglamorization. In June 2002 he was accused of both making and owning child pornography, stemming from an alleged filming of Kelly having sex with an underage girl. In spite of the charges, investigation and trial regarding the allegations that took four years before he was cleared in June 2008, Kelly has continued a successful music career. His album *Chocolate Factory* sold more than 1.7 million copies in the USA alone, while his single, 'Ignition', became number one in the UK and was awarded best R&B/soul album by a male in 2004.<sup>58</sup> Significantly, Kelly has consistently and publicly declared his innocence. However, it may be that his public declarations of innocence have been greatly aided by the public who consider sex with an underage girl, who was only just below the age limit, as less heinous than molestation of very young children.

A high-profile example in Britain echoing a similar lack of deglamorization despite association with an iniquitous crime is the investigation into Matthew Kelly. He became a celebrity suspect in 2003 for alleged involvement in child abuse in the 1970s and was subsequently vindicated. In spite of this association it appears to ultimately have had little long-term effect upon his career or image. Kelly carefully protected his image throughout his time as a celebrity suspect, making repeated public declarations of innocence, professing his thanks to the public and other celebrities for their support once the charges were dropped and by going straight back to his stage work.<sup>59</sup> All of these factors contributed to confirming his innocence to the public and prevented significant deglamorization of Kelly. As a consequence of the media frenzy and trial surrounding criminal investigations into celebrity suspects such as Kelly, Lord Goldsmith called for tightened control over press coverage in Britain in order to prevent prejudicial publicity leading to the denial of justice to victims and the accused.<sup>60</sup> Thus trial by media has indeed become a significant issue, not only for the rogue celebrities who are caught up in the coverage, but

also for the legitimacy and authority of the criminal justice system itself.

The increasing instances, by the early twenty-first century, of a celebrity being associated with a crime and their subsequent trial by the media graphically reveals the public desire and interest in the potential of a celebrity being a criminal. As a result it can be suggested that the public are continuing to resonate and live vicariously through the criminal/celebrity relationship. However, due to the decline of the criminal-celebrity trend within celebrated criminality, public resonance is shifting to not only celebrated victims, but towards the criminal and deviant exploits of celebrities. In post-modern times criminality among celebrities has shifted towards allowing the public to participate in whether a celebrity transgressing their image may or may not survive. The public, or rather audience, participation has become a key element of celebrity, rogue celebrity and also deglamorization.

Moreover, there appears to be a level of anticipation for celebrities to fulfil or transgress their image via deviant and criminal acts. Anticipation borders on apparent glee as the public wait for celebrities to soil their images by being caught doing criminal or deviant acts. For instance, there was much interest in and speculation about the teenage rebellion of Welsh child-singing prodigy Charlotte Church, whose angelic voice and appearance were shattered in 2002. Church destroyed her previous image via reported temper tantrums, the firing of her manager-mother and the smoking of cigarettes, binge drinking and dating several men against her parents' wishes, both of whom sold kiss-and-tell stories to the tabloids.<sup>61</sup> However, it is worth noting that releasing a pop album reflecting a more adult image and her apparently stable relationship with rugby star Gavin Henson, with whom she has had a family,<sup>62</sup> has helped improve and re-establish her as a celebrity with a new image, leading to the suggestion of the couple becoming 'the "Posh and Becks" of Welsh rugby'.

Thus, the public who make up the many of Mathiesen's (1997) synoptic society, wait, watch and expect to be entertained by the few whose potential to become self-destructive and subsequently rogue celebrities makes particularly fascinating and consumable viewing. As a result, contemporary society demonstrates that it still possesses the primitive violent, killer instinct of spectacle. For although society may no longer approve of blood sports and gladiatorial games, as the ancient Romans did, it continues to revel in the downfall of its fellow human beings, especially those such as celebrities who have previously existed in an exalted position.

### *Victimhood*

Some rogue celebrities seek to protect themselves from deglamorization by using the third form of avoidance referred to as victimhood. Through victimhood the rogue celebrity attempts to deny or defend their deviance or criminality which has transgressed their image by portraying themselves as a victim. In other words, the rogue celebrity attempts to 'out victim' the alleged victim of the crime of which they have been accused of committing. Such an approach is different from penance or public declaration because the rogue celebrity does not admit responsibility for their actions or seek forgiveness. Instead, they seek to consolidate their claim of innocence or attempt to undermine the severity of their guilt of criminality, by offering the excuse of them being a victim, which led to their actions. These claims can vary from being a victim of their celebrity status to victimization by the media, the judicial system and public interest, which invade their personal lives (Penfold, 2004).

Other victimhood claims made by rogue celebrities as a way of excuse for their criminal or deviant actions include their role as parents whose families will be affected, individuals who are suffering with addictions making them unaccountable for their actions and even highlighting abuse in their childhood. Rogue-celebrity claims of victimhood increase the potential for gaining resonance via sympathy. By portraying themselves as being victimized by sources such as the media, the criminal justice system, racism or lies by accusers, the rogue celebrity, whether consciously or subconsciously, seeks to place himself in a position of being the victim. As a consequence, these rogue celebrities, self-portraying themselves as victims, seek to maintain their professed innocence or to reduce any assumptions of guilt by either the media or the public. This provides the rogue celebrity with an opportunity of minimizing the damage of deglamorization to their image and potentially laying a route to return to celebrity status.

A rogue celebrity can use victimhood in a variety of ways, as has been suggested, but there are varying degrees of success. For example, actor Robert Blake, the star of the 1970s TV show *Baretta*, was arrested and charged in 2002 for the murder of his wife Bonnie Lee Bakley. Blake pleaded not guilty to murder, conspiracy to murder and a special circumstance charge of lying wait. During an interview for ABC's *20/20* programme in

the USA, Blake declared that he was 'already a dead man', and asked,

What are they [the judicial system] going to do to me that they haven't done already? They took away my entire past. They took away my entire future. What's left to take?<sup>63</sup>

Blake's portrayal of himself as a victim was reinforced by his assertions to interviewer Barbara Walters of facing a shortened lifespan, as he did not believe he would live long in jail, and by the image of a shamed and humiliated father who wanted to clear himself for the sake of his daughter.<sup>64</sup>

Blake's victimhood was emphasized further by his lawyer, Thomas Mesereau Jr, who highlighted the distorting input of the media upon the case by accentuating Blake as a victim of his celebrity that had led to media intrusion and a subsequent distortion of justice.<sup>65</sup> Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Darlene Schempp also echoed such concerns about the impact of the media on the case due to Blake's celebrity and the interest in the case.<sup>66</sup> The success of Blake's bid to portray himself as a victim was aided by being acquitted in March 2005, which reinforced the notion of him being a victim of criminal justice and of the prosecution. The result of the court outcome and victim stance has been the prevention of his total deglamorization that leads to rejection by the public and permanent rogue-celebrity status. Instead, Blake maintains a degree of societal integration and the possibility that he may return to his celebrity status shaking off to a large extent his rogue-celebrity association.

The use of victimhood to minimize deglamorization and prevent long-term or permanent rogue-celebrity status is that of Michael Jackson. It is important to note that victimhood was only one part of Jackson's plural image, for he was also a Star known as 'the King of Pop', as well as, in the derogatory term developed by the British media, 'Wacko Jacko'. Jackson claimed victimization in a variety of forms and used this status to maintain, improve and protect his celebrity image even prior to becoming a celebrity suspect for child abuse. For instance, Jackson portrayed himself as the victim of loneliness as a child pop star, a victim of his own adolescent body via acne and also the victim of a violent and bullying father in a live interview with Oprah Winfrey in 1993.<sup>67</sup> He also admitted that his father would beat him and that he was still afraid of him even as an adult.<sup>68</sup> It was not only his past which Jackson used to claim the status of a victim but

also the mass-media invasion into his life. The media were portrayed by Jackson as a large source of his victimhood as a celebrity, for he claimed he endured highly publicized inaccurate stories and little privacy. He described the stories of him sleeping in an oxygen chamber, buying the Elephant Man's bones, bleaching his skin to become white and significant amounts of plastic surgery as lies<sup>69</sup> and blown out of proportion.

The role of victimhood, regarding Jackson, is most strongly evident in being used specifically to avoid deglamorization and attempts at avoidance of rogue-celebrity status with regard to the 1993 and 2003 accusations of child abuse. In 1993, 13-year-old Jordan Chandler's father accused Jackson of sexual abuse, which led to an out-of-court settlement of an estimated \$20 million. This settlement encouraged public and media speculation regarding Jackson's guilt or innocence, which continued for the next decade, leaving him on a knife-edge of deglamorization. Interestingly, Jackson exaggerated his victimhood in 1993 by entering a rehabilitation clinic for an addiction to painkillers. This suggests that he was reinforcing his victim status through the problem of an addiction of which he had become a victim, rather than the interpretation of rehabilitation as penance. If his time in a rehabilitation clinic was penance it remains debatable whether it aided Jackson's celebrity status. However, what is significant is that he avoided total deglamorization despite his association with an iniquitous crime, but there were consequences. Jackson's career and reputation did not return to their original state of celebrity and his image was left in the rogue-celebrity trend as a celebrity suspect. Many questions continued to be asked about whether he would have been found guilty if the case had gone to trial and also suggestions that he had something to hide due to the out-of-court settlement with his accuser. When further accusations followed in 2003 it only exacerbated public and media interest in the potential paedophile actions of Jackson.

The 2003 child-molestation accusations were from the outset described by Jackson as lies,<sup>70</sup> instantly highlighting his role as a victim of misrepresentation and slander. His parents supported such a stance, arguing that the allegations were motivated by money, and that their son was misunderstood.<sup>71</sup> The stance of Jackson being the victim of the child-abuse allegations and of the court case were furthered by his claims that he was locked in a faeces-smear toilet for 45 minutes during his arrest in November 2003. He claimed to have been bruised on his right arm and that his shoulder had been dislocated. Interestingly, however, when he was led out of jail, he was filmed waving with both arms to fans waiting outside,<sup>72</sup> rendering some doubt on this particular claim

to victimhood. Thus Jackson was, from the outset, despite being the potential victimizer, portrayed by both himself and his supporters as the victim.

Jackson's legal defence team deliberately portrayed him as a victim during the trial. They argued that the singer had been a threefold target: of an untrustworthy inner circle, particularly members of Jackson's Neverland estate staff;<sup>73</sup> of overzealous prosecutors, among whom Tom Sneddon had a personal vendetta against Jackson;<sup>74</sup> and of a family making false allegations against him with the intention of trying to financially profit like others had done in the past. Further evidence in support of his victimization was the reawakening of questions over his ability to be a fit parent to his three children, Paris, Prince Michael I and Prince Michael II.<sup>75</sup> The concerns over Jackson's children were highlighted by his insistence that the two eldest wear masks in public and by the now infamous 'baby dangling' incident when he held his youngest child over the edge of a third-floor Berlin balcony in November 2002 with a blanket over its head.<sup>76</sup> In addition, his financial circumstances were examined in detail and publicized suggesting that he was a 'spendaholic' with debts of \$300 million and he was accused of being on the 'precipice of bankruptcy'.<sup>77</sup> The questioning of Jackson's ability as a father and also of his finances reiterated his role as a victim within the child-abuse case which investigated his entire life and lifestyle. This is particularly important as part of the victimhood stance as he was found not guilty<sup>78</sup> and therefore endured the ordeal despite innocence.

A further contribution to Jackson's image as a victim was the two-year wait leading up to a four-month trial in 2005 regarding ten counts of child molestation which resulted in him being found not guilty. The sheer strain of the trial has been widely noted, as Jackson had to be admitted to hospital at times during the trial with influenza and back pain, as well as losing significant amounts of weight<sup>79</sup> and ultimately leading to self-imposed exile from the USA.<sup>80</sup> However, it is perhaps the mental and emotional strain on Jackson that appeared to portray him most effectively as a victim. Los Angeles-based trauma psychologist Robert Butterworth suggests that Jackson the adult embodied the tragedy of a lost childhood<sup>81</sup> and had his image and career<sup>82</sup> seriously damaged following the trial. Jackson went into self-imposed exile from the USA following the trial, but controversy continued to follow him in the form of cases claiming breach of contract and fraud,<sup>83</sup> rumours of bankruptcy and yet another accusation of child abuse by Joseph Bartucci, who alleged he was lured into the pop star's limousine in 1984 and sexually assaulted.<sup>84</sup>

Jackson successfully portrayed himself as a victim in his childhood, of the media, the public, lies and the trial itself, resulting in a retreat away from his homeland and the public eye. As a result, despite having entered the rogue-celebrity trend he also crossed into the celebrated-criminality trend of celebrated victims. Jackson used his victimhood to protect himself from deglamorization and became the celebrity-victim personified due to his numerous victimhood claims. However, due to his early and unexpected death in June 2009 at the age of 50, the 'King of Pop' did not regain his 1980s celebrity-career status in life. The ten London-based final farewell concerts planned for July 2009,<sup>85</sup> which were to help clear debts and re-establish him as a popstar, were never performed due to his demise. Despite Jackson not regaining his wealth or reinforcing his celebrated status by a dramatic comeback on the stage, he did regain the attention of the world. It would appear that even in death, public interest and the media are not finished with Michael Jackson, leaving him posthumously as the victim of gossip, rumours and allegations that he claimed to be in life.

### **Deferential treatment of celebrities and judicial blindness**

The rogue celebrity demonstrates an ability through certain methods to survive or limit the threat of deglamorization and even return to a celebrity image from rogue-celebrity status. It reveals itself capable of avoiding being undermined by the culture of control, unlike the criminal-celebrity trend. As a result, the rogue celebrity, with the contribution of the celebrated victim trend, is helping celebrated criminality evolve by becoming the dominant trend within this subversive governance form. However, there are wider implications for the evolution of celebrated criminality and its shift towards rogue celebrities, not only in that they offer re-enchantment to a disenchanted world but in their impact on the judicial system and the law. Rogue celebrities pose a problem within criminal justice due to allegations of deferential treatment and judicial blindness caused by celebrity status.

The beginning of the twenty-first century has marked a pronounced shift towards rogue celebrities and there is wide media and public discussion about the morality of their activities. The debates are reminiscent of old folk tales (the root of which are now told as fairy stories), which through narratives indicate to the populace what is and what is not appropriate behaviour and what can happen if appropriate behaviour is transgressed. However, what is significant is that there appears to be a consistent failure to condemn and punish inappropriate behav-

our conducted by celebrities in the same way that the average citizen committing similar acts may be. For example, as Felman (1997: 738) asserts, although a trial is presumed to be a search for truth, it is technically a search for a decision, thus it seeks not simply truth but finality.

Celebrated status appears to provide a level of protection or deferential treatment from both the law and public condemnation in that there appears to be a different set of rules for those of celebrity status. Felman (1997) reflects upon this situation via a study of the O.J. Simpson murder trial in 1995, which highlights forms of judicial blindness occurring through legal obscurities and ambiguities in the case. The Simpson case offers a new model of perception of legal events and a new analytic tool to interpret cases (*ibid.*: 740). The trial was a vehicle for understanding the need and urgency to deal with a highly publicized celebrity-related crime and its traumatic impact on law and society. It was a case that was both momentous and symptomatic of the time period (that is, the late twentieth century), for it involved a celebrity, a crime, contentious issues such as gender, race and domestic violence and the ethical questions raised around televising trials.

The case displayed the definition of a legal event as: what really happened through facts and what people believed happened, leading to a tapestry of folklore and myth surrounding it. It was an event that was similar to a movie plot by being 'an unbeatably lurid end-of-the-millennium American' mixture of 'race ... sex, celebrity, media hype, justice and injustice' (*ibid.*: 742). The Simpson trial acted out society's unconscious and culture's collective secrets leading to the investigation and court proceedings regarding the murders of Nicole Brown and Ronald Goldman to be the 'defining trial of the 1990s' (*ibid.*: 742). It played out a 'culture's collective dream' as well as 'society's deepest passions: its fears, prejudices and desires'<sup>86</sup> (*ibid.*: 742). As a collective dream it became translated into a public spectacle of the courtroom ritual, a theatrical event that in turn became a public obsession.

The trial of Simpson effectively highlights the notion of judicial blindness, whereby both legal parties disputed and denied each other's claim to visibility and competed to blind one another. The blindness was essentially in relation to sensitive societal issues of domestic violence, race and gender, none of which can be fully or even adequately represented in legal or political terms (*ibid.*: 744, 748). The prosecution focused upon O.J. as an abusive husband who murdered his wife and her lover, while the defence blamed the Justice system for racial bias and an abusive law-enforcement agency which rushed to arrest the husband (*ibid.*: 744). The defence also used race as reconfirmation of



police brutality and corruption, suggesting O.J. was a scapegoat, causing him to become more than a celebrity suspect: a celebrated victim. This was reinforced by a comparison with other trials and traumas of racial prejudice, such as that of Rodney King<sup>87</sup> (ibid.: 745–6).

The trial was an exemplary theatrical event, a show, a spectacularized case evolving into a courtroom drama that was reproduced across the world due to being televised. The significance of the defence and prosecution being able to blind each other and the jury to certain facts was that every trial is contingent on the act of seeing, namely, justice must be seen to be done. However, the jurors, as in many cases, could only look and not see, because they were only able to look at the pictures of the victims' bodies, but not see the actual blows that killed them (ibid.: 763). Osborne (1995: 32) writes that O.J. was acquitted because of his 'media immortality', that it was his existence as a media superstar which outweighed the facts assembled against him. He argues that the legitimate use of O.J.'s image as evidence meant that he could not be guaranteed a fair trial. Consequently, the trial of O.J. as a celebrity raised the issue of how a fair trial could be conducted for those who are well known due to their image, which causes judicial blindness and deferential treatment. Interestingly, such issues were raised again during the Jackson trials of 1993 and 2003.

The problem of celebrity status blinding, or at least interfering with, the legal process appears to be demonstrated in Britain as well as in America by the Leeds United footballer case of 2001. In this case a student, Safraz Najeb, was attacked and left unconscious following a confrontation with footballers Lee Bowyer and Jonathan Woodgate and their two friends, Paul Clifford and Neale Caveney, outside the Leeds Majestyk nightclub. Bowyer was cleared of all charges, while Woodgate was sentenced to 100 hours of community service for guilt of affray, having been cleared of grievous bodily harm with intent, and Caveney endured a similar fate. The significance of this case is that Clifford, the fourth member of the accused, was jailed for six years for grievous bodily harm and affray.<sup>88</sup> The sentences raised much debate over whether the two footballers had benefited from their status, in that their sentences were minimal or non-existent compared to a non-celebrity involved in the fray. This was particularly highlighted by the judge, Mr Justice Henriques, who reminded the jury to treat all the defendants without favouritism and that there should be an impartial approach to the football stars because the law should treat everyone equally.<sup>89</sup>

Deferential treatment of rogue celebrities is further demonstrated by motoring offences. A prime example of this is in regards to speeding

finer where celebrated figures have often been 'let off' due to the privilege of living by 'a different set of rules' compared to the general public. For instance, the Duke of York was let off for doing 60mph in a 40mph zone while trying to catch a flight to the Open Golf Championships in Scotland.<sup>90</sup> Celebrity lawyer Nick Freeman, who has successfully defended many sportsmen including Beckham, states that the British motoring laws are riddled with loopholes.<sup>91</sup> Subsequently, celebrities who can afford to hire Freeman are able to avoid conviction, often for apparently ludicrous reasons. For instance, Sir Alex Ferguson was cleared of illegal driving and speeding on the hard shoulder in 1999 on account of it being argued that he was rushing to the toilet with a case of severe diarrhoea.<sup>92</sup> Meanwhile David Beckham's eight-month driving ban was quashed due to the special circumstances involved, namely that he was being pursued by a paparazzi photographer.<sup>93</sup>

The deferential treatment of rogue celebrities appears to be an international phenomenon as illustrated by the chief minister of the Malaysian state of Melaka, who was awarded more than twenty summonses issued on his own two official vehicles. Although he paid the fines, he called for the speed limit on Malaysian roads to be raised for the drivers of luxury cars, demonstrating his belief that different rules should apply to those of a well-known and elevated social status combined with wealth.<sup>94</sup> McLuhan (1994: 5) argues that the commitment to, and participation in, the fate of others within celebrity culture and a culture industry-dominated society means: 'They [celebrities] are now involved in our lives and we in theirs, thanks to the electric media.' As a result, rogue celebrities in the judicial system cause problems due to their high visibility and consequently they encounter different treatment within the judicial system, which varies in whether it works in their favour or not.

However, despite cases where celebrities appear to receive deferential treatment and enjoy a degree of judicial blindness there appears to be an increasing trend for high-profile individuals 'not getting away with it'. A growing number of celebrity cases are demonstrating that well-known status cannot always gain special treatment. For example, Cheryl Tweedy, a member of the pop group Girls Aloud, and prior to her marriage to footballer Ashley Cole, was found guilty of assaulting a toilet attendant at a nightclub in Guildford in January 2003. Tweedy's conviction for actual bodily harm (ABH) resulted in a sentence of 120 hours of unpaid community service, and paying her victim £500 compensation as well as £3000 of prosecution costs.<sup>95</sup> The significance of this case was the fact that the prosecution pointed out that her success had not made her above the law and that due to being drunk she had treated another woman badly.<sup>96</sup>

Further examples of celebrity status not protecting rogue celebrities from the execution of the law include US celebrity lifestyle guru Martha Stewart, who in 2004 was fined \$30,000 and sentenced to five months in prison with two years' supervised release on charges of conspiracy and obstruction relating to her lying about share sales.<sup>97</sup> However, Stewart's prison sentence has not impacted upon her celebrity career, with her company's share price rising, taking her personal stake's value to \$1 billion, while two television-show roles waited for her after her custodial sentence (Cashmore, 2006: 160). Her prison memoirs are likely to earn around \$5 million and she continued to receive her \$900,000 yearly salary. Stewart returned to society a richer and more interesting character (Cashmore, 2006: 160). It remains to be seen if actor Wesley Snipes also recovers from his charges of failing to submit tax returns between 1999 and 2001.<sup>98</sup>

Both of these cases involve white-collar crimes and, as a result, pose the least threat to image and celebrity status as they are apparently victimless crimes. Likewise, crimes associated with drugs appear to be having a similar lack of threat to celebrated status despite convictions for drug use, such as Babyshambles' lead singer and songwriter Pete Doherty, who did not avoid a custodial sentence for drug and driving offences in 2008.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, actor Tom Sizemore has also not benefited from his celebrated status for breaking parole, which he was serving for drug use. Despite pleading with the judge, he was sentenced to a 16-month custodial sentence in 2007.<sup>100</sup>

A high-profile instance of a celebrity failing to 'get away with it' is Paris Hilton. The American hotel-chain heiress has earned a reputation as a spoilt partygoer who consistently hits tabloid and magazine headlines with relationship rumours, drunken nights out and a feud with close friend and co-star of *The Simple Life* television series Nicole Richie. Although the leaking of a video of Hilton and former boyfriend Rick Salomon performing a sex act, 'leaked' onto the Internet in 2003, raised her profile and also helped ratings for *The Simple Life* which made its debut days later, it is her criminal charge of drink-driving that made headlines. Hilton was arrested in September 2006 for driving under the influence. She was fined and put on probation which she violated several times, leading to a prison sentence of 45 days.<sup>101</sup> An online petition to Californian Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger was started by fans saying that she enlivened mundane lives, which Hilton initially supported on the basis of wishing to appeal against her sentence;<sup>102</sup> however, the appeal was dropped.<sup>103</sup>

In spite of Hilton's sentence being reduced for good behaviour to 23 days in a special prison block reserved for high-profile individuals,<sup>104</sup>

she remained only for three days before being released to house arrest following an undisclosed medical condition.<sup>105</sup> This release led to an outcry by civil rights leader Reverend Al Sharpton, who accused the US legal system of double standards.<sup>106</sup> Significantly, despite apparent deferential treatment, Hilton's return to court 24 hours later led to her being returned to prison to fulfil her sentence. It appeared that Hilton was not above the law and was not going to receive special deferential treatment due to her celebrity status.

Interestingly, Hilton's best friend Nicole Richie, adopted daughter of singer Lionel Richie, has faced a similar charge to that of Hilton. Richie was sentenced under driving under the influence of drugs and alcohol just a month after Hilton was released from prison. Richie was arrested in December 2006 for driving the wrong way down a Los Angeles motorway.<sup>107</sup> She served 82 minutes of her four-day sentence for driving under the influence of alcohol, combined with a fine, enrolment on a drug and alcohol programme, and three years' probation. Richie never reached her cell: due to prison-overcrowding guidelines she was released quickly, although she was fingerprinted and photographed.<sup>108</sup> This treatment of Richie highlights a contradiction in arguments of special treatment for celebrities within the criminal justice system. Although Richie endured a somewhat farcical length of time in prison, her sentence adhered to the legal standards of drink and drug offences. This lack of special-sentencing treatment is also supported by Hilton's punishment for driving under the influence and violating probation, for, despite claims that she was being punished for her celebrity,<sup>109</sup> she received the punishment that an average non-celebrity would receive for similar crimes. Her case demonstrates that celebrities do not necessarily 'get away with it' in terms of sentence, as illustrated by her prison sentence and the failure of achieving house arrest with an electronic tag. However, it does demonstrate that special treatment can occur within the system; for instance, an investigation is being conducted into Hilton being granted a mobile phone instead of having to queue for a pay phone, having a new jail uniform instead of a recycled one and having her mail delivered by a captain instead of by inmates.<sup>110</sup>

Therefore, although some cases involving celebrities suggest deferential treatment, there is a growing wealth of instances where these high-profile individuals are treated according to their crime rather than their status. Although this sentencing policy may receive support from the general public, inevitably special treatment remains for celebrities regarding community sentencing and custody particularly in the USA.

For instance, Boy George's community sentence of sweeping the streets of New York for five days in 2006 led to him being moved to clean a fenced-off area after the first 30 minutes of his sentence due to being mobbed by reporters and photographers.<sup>111</sup> George's celebrated status meant he could not do the exact community service to which he had been sentenced. Paris Hilton is a further instance of inevitable special treatment by being held in a prison facility especially reserved for high-profile inmates.<sup>112</sup>

However, this special treatment within the prison system appears to differ in the UK, where celebrity does not appear to receive similar deferential treatment, as illustrated by ex-MP Lord Jeffrey Archer. Archer served the opening weeks of his four-year sentence in Belmarsh Prison in South London before eventually being moved to North Sea Camp Open Prison. It was here that he was able to breach his daily release conditions by attending a party, leading to his move to a high-security facility in Lincoln.<sup>113</sup> Archer, it seems, gained no special treatment from his high-profile status while serving his prison sentence and was in fact punished further for flouting the rules. Consequently, any assertions that Archer received deferential treatment can be dismissed. Evidence of deferential treatment towards rogue celebrities within the criminal justice system is inconclusive despite intriguing cases demonstrating special and normal treatment for deviance and crimes. It would appear that although some cases display deferential treatment, other instances display the opposite. However, until there is no discernible evidence of special treatment of celebrities within a supposedly impartial criminal justice system it is important to highlight this inequality and recognize the influential power wielded by a celebrated individual.

Rogue celebrity, as the second of the two celebrated criminality trends, is coming to dominate and to a large extent replace its counterpart, criminal celebrity. Rogue celebrities demonstrate an evolution within celebrated criminality as governance whereby celebrity individuals who range from being found guilty of criminality, to being a deviant or merely suspected or associated with a crime, are coming to be a central point of resonance. The success of rogue celebrities in avoiding deglamorization, namely, via penance, public declaration and victimhood, reveals the rogue celebrity's ability to survive and provide re-enchantment to a disenchanting world. However, they also pose a problem by creating an elite who can benefit from deferential treatment and judicial blindness. Despite this impact on criminal justice, rogue celebrity provides celebrated criminality, which is weakened by the culture of control with regard to criminal-celebrity, with the power to remain a governance force within society.

## Notes

- 1 'The Official Ingrid Bergman Website'  
<http://www.ingridbergman.com/about/bio3.htm>
- 2 'Bing launches paternity case', 19 April 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/1940341.stm>
- 3 'Tyson loses rape sentence appeal', 7 August 1993  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/tyson-loses-rape-sentence-appeal-1459669.html>
- 4 <http://espn.go.com/boxing/news/2003/0528/1560271.html>
- 5 'Quiz host Deayton fired by BBC', 29 Oct. 2002  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv\\_and\\_radio/2373711.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/2373711.stm)
- 6 'Glitter smuggled out of prison', 11 Jan. 2000  
[http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/uk/newsid\\_598000/598424.stm](http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/uk/newsid_598000/598424.stm)
- 7 'Pop mogul starts jail term', 22 Nov. 2001  
[http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/uk/newsid\\_1669000/1669562.stm](http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/uk/newsid_1669000/1669562.stm)
- 8 'Glitter deported from Cambodia', 7 Jan. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/2635489.stm>
- 9 'Gary Glitter release date set', 2 Aug. 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/7538657.stm>
- 10 'Profile: Gary Glitter', 21 Aug. 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4766890.stm>
- 11 'Jonathan King freed from prison', 29 March 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4388913.stm>
- 12 'Jonathan King told to "shut up"', 29 March 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4390847.stm>
- 13 'Vinnie Jones accused of indecent assault', 20 Jan. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/2676373.stm>
- 14 'Oliver Reed obituary', 2 May 1999  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/334066.stm>
- 15 'Liver transplant for George Best', 30 July 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2161540.stm>
- 16 'Football legend George Best dies', 25 Nov. 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4380332.stm>
- 17 'Former Stone Roses singer jailed for air rage', 23 Oct. 1998  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/200016.stm>
- 18 'Love blames "potty mouth" for arrest', 5 Feb. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/2724499.stm>
- 19 'Legends turn out for Hall of Fame', 17 Nov. 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4441786.stm>
- 20 'Rapper Foxy Brown freed from jail', 20 April 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7357554.stm>
- 21 'Raps Lil' Kim jailed for perjury', 6 July 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4658155.stm>
- 22 'Film star Berry escapes jail', 11 May 2000  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/744632.stm>
- 23 'Russell Crowe: Hollywood livewire', 7 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/4070410.stm>
- 24 'Grammy glory for absent Winehouse', 11 Feb. 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7235477.stm>

- 24 'No assault charges for Hugh Grant', 1 June 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6714025.stm>
- 25 'Winona Ryder guilty of shoplifting', 7 Nov. 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2406069.stm>
- 26 'Hollywood debates Winona's sentence', 7 Dec. 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2552485.stm>
- 27 'Actress Ryder praised by judge', 16 Dec. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/3323227.stm>
- 28 'Ryder shoplifting charge reduced', 19 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/3821355.stm>
- 29 'Actor heading for jail', 10 Jan. 1998  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/46283.stm>
- 30 'Jail made Downey Jr "wiser"', 17 Jan. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2669439.stm>
- 31 'Sizemore's prison sentence halved', 27 June 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6244274.stm>
- 32 'Sheen's drug rehab praised', 28 Sep. 1999  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/459612.stm>
- 33 'Actress Richards to divorce Sheen', 3 March 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/4315559.stm>
- 34 'Hollywood debates Winona's sentence', 7 Dec. 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2552485.stm>
- 35 'Sheen's drug rehab praised', 28 Aug. 1999  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/459612.stm>
- 36 'Actor heading for jail', 10 Jan. 1998  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/46283.stm>
- 37 'George Michael admits being gay, apologises for incident in lavatory', 11 April 1998  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/77183.stm>
- 38 'George Michael shuns music industry', 11 March 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/3499534.stm>
- 39 'Michael "was on drugs" court told', 31 May 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6703721.stm>
- 40 'John Gielgud: when England hounded a hero', 28 Feb. 2008  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre/features/john-gielgud-when-england-hounded-a-hero-788459.html>
- 41 'Barrymore's turbulent life', 13 Sep. 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2254092.stm>
- 42 'New Barrymore pool death inquiry', 14 Jan. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2657821.stm>
- 43 'Reality TV slot for Barrymore', 30 Jan. 2003  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/jo/entertainment/tv\\_and\\_radio/2710633.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/jo/entertainment/tv_and_radio/2710633.stm)
- 44 'Barrymore headlines TV festival', 22 July 2003  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv\\_and\\_radio/3086617.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/3086617.stm)
- 45 'Barrymore show protest cancelled', 30 Jan. 2007  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/edinburgh\\_and\\_east/6309451.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/edinburgh_and_east/6309451.stm)
- 46 'Britney's image game', 25 March 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/1893452.stm>

- 47 'Miley knows best', June 2008  
<http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/features/2008/06/miley200806>
- 48 'Miley Cyrus Vanity Fair photo "beautiful": Leibovitz', 28 April 2008  
<http://www.cbc.ca/arts/media/story/2008/04/28/cyrus-photos-vanity-fair.html?ref=rss>
- 49 'Leibovitz defends provocative Miley Cyrus photos', 28 April 2008  
<http://abcnews.go.com/entertainment/story?id=4736358&page=1>
- 50 'Revealing photo threatens a major Disney franchise', 28 April 2008  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/28/business/media/28hannah.html?\\_r=1&scp=1&sq=Miley%20Cyrus%20Vanity%20Fair%20&st=cse&oref=slogin](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/28/business/media/28hannah.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=Miley%20Cyrus%20Vanity%20Fair%20&st=cse&oref=slogin)
- 51 'Who star Townshend bailed', 14 Jan. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2651871.stm>
- 52 'Sacked Leslie contacts police', 30 Oct. 2002  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv\\_and\\_radio/2377755.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/2377755.stm)
- 53 'John Leslie to star in stage play', 26 Aug. 2004  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/southern\\_counties/3603366.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/southern_counties/3603366.stm)
- 54 'Tragic life of Leslie accuser', *The Sun*, 25 June 2008  
<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article1337303.ece>
- 55 'John Leslie cleared of rape', *The Sun*, 24 July 2008  
<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article1463682.ece>
- 56 'Tragic life of Leslie accuser', *The Sun*, 25 June 2008  
<http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article1337303.ece>
- 57 'Jones reveals Saints backing', 5 Dec. 2000  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/football/1056423.stm>
- 58 'R. Kelly banned from video shoot', 5 June 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/2965062.stm>
- 59 'Janet Jackson wins career honour', 21 March 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/3554907.stm>
- 60 'Stars pledge support for Kelly', 21 Feb. 2003  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv\\_and\\_radio/2679607.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/2679607.stm)
- 61 'Cleared Kelly thanks supporters', 25 Feb. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2796355.stm>
- 62 'Tighter press curbs planned to uphold contempt of court laws', 11 March 2003  
[http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk\\_news/story/0,3604,911740,00.html](http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,3604,911740,00.html)
- 63 'The growing pains of Charlotte Church', 1 Dec. 2002  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in\\_depth/uk/2000/newsmakers/2527727.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/in_depth/uk/2000/newsmakers/2527727.stm)
- 64 'Church's "heartbreak" over split', 28 April 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/3666261.stm>
- 65 'Charlotte Church names new baby', 12 Jan. 2009  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/7825170.stm>
- 66 'Accused actor makes TV plea', 26 Feb. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2801395.stm>
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 'Murder case "is stuff of Hollywood"', 4 March 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/2817375.stm>
- 69 'Cameras banned from actor's trial', 3 Feb. 2004  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv\\_and\\_radio/3454083.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/3454083.stm)



- 67 Michael Jackson interview with Oprah transcript (1993)  
<http://www.allmichaeljackson.com/interviews/oprahinterview.html>
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 'Jackson memo "no bearing on case"', 10 Dec. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/3306085.stm>
- 71 'Jackson parents defend their son', 11 Dec. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/showbiz/3310933.stm>
- 72 'Jackson probe "should be public"', 15 Aug. 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/3566836.stm>
- 73 'Jackson defence proves its worth', 13 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4580269.stm>
- 74 'Jackson prosecutor "had vendetta"', 18 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4106266.stm>
- 75 'Music's misunderstood superstar', 13 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4584367.stm>
- 76 'Jackson interview seen by 14 million', 4 Feb. 2003  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv\\_and\\_radio/2719763.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/2719763.stm)
- 77 'Superstar faces uncertain future', 14 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4587543.stm>
- 78 'Michael Jackson cleared of abuse', 14 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4604027.stm>
- 79 'Unclear future for pop superstar', 13 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4587543.stm>
- 80 'US "no longer home" for Jackson', 9 Nov. 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4420796.stm>
- 81 'Unclear future for pop superstar', 13 June 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4587543.stm>
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 'Jackson sued by advisor for \$64m', 23 Nov. 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/4462616.stm>
- 84 'New court case for singer Jackson', 21 July 2005  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/music/4703383.stm>
- 85 'Final curtain call for Jackson', 5 March 2009  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7925388.stm>
- 86 L. Morrow, 'A Trial for Our Times' *Time*, October 1995, p. 28.
- 87 'Flashback: Rodney King and the LA riots', 10 July 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2119943.stm>
- 88 'Leeds footballer walks free', 14 Dec. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/1701493.stm>
- 89 'Treat footballers equally, jury told', 5 Dec. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/1693604.stm>
- 90 'Duke escapes speeding fine', 22 July 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2143714.stm>
- 91 'Legal lapses that let stars "escape justice"', *Metro*, 20 June 2005.
- 92 'Sir Alex cleared of illegal driving', 5 Oct. 1999  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/465718.stm>
- 93 'Beckham stopped for speeding', 8 Feb. 2001  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1160481.stm>

- 94 'Malaysia minister in speeding row', 20 Nov. 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/2435443.stm>
- 95 'Singer Tweedy guilty of assault', 20 Oct. 2003  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/3207822.stm>
- 96 'Singer not above the law', 17 Oct. 2003  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/england/southern\\_counties/3201124.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/england/southern_counties/3201124.stm)
- 97 'Five months in jail for Stewart', 16 July 2004  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/3900401.stm>
- 98 'Wesley Snipes on bail in tax case', 23 May 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7416221.stm>
- 99 'Singer Doherty released from jail', 6 May 2008  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7384942.stm>
- 100 'Actor Sizemore pleads with judge', 20 June 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6221392.stm>
- 101 'Paris Hilton's not so simple life', 9 June 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6732165.stm>
- 102 'Hilton backs online pardon appeal', 9 May 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/6637855.stm>
- 103 'Paris "ready to face punishment"', 10 May 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6641473.stm>
- 104 'Hilton "good behaviour" cuts term', 17 May 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6664563.stm>
- 105 'Paris Hilton released from jail', 7 June 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6731143.stm>
- 106 'Paris Hilton must return to court', 8 July 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6732915.stm>
- 107 'TV star Richie handed jail term', 27 July 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6919749.stm>
- 108 'Ritchie serves 82-minute jail term', 24 Aug. 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6961612.stm>
- 109 'Hilton "doing well" in LA prison', 5 June 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6721547.stm>
- 110 'Hilton's jail stay to be examined', 14 July 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6898834.stm>
- 111 'Boy George starts his clean sweep', 14 Aug. 2006  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/4790063.stm>
- 112 'Paris Hilton's not so simple life', 9 June 2007  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/6732165.stm>
- 113 'Archer to publish prison diaries', 5 Oct. 2002  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2301215.stm>

# Conclusion: Celebrating Crime in a Celebrity Culture

In the age of celebrity culture it has become vital to address its relationship with the transgression of societal rules and laws in the form of crime and deviance. This book has sought to open a space for debate surrounding the relationship between celebrity and criminality which has been widely noted in scholarship. Tying together the research stance, key assertions and findings of this text will be conducted through a brief chapter-by-chapter summary which highlights the underlying theme of control. Control within this text has been embodied by Foucault's governmentality which has underpinned the narrative of celebrated criminality as a multifaceted controlling force over the public while paradoxically empowering them. Finally, the role of cultural criminology in engaging the criminological imagination is used to highlight the contribution of this approach to criminological research in the twenty-first century.

## **Exploring celebrated criminality and control**

Engaging with the relationship between celebrity and criminality as a multifaceted form of control has been founded on the construction of a Foucauldian governmentality stance. This stance has enabled an exploration of celebrated criminality based upon two central assertions. Firstly, that the culture industry is a form of Foucauldian government with celebrity as Foucauldian governance (Chapter 2). This assertion argues that Adorno and Horkheimer's notion of the culture industry is intimately interwoven with both the mass media and celebrity. Of particular significance is that the culture industry, along with the mass media, has contributed to the development of celebrity, through the sensationalist and dramatic mass media and the provision of

commodities by the culture industry. The three-way relationship between the culture industry, mass media and celebrity demonstrates their ability to guide, manipulate and control the public, tying them neatly to Foucault's theories of government and governance. However, there has been no intention to suggest that celebrity seeks to suppress the public in a dictatorial manner or to suggest undertones of a conspiracy by an elite against the public. Instead, this Foucauldian notion of control is more evasive, pervasive and subtle, and open to interpretation by scholars. Defining the culture industry as Foucauldian government and celebrity as governance highlights them as governing forces that supply the public with meaning and identity in the post-modern world through appropriate trappings. The importance of the premise is that it provides an understanding of why and how celebrity occurs (via the culture industry and the mass media) and that it is itself a significant controlling force. Furthermore, Foucauldian government and governance reveal the pervasive research theme of control through differing governing forces.

The second key premise is linked to the governing capabilities of the culture industry and celebrity in that as a result of celebrity being a form of governance its relationship to criminality makes celebrated criminality into a subversive form of governance (Chapter 2). Celebrity as Foucauldian governance propagates not only its own controlling abilities but also that criminality, due to its relationship with celebrity, can be a governing force. Thus celebrated criminality is proposed to be a form of subversive governance which can control through its celebrated representation and demonstration of dissonance and rebelliousness. As subversive governance, celebrated criminality provides an alternative route to governing than through legal and admirable means to being 'well known for being well known'.

The stance of celebrated criminality as a controlling or rather a governing force raises questions which lead to the research concepts and assertions within this book. The existence of celebrated criminality as governance raised the question of why something that is subversive, and thus generally condemned by society, can become celebrated. This led to the research concept of resonance to help explain this occurrence and made resonance an essential component for the existence of Foucauldian government and governance forms (Chapter 4). The concept of resonance is argued as a form of assemblage whereby there are multiple layers or dimensions through which the public can connect and identify, allowing them to resonate. Consequently, as assemblage, resonance supports assertions that anyone can become celebrated, even those of a

subversive nature. It supports such an assertion due to the multiple ways through which the public relate to the celebrity or celebrated criminality, such as via pleasure or fear, excitement or danger, or a combination of such responses. Consequently, governance-form trends are dependent on resonance to exist.

Following the premise of resonance as fundamental to celebrated criminality and Foucauldian governmentality, a threat to celebrated criminality as governance is evident via the emergence of a new form of Foucauldian government in the late twentieth century in the form of the culture of control. This new Foucauldian government undermines criminal-celebrity, which is the dominant trend of celebrated criminality, and therefore threatens the governance powers of celebrated criminality (Chapters 5 and 6). The dominance of the criminal-celebrity trend is recognized through the large number of historical cases (both pre-, during and post-twentieth century) of criminals becoming celebrated due to their criminality. It is also recognized that towards the end of the twentieth century other celebrated criminality trends have grown in strength regarding the quantity of noteworthy cases rivalling the dominance of criminal-celebrity. This reveals that the criminal-celebrity trend is becoming more dilute allowing other trends to develop. As a result, the criminal-celebrity trend is being undermined by the culture of control, which Garland (2001) asserts emerged towards the end of the twentieth century. As a form of Foucauldian government, its characteristics of new emotivism, changing criminological thought and shifting criminal justice structure all work to the contrary of the success of criminal-celebrity. This highlights that celebrated criminality is threatened with becoming diluted and destabilized as a result of its dominant trend being undermined.

The threat to celebrated criminality in being undermined by the decline of its dominant trend produces the final key assertion, namely that celebrated criminality has adapted to survive via the increasing dominance of other trends, namely the rogue celebrity and celebrated victim (Chapter 7). Celebrated criminality demonstrates the ability to adapt and evolve in response to changing circumstances on the basis of new trends gaining in strength and replacing the weakening criminal celebrity, ensuring its survival as governance. As a result, it is predicted that celebrated criminality will continue to survive in the years to come due to its ability to adapt as well as because its trends of governance will change and have a differing impact on society.

## Engaging the criminological imagination

In his classic work, *The Sociological Imagination* (1959), C. Wright Mills set out what the sociological imagination involves, describing a 'quality of mind' that 'enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two' and which allows 'its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meanings for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals' 'in the welter of their daily experience' 'and to continually work out and revise views of the problems of history, the problems of biography, and the problems of social structure in which biography and history intersect' (1959: 15, 6, 5, 225). The sociological imagination encapsulated a way of thinking about or rather interpreting the world. Some seven decades later Mills's idea of igniting the sociological imagination remains a clarion call for social scientists, and criminologists are no exception.

Barton, Corteen, Scott and Whyte (2007) call for the expansion of the criminological imagination, gathering together a collection of scholarly works that range from a discussion of the authoritarian state to the role of gender in double murder trials, and from women political prisoners in Northern Ireland to human rights and disaster victims. However, they do not accommodate for the growing importance of cultural themes and issues in making deeper sense of criminological matters. This present book, in engaging with celebrity culture and crime, has sought to use the cultural issue of celebrity to explore crime and deviance. Using an interdisciplinary approach that has combined literature and ideas from media studies, sociology, criminology, cultural studies, history and even some aspects of psychology, the intent has been to rise to the challenge of not just expanding the criminological imagination but engaging with it. The purpose has been to spark scholarly interest in the unavoidable cultural phenomenon of celebrity from a criminological perspective.

As a consequence, this book's approach to the relationship between crime and celebrity can be seen as a contribution to the 'loose federation of outlaw intellectual critiques' (Ferrell, 2007: 99) that make up the self-named and heralded 'cultural criminology'. By seeking to push 'the perspectives of conventional criminology beyond its horizon' (Presdee, 2000: 16) by drawing upon the importance of cultural matters and crime, this approach offers a new methodological approach into the criminological imagination. Consequently, the boundaries of criminology are shifting, not to undermine the discipline of criminology but instead to enlarge, enliven and reinvigorate the criminologically inclined scholarly

mind to appreciate the contribution and importance of cultural matters.

This book adds to the growing collection of research that falls, sometimes unwittingly, within the boundaries of cultural criminology by examining crime and celebrity. This new methodological approach to crime accepts the importance of cultural events, issues and concepts to understanding and engaging with crime and deviance, opening a new and intriguing vista. By studying celebrity and crime, the tension between accepted norms and the breaking of these boundaries has been revealed along with how this rule-breaking causes a combination of fascination, excitement and repugnance, as well as being an embodiment of widely held immoral behaviour. Engaging the criminological imagination by using a cultural criminological approach to celebrity culture and crime has enabled celebrity and criminality to become a source of data through which to engage with the cultural evidence of life.

Studying the cultural aspects of crime and deviance engages the criminological imagination by encouraging and appreciating the interpretation of activities and performance of everyday life as a rich source of both abstract and concrete meanings and data sources. This cultural criminological approach looks at meaning and representation by gathering and appreciating the value of the cultural 'evidence' of day-by-day existence wherever and in whatever forms they are found. Subsequently, by utilizing cultural artefacts to examine the trail they leave behind, the 'debris of everyday life' becomes data (ibid.: 15). Subsequently, life histories and images are crucial sources of information, and, as Presdee (2000: 15) writes, even music and dance could be used as a data source for they all have stories to tell in unravelling crime. Therefore, in exploring the relationship between celebrity and criminality this text has used, to full advantage, the re-engagement of the criminological imagination through cultural criminology's attention to cultural detail, dynamics and the everyday politics of mediated images and even sub-cultural styles. As a result, the cultural criminology approach has been vital in examining the emergent meanings of the relationship between celebrity and criminality in the early twenty-first century.

In addressing the relationship between celebrity and crime it has become apparent that this field of research is far from exhausted with many new lines of investigation emerging in the course of writing this book. Issues of celebrity gossip and the rise of new media (Beer and Penfold-Mounce, 2009), consumer society and fascination with the spectacle of dead criminal bodies (Penfold-Mounce, 2009) and the role

of cultural artefacts in depicting authenticity as encapsulated by HBO's *The Wire* (Penfold-Mounce, forthcoming). This latter idea of exploring criminological matters through specific popular cultural artefacts only expands the criminological imagination further and opens a new arena of possibility. In turning to a new source of inspiration in the form of cultural artefacts, scholars can turn to non-scholastic narratives that challenge our understanding of authenticity through their gritty realism. Therefore, it would appear that criminological work has much to gain from appreciating research that is shifting towards a cultural focus ranging from 'the colour magazine to the Oprah Winfrey show' (Savage and Burrows, 2007: 893). Therefore, in engaging the criminological imagination through culture and cultural artefacts an intriguing new sense of criminological matters is flourishing.



# Bibliography

- Abercrombie, N. (1994) 'Authority and Consumer Society', in R. Keat, N. Whiteley and N. Abercrombie (eds) *The Authority of the Consumer*, London: Routledge.
- Abercrombie, N. and Longhurst, B. (1998) *Audiences*, London: Sage.
- Adorno, T.W. (1941) 'On Popular Music', *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, 9(1), 17–48.
- Adorno, T.W. (1991) *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Agger, B. (2004) *The Virtual Self: Contemporary Sociology*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis, MN and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Arber, S. and Ginn, J. (1995) *Connecting Gender and Ageing: A Sociological Approach*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Atwood, M. (1996) *Alias Grace*, London: Bloomsbury.
- Bainbridge, D. (2002) *Intellectual Property*, 5th edn, London: Longman.
- Bakhtin, M. (1984) *Rabelais and his World*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Balchin, N., Forester, C.S., Linklater, E. and Sykes, C. (1964) *Fatal Fascination*, London: Hutchinson.
- Ballard, J.G. (1974) 'Introduction', in *Crash*, New York: Vintage.
- Barbas, S. (2001) *Movie Crazy: Fans, Stars, and the Cult of Celebrity*, New York: Palgrave.
- Barton, A., Corteen, K., Scott, D. and Whyte, D. (2007) *Expanding the Criminological Imagination: Critical Readings in Criminology*, Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing.
- Bataille, G. (1985) *Literature and Evil*, London: Marion Boyers.
- Bataille, G. (1987) *Eroticism*, London: Marion Boyers.
- Baudrillard, J. (1981) *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. C. Levin, St Louis, MO: Telos Press.
- Baudrillard, J. (1988) *The Ecstasy of Communication*, trans. B. Schutze and C. Schutze, New York: Semiotext.
- Baudrillard, J. (1998) *The Consumer Society*, London: Sage.
- Bauman, Z. (1993) *Postmodern Ethics*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Baxter, J. (1970) *The Gangster Film*, London: A. Zwemmer.
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage.
- Beckett, K. (1994) 'Setting the Public Agenda: "Street Crime" and Drug Use in American Politics', *Social Problems*, 41(3), 425–47.
- Beer, D. and Penfold-Mounce, R. (2009) 'Celebrity Gossip and the New Melodramatic Imagination', *Sociological Review Online* 14(2/3).
- Bently, L. and Sherman, B. (2001) *Intellectual Property Law*, Oxford University Press.
- Bernstein, I. (1960) *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker 1933–1941*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Best, J. (1999) *Random Violence: How we Talk about New Crimes and New Victims*, London: University of California Press.

- Binkley, S. (2006) 'The Perilous Freedoms of Consumption: Toward a Theory of the Conduct of Consumer Conduct', *Journal for Cultural Research*, 10(4), 343–62.
- Bird, S.E. (1997) 'What a Story!', in J. Lull and S. Hinerman (eds) *Media Scandals*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Blok, A. (1972) 'The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1(4), 494–505.
- Bond Potter, C. (1998) *War on Crime*, Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Boorstin, D. J. (1972) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, New York: Atheneum.
- Bowling, B. and Philips, C. (2002) *Racism, Crime and Justice*, Harlow: Pearson.
- Box, S., Hale, C. and Andrews, G. (1988) 'Explaining Fear of Crime', *British Journal of Criminology*, 28(3), 340–56.
- Braithwaite, J. (1989) *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*, Cambridge University Press.
- Braithwaite, J. (1998) 'Restorative Justice', in M. Tonry (ed.) *The Handbook of Crime and Punishment*, Oxford University Press.
- Brophy, P. (1986) 'Horrority – the Textuality of Contemporary Horror Films', *Screen*, 27(1), 2–13.
- Brownstein, H.H. (1995) 'The Media and the Construction of Random Drug Violence', in J. Ferrell and C.R. Sanders (eds) *Cultural Criminology*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Byre, A., Whitehead, M. and Breen, S. (2003) 'The Naked Truth of Celebrity Endorsement', *British Food Journal*, 105, 288–96.
- Carrabine, E. (2008) *Crime, Culture and the Media*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Carson, D. (2000) "'It's Never the Way I Knew Them": Searching for Bonnie and Clyde', in L.D. Friedman (ed.) *Arthur Penn's Bonnie and Clyde*, Cambridge University Press.
- Cashmore, E. (2006) *Celebrity/Culture*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Castells, M. (2000) *End of Millennium*, vol. 3, London: Blackwell.
- Chatzkel, J. (2002) *Intellectual Capital*, Oxford: Capstone Publishing.
- Collins Shorter English Dictionary* (1993) Glasgow: HarperCollins.
- Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1995) Glasgow: HarperCollins.
- Courtney, D. (2000) *Stop the Ride I Want to Get Off*, London: Virgin Publishing.
- Crawford, A. (1998) *Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Politics, Policies and Practices*, London: Longman.
- Cross, G. (1993) *Time and Money*, London: Routledge.
- Dean, M. (1999) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, London: Sage.
- Debord, G. (1983) *Society of the Spectacle*, Detroit: Black and Red.
- Debord, G. (1988) *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, London: Verso.
- De Lange, J. (1935) *The Relation and Development of English and Icelandic Outlaw-Traditions*, Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink.
- Deleuze, G. (1986) *Foucault*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Deleuze, G. (1992) 'Postscript on the Societies of Control', *October*, 59, Winter, 3–7.
- Deleuze, G. (1997) *Masochism: Coldness and Cruelty*, New York: Zone Books.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1987) *A Thousand Plateaus*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Diamond, M. (2002) *Victorian Sensation: Or the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London: Anthem Press.
- Doerner, W.G. and Lab, S.P. (1998) *Victimology*, 2nd edn, Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.

- Douglas, M. and Isherwood, B. (1979) *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, London: Allen Lane.
- Drake, P. (2007) 'Who Owns Celebrity?: Privacy, Publicity and the Legal Regulation of Celebrity Images', in S. Redmond and S. Holmes (eds) *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader*, London: Sage.
- Duclos, D. (1998) *The Werewolf Complex: America's Fascination with Violence*, trans. A. Pingree, Oxford: Berg.
- Duff, R.A. (1999) 'Punishment, Expression, and Penance', in H. Jung, H. Müller-Dietz and U. Neumann (eds) *Recht und Moral: Beiträge zu einer Standortbestimmung*, Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Durkheim, E. (1960) *The Division of Labour in Society*, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Dyer, R. (1979) *Stars*, London: BFI.
- Dyer, R. (1986) *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society*, London: BFI.
- Dyer, R. with McDonald, P. (1999) *Stars*, London: BFI.
- Eco, U. (1970) 'Articulations of the Cinematic Code', *Cinemantics*, 1.
- Eldridge, J., Kitzinger, J. and Williams, K. (1997) *The Mass Media and Power in Modern Britain*, Oxford University Press.
- Elias, R. (1993a) *Victims Still: The Political Manipulation of Crime Victims*, London: Sage.
- Elias, R. (1993b) 'Gulf Wars and Crime Wars: A Culture of Violent Solutions', in J. Turpin and L. Kurtz (eds) *The Web of Violence*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Eliasson, G. (2000) 'Making Intangibles Visible: The Value, the Efficiency and the Economic Consequences of Knowledge', in P. Buigues, A. Jacquemin and J.F. Marchipont (eds) *Competitiveness and the Value of Intangible Assets*, London: Edward Elgar.
- Escarpit, R. (1968) 'The Sociology of Literature', in D. Sills (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Carlton.
- Feeley, M. and Simon, J. (1996) 'The New Penology', in J. Muncie, E. McLaughlin and M. Langan (eds) *Criminological Perspectives*, London: Sage.
- Felman, S. (1997) 'Forms of Judicial Blindness, or the Evidence of What Cannot Be Seen', *Critical Inquiry*, 23, 738–88.
- Felson, M. (1994) *Crime and Everyday Life: Insight and Implications for Society*, London: Pine Forge Press.
- Ferrell, J. (1998) 'Criminological Verstehen', in J. Ferrell and M. Hamm (eds) *Ethnography on the Edge*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Ferrell, J. (1999) 'Cultural Criminology', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 395–418.
- Ferrell, J. (2007) 'For a Ruthless Cultural Criticism of Everything Existing', *Crime, Media, Culture*, 3(1), 91–100.
- Ferrell, J., Hayward, K., Morrison, W. and Presdee, M. (2004) 'Fragments of a Manifesto: Introducing Cultural Criminology Unleashed', in J. Ferrell, K. Hayward, W. Morrison and M. Presdee (eds) *Cultural Criminology Unleashed*, London: Glasshouse.
- Ferrell, J., Hayward, K. and Young, J. (2008) *Cultural Criminology*, London: Sage.
- Ferrell, J. and Sanders, C.R. (1995) *Cultural Criminology*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Fido, M. (1999) *The Krays: Unfinished Business*, London: Carlton.
- Finch, E. (2001) *The Criminalization of Stalking: Constructing the Problem and Evaluating the Solution*, London: Cavendish.

- Foucault, M. (1977a) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan, London: Allen Lane.
- Foucault, M. (1977b) *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1982) 'The Subject and Power', in H. Dreyfuss and P. Rabinow (eds) *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1991) 'Governmentality', in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Fraser, F. and Morton, J. (2000) *Mad Frank's Diary*, London: Virgin.
- Freud, S. (1962) *The Ego and the Identity*, trans. J. Riviere, London: Hogarth Press.
- Friedman, T. (2000) *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, New York: Anchor Books.
- Gabler, N. (1994) *Walter Winchell: Gossip, Power and the Culture of Celebrity*, London: Picador.
- Gamson, J. (1994) *Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America*, London: University of California Press.
- Gans, H. (1993) 'Hollywood Entertainment: Commerce or Ideology?', *Social Science Quarterly*, 74(1), 150–3.
- Garland, D. (1990) *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Garland, D. (2001) *The Culture of Control*, Oxford University Press.
- Giles, D. (2000) *Illusions of Immortality*, London: Macmillan Press.
- Goldman, R. and Papson, S. (1998) *Nike Culture: The Sign of the Swoosh*, London: Sage.
- Goodey, J. (2005) *Victims and Victimology: Research, Policy and Practice*, Harlow: Pearson.
- Gordon, C. (1991) 'Governmental Rationality: An introduction', in C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, University of Chicago Press.
- Haggerty, K. and Ericson, R. (2000) 'The Surveillant Assemblage', *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(4), 605–22.
- Halbert, D.J. (1999) *Intellectual Property in the Information Age*, London: Quorum Books.
- Hall, S. (1980) 'Encoding/Decoding', in S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe and P. Willis (eds) *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, London: Hutchinson.
- Hayward, K. and Young, J. (2004) 'Cultural Criminology: Some Notes on the Script', *Theoretical Criminology*, 8(3), 259–73.
- Hayward, K. and Young, J. (2007) 'Cultural Criminology', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 4th edn, Oxford University Press.
- Hebdige, D. (1975) 'The Kray Twins – A System of Closure', *Birmingham CCCS Occasional Paper No. 21*.
- Hibbert, C. (1963) *The Roots of Evil*, London: Penguin.
- Hobbs, D. (1988) *Doing the Business*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hobbs, D. (1995) *Bad Business*, Oxford University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. (1959) *Primitive Rebels*, Manchester University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. (1969) *Bandits*, London: Penguin Books.
- Holden, S. (2001) *The New York Times on The Sopranos*, New York: ibooks.

- Hollin, C.R. (2002) 'Criminological Psychology', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 3rd edn, Oxford University Press.
- Holmes, S. (2005) 'Off-guard, Unkempt, Unready?: Deconstructing Contemporary Celebrity in *Heat Magazine*', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 19(1), 21–38.
- Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. (1979) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, New York: Seabury Press.
- Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. (1997) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, London: Verso.
- Horrall, A. (2001) *Popular Culture in London 1890–1918: The Transformation of Entertainment*, Manchester University Press.
- Hough, M. (1994) *Anxiety about Crime: Findings from the 1994 British Crime Survey*, Research Study 147, London: Home Office.
- Howarth, D. (2002) 'Privacy, Confidentiality and the Cult of Celebrity', *Cambridge Law Journal*, 61, 264–8.
- Jenkins, P. (1992) *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain*, New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Jenks, C. (2003) *Transgression*, London: Routledge.
- Jenks, C. and Lorentzen, J.L. (1997) 'The Kray Fascination', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 14(3), 87–107.
- Kane, S.C. (2004) 'The Unconventional Methods of Cultural Criminology', *Theoretical Criminology*, 8(3), 303–21.
- Kappeler, V.E., Blumberg, M. and Potter, G.W. (1993) *The Mythology of Crime and Criminal Justice*, Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Katz, J. (1988) *Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions in Doing Evil*, New York: Basic Books.
- Keen, M. (1961) *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Klein, N. (2000) *No Logo*, London: Flamingo.
- Kooistra, P. (1989) *Criminals as Heroes: Structure, Power and Identity*, Bowling Green State University Popular Press.
- Kray, R. (2000) *A Way of Life*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- Kray, R. (2002) *Reg Kray: A Man Apart*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- Kyle, D.G. (1998) *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, London: Routledge.
- Langer, J. (1998) *Tabloid Television: Popular Journalism and the 'Other News'*, London: Routledge.
- Larke, G.S. (2003) 'Organised Crime: Mafia Myths in Film and Television', in P. Mason (ed.) *Criminal Visions: Media Representations of Crime and Justice*, Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing.
- Lasch, C. (1979) *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations*, London: W.W. Norton.
- Lash, S. and Lury, C. (2007) *Global Culture Industry: The Mediation of Things*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lea, J. and Young, J. (1984) *Law and Order*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Lee, R. and Van Hecke, B.C. (1971) *Gangsters and Hoodlums*, London: Thomas Yoseloff.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1963) *Structural Anthropology*, New York: Basic Books.
- Loader, I. and Sparks, R. (2002) 'Contemporary Landscapes of Crime, Order, and Control: Governance, Risk and Globalization', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and

- R. Reiner (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 3rd edn, Oxford University Press.
- Lowenthal, L. (1961) *Literature, Popular Culture and Society*, Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books.
- McCracken, G. (1989) 'Who is the Celebrity Endorser? Cultural Foundation of the Endorsement Process', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(3), 310–21.
- McDonald, P. (2000) *The Star System: Hollywood and the Production of Popular Identities*, London: Wallflower.
- McLuhan, M. (1976) 'Violence of the Media', *Canadian Forum*, 56, 9–12.
- McLuhan, M. (1994) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, London: Routledge.
- Madow, M. (1993) 'Private Ownership of Public Image: Popular Culture and Publicity Rights', *California Law Review*, 81, 127–240.
- Marcuse, H. (2002) *One-Dimensional Man*, London: Routledge.
- Marshall, P.D. (1997) *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mason, P. (2003) *Criminal Visions: Media Representations of Crime and Justice*, Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing.
- Mathiesen, T. (1997) 'The Viewer Society', *Theoretical Criminology*, 1(2), 215–34.
- Mathiesen, T. (2005) *Silently Silenced: Essays on the Creation of Acquiescence in Modern Society*, Winchester: Waterside Press.
- Mawby, R.I. and Walklate, S. (1994) *Critical Victimology*, London: Sage.
- May, L. (1980) *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry*, Oxford University Press.
- May, T. (1993) 'The System and its Fractures: Gilles Deleuze on Otherness', *Journal of the British Society of Phenomenology*, 24(1), 3–14.
- Mills, C.W. (1956) *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press.
- Mills, C.W. (1959) *The Sociological Imagination*, Oxford University Press.
- Monaco, J. (1978) *Celebrity*, New York: Delta.
- Moore Jr, B. (1968) *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Morgan, D. (1986) 'Gender', in R. Burgess (ed.) *Key Variables in Social Investigation*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Newburn, T. (2002) 'Atlantic Crossings: "Policy Transfer" and Crime Control in the USA and Britain', *Punishment and Society*, 4(2), 165–94.
- Newburn, T. (2003) *Crime and Criminal Justice Policy*, 2nd edn, Harlow: Pearson.
- Ohlgren, T. (1998) *A Book of Medieval Outlaws*, Stroud: Sutton.
- Osborne, R. (1995) 'Crime and the Media: From Media Studies to Post-Modernism', in D. Kidd-Hewitt and R. Osborne (eds) *Crime and the Media: The Post-modern Spectacle*, London: Pluto.
- Patton, P. (1998) 'MetamorphoLogic: Bodies and Powers in a Thousand Plateaus', *Journal of the British Society of Phenomenology*, 25(2), 157–69.
- Payne, G. (2006) 'An Introduction to "Social Divisions"', in G. Payne (ed.) *Social Divisions*, 2nd edn, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pearson, J. (1984) *The Profession of Violence*, 3rd edn, London: Granada.
- Pefanis, J. (1991) *Heterology and the Postmodern: Bataille, Baudrillard and Lyotard*, London: Duke University Press.
- Penfold, R. (2004) 'The Star's Image, Victimization and Celebrity Culture', *Punishment and Society*, 6(3), 289–302.

- Penfold-Mounce, R. (2009) 'Consuming Criminal Corpses: Celebrating the Spectacle of the Dead Criminal Body', Paper presented at *Crime Studies: Facts and Fictions*, Crime Studies Network in the North Inaugural Symposium 15 May 2009.
- Penfold-Mounce, R. (forthcoming) 'Depicting Authenticity: Blurring Boundaries in *The Wire*', *Crime, Media, Culture*.
- Pfeifer, M.J. (1999) 'Lynching and Criminal Justice: The Midwest and West as American Regions 1878–1920', Paper presented at the 39th Annual Western History Association Conference.
- Piven, F. and Cloward, R. (1979) *Poor People's Movements: Why they Succeed, How they Fail*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Powdermaker, H. (1951) *Hollywood the Dream Factory*, London: Secker and Warburg.
- Pratt, J. (2000a) 'Emotive and Ostentatious Punishment,' *Punishment and Society*, 2(4), 417–39.
- Pratt, J. (2000b) 'The Return of the Wheelbarrow Men; or, the Arrival of Postmodern Penalty?', *British Journal of Criminology*, 40, 127–45.
- Pratt, J. (2002) *Punishment and Civilization*, London: Sage.
- Presdee, M. (2000) *Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime*, London: Routledge.
- Presdee, M. (2004a) 'Cultural Criminology: The Long and Winding Road', *Theoretical Criminology*, 8(3), 275–85.
- Presdee, M. (2004b) 'The Story of Crime: Biography and the Excavation of Transgression', in J. Ferrell, K. Hayward, W. Morrison and M. Presdee (eds) *Cultural Criminology Unleashed*, London: Glasshouse.
- Presdee, M. (2005) 'The Story of Crime: Biography and the Excavation of Transgression', in J. Ferrell, K. Hayward, W. Morrison and M. Presdee (eds) *Cultural Criminology Unleashed*, London: Glasshouse.
- Raban, J. (1988) *Soft City*, London: Harvill.
- Radin, P. (1956) *The Trickster: A Study of American Indian Mythology*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Raine, J.W. and Willson, M.J. (1993) *Managing Criminal Justice*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Ramsey, A. (2000) 'The Frankfurt School', in H. Anderson and L.B. Kaspersen (eds) *Classical and Modern Social Theory*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Raven, N. (2007) *Beowulf: The Legend of a Hero*, Dorking: Templar.
- Reeves, J.L. (1988) 'Television Stardom', in J.W. Carey (ed.) *Media Myths and Narratives: Television and the Press*, London: Sage.
- Roberts, K. (2001) *Class in Modern Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Rock, P. (1994) *The History of Criminology*, part IV, Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Rock, P. (2002) 'Sociological Theories of Crime', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 3rd edn, Oxford University Press.
- Rojek, C. (2001) *Celebrity*, London: Reaktion Books.
- Rose, J. (1999) 'The Cult of Celebrity', *New Formations*, 36, 9–20.
- Rose, N. (1996) 'Governing Advanced Liberal Democracies', in A. Barry, T. Osbourne and N. Rose (eds) *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, London: UCL Press.
- Rose, N. (1999) *Powers of Freedom: Reforming Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press.

- Rose, N. (2000) 'Government and Control', *British Journal of Criminology*, 40, 321–39.
- Rule, J. and Wells, R. (1997) *Crime, Protest and Popular Politics in Southern England 1740–1850*, London: Hambledon Press.
- Sampson, R.J. and Wooldredge, J.D. (1986) 'Evidence that High Crime Rates Encourage Migration away from Central Cities', *Sociology and Social Research*, 70, 310–14.
- Sanders, C.R. and Lyon, E. (1995) 'Repetitive Retribution: Media Images and the Cultural Construction of Policing', in J. Ferrell and C.R. Sanders (eds) *Cultural Criminology*, Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Savage, M. and Burrows, R. (2007) 'The Coming Crisis of Empirical Sociology', *Sociology*, 41(5), 885–900.
- Schlesinger Jr, A.M. (1957) *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 1, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schubart, R. (1995) 'From Desire to Deconstructions: Horror Films and Audience Reactions', in D. Kidd-Hewitt and R. Osborne (eds) *Crime and the Media*, London: Routledge.
- Schur, E. (1969) *Our Criminal Society*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Seal, G. (1996) *The Outlaw Legend*, Cambridge University Press.
- Seltzer, M. (1998) *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Shapiro, B.G. (1999) *Reinventing Drama: Acting, Iconicity, Performance*, London: Greenwood Press.
- Sherman, L. (1992) *Big League, Big Time: The Birth of the Arizona Diamond Backs, the Billion-dollar Business of Sports and the Power of the Media in America*, New York: Pocket Books.
- Simon, J. and Feeley, M. (1995) 'True Crime: The New Penology and Public Discourse on Crime', in T. Blomberg and S. Cohen (eds) *Punishment and Social Control*, New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Simonton, D.K. (1994) *Greatness: Who Makes History and Why*, New York: Guilford Publications.
- Slater, D. (1997) *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Smith, R.J. (2003) *Property Law*, 4th edn, Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Sorlin, P. (1994) *Mass Media*, London: Routledge.
- Spoto, D. (1995) *Elizabeth Taylor*, London: Warner Books.
- Spragg, G. (2002) *Outlaws and Highwaymen: The Cult of the Robber in England from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, London: Random House.
- Steinert, H. (2003) *Culture Industry*, trans. S.A. Spencer, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Stewart, S. (1991) *Crimes of Writing*, Oxford University Press.
- Stratton, J. (1996) 'Serial Killing and the Transformation of the Social', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 13(1), 77–98.
- Suleiman, S. (1990) *Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics and the Avant-Garde*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sutherland, E.H. (1950) 'The Diffusion of Sexual Psychopath Laws', *American Journal of Sociology*, 56, 142–8.
- Thompson, J.B. (2000) *Political Scandal*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Turner, G. (2004) *Understanding Celebrity*, London: Sage.
- Turner, V. (1969) *The Ritual Process*, Chicago: Aldine.
- Turner, V. (1978) 'Variations on a Theme of Liminality', in S. Moore (ed.) *Secular Ritual*, Leiden: Van Gorcum.



- Virilio, P. (2000) *The Information Bomb*, London: Verso.
- Von Hirsh, A. (1993) *Censure and Sanctions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wacquant, L. (1999) 'How Penal Common Sense Comes to Europeans: Notes on the Transatlantic Diffusion of the Neoliberal Doxa', *European Societies*, 1(3), 319–52.
- Walkowitz, J.R. (1994) *City of Dreadful Delight*, London: Virago.
- Walter, E. (1970) *The Technique of Film Cutting Room*, London: Focal.
- Webber, C. (2007) 'Background, Foreground, Foresight: The Third Dimension of Cultural Criminology', *Crime, Media, Culture*, 3(2), 139–57.
- Weber, M. (1946) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. and ed. H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, Oxford University Press.
- Weber, M. (1968) *On Charisma and Institution Building*, University of Chicago.
- Wilson, J.Q. (1994) 'What to do about Crime', *Commentary*, 98, 25–34.
- Wilson, D. and Ashton, J. (2001) *What Everyone in Britain should Know about Crime and Punishment*, 2nd edn, Oxford University Press.
- Wykes, M. (2001) *News, Crime and Culture*, London: Pluto.
- Young, A. (1996) *Imagining Crime*, London: Sage.
- Young, J. (1999) *The Exclusive Society*, London: Sage.
- Young, J. (2003) 'The Exclusive Society', in E. McLaughlin, J. Muncie and G. Hughes (eds) *Criminological Perspectives*, 2nd edn, London: Sage.
- Zimring, F. (1996) 'Populism, Democratic Government, and the Decline of Expert Authority: Some Reflections on "Three Strikes" in California', *Pacific Law Journal*, 28, 243–56.
- Zizek, S. (2002) *Welcome to the Desert of the Real: Five Essays on 11 September and Related Dates*, London: Verso.

# Index

- Abagnale, Frank, 107–8  
anti-hero, 86, 90, 91, 95  
Arbuckle, Fatty, 145–6, 155, 157, 160  
Archer, Jeffrey, 172  
assemblage, 35, 49, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70,  
72, 79, 120, 179
- Baby P, 98–9  
Bacon, Richard, 157  
Bailey, David, 111  
Baldo, Robert, 25  
Barrymore, Michael, 20, 156–7  
Bathory, Elizabeth, 100  
Bataille, Georges, 4–5, 6, 100  
Bauman, Zygmunt, 4, 23, 59, 95, 144  
*see also* liquid modernity  
Beckham, David, 169  
Bergman, Ingrid, 145–6  
Berry, Halle, 151  
Best, George, 149  
Biggs, Ronnie, 20, 34, 86, 99, 103, 115  
*see also* Great Train Robbery  
Blake, Robert, 162–3  
Blood, Colonel, 85  
Bonnie and Clyde, 20, 77–8  
Boorstin, Daniel, 7, 12–13, 14, 15, 22,  
24–5, 65  
Boyle, Jimmy, 86  
Bronson, Charles, 85–6  
Brown, Foxy, 150  
Brown, Ian, 149  
Bulger, James, 74–5  
Bundy, Ted, 90
- Cashmore, Ellis, 7, 12, 20, 22, 35, 52,  
145, 156, 170  
celebrated criminality, 1, 8, 9, 10, 20,  
29, 63, 64, 69, 70, 82–3, 85, 91,  
92, 94–6, 97, 101, 108, 112, 114,  
115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122,  
123, 124, 125, 128, 130, 131, 132,  
135, 137, 138, 140, 142, 144, 148,  
161, 166, 172, 178–80  
governance, 94–113, 114–15, 117,  
119, 129, 135, 138, 140, 144,  
146, 172  
celebrity, 7–8, 12–27  
branding and endorsement,  
54–5; *see also* celebrity:  
intellectual property rights;  
Douglas–Zeta-Jones case  
classifying, 14–16, 16–20: celeb, 9,  
18; hero, 9, 14, 16–18, 19, 149;  
notorious, 20, 82, 94;  
personality, 19–20; star, 19, 163  
culture of, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 20–1, 22,  
23–4, 26–7, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33,  
35, 36, 38, 42, 46, 51, 52, 59,  
60, 61, 87, 91, 92, 94, 95, 102,  
104, 107, 114, 169, 178, 181,  
182  
defining, 12–14  
fame and, 7, 12–13, 15, 16, 17,  
20–1, 22, 24, 25, 26, 53, 100,  
145, 150  
glamour myth, 53, 59  
governance, 9, 38, 50–3, 54, 59,  
60–1, 69–70, 94, 120, 146, 178,  
179  
identity and, 28, 38, 58–60, 61, 72,  
143  
intangible wealth, 55–6, 57, 58;  
*see also* celebrity: intellectual  
property rights  
intellectual property rights, 1, 56–8  
products, 54–5, 59  
Chapman, Mark David, 25, 26, 100  
charisma, 140, 141–3  
*see also* Weber, Max  
Church, Charlotte, 56, 161  
consumption, 2, 27, 31, 42, 47, 49,  
50, 50–3, 54, 55, 58–61, 64, 68,  
74, 114, 116, 146  
culture, 44  
mass, 40–1  
sensation, 30

- Courtney, 'Dodgy' Dave, 87–9, 116–17
- crime prevention, 133, 136–7
- criminal-celebrity, 9, 10, 63, 71, 77, 83–91, 94, 96, 98, 99, 101–2, 103–4, 105, 107, 108–13, 114–15, 116, 117–38, 140, 143, 144, 152, 166, 172, 180
- criminal hero, 9, 84–6, 88, 92, 108, 110, 112, 115, 117, 124; *see also* Turpin, Dick; Blood, Colonel; Kelly, Ned; Bronson, Charles; McVicar, John; Boyle, Jimmy; Biggs, Ronnie; Abagnale, Frank
- dilution of, 114–15, 119, 122, 124, 135, 137, 180
- iniquitous criminal, 9, 90–2, 99–101, 115, 122, 124, 159–60, 164; *see also* Bundy, Ted; Dahmer, Jeffrey; Hindley, Myra; Shipman, Harold; Fritzl, Josef; Bathory, Elizabeth
- social bandit, 9, 84–5, 86, 87, 91, 108, 110, 112, 115, 117, 124; *see also* Hood, Robin
- underworld exhibitionist, 9, 10, 86–90, 108, 110, 112, 114–19, 120, 138; *see also* Courtney, 'Dodgy' Dave; Krays, the
- criminological thought, changing, 114, 121, 132–5, 180
- Crowe, Russell, 151
- cultural criminology, 1, 2–4, 7, 8, 178, 181–2
- culture industry, 9, 36, 38–61, 63, 68–70, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82–3, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 92, 94, 100, 102, 110, 112, 116, 120, 140, 144, 146, 169, 178–9
- deception, 39, 41–2, 44
- defining, 38–40
- domination of, 40–2, 43, 46
- false need, 41–2
- government, 9, 38, 47–51, 59, 60, 61, 69, 70, 94, 102, 178, 179
- limitations of, 43–6, 61
- updating, 38, 46, 47
- culture of control, 9, 10, 114, 119–38, 140, 144, 148, 152, 166, 172, 180
- government, 9, 10, 114, 119–38, 180
- indices of change, 114, 120–38
- Cyrus, Miley, 158
- Dahmer, Jeffrey, 91
- Deayton, Angus, 147, 155
- Deleuze, Gilles, 6, 66, 119–20
- Devi, Phoolan, 84, 103
- Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Horkheimer and Adorno), 38, 39
- Dillinger, John, 71, 76, 103–4
- Doherty, Pete, 155, 170
- Douglas–Zeta-Jones case, 57–8  
*see also* celebrity: intangible wealth; celebrity: intellectual property rights
- Downey Jr, Robert, 154
- emotivism, 114, 121–2, 125–8, 130, 132, 133, 135, 138, 180  
*see also* fear of crime; war on crime
- Fairbanks, Douglas, 150
- fascination, 5, 13, 28, 29, 30, 35, 71, 72–3, 145; *see also* resonance; spectacle
- with violence and crime, 6, 9, 80, 28, 72–5, 80, 85, 90, 92, 94, 96, 99, 106, 112, 182; *see also* Other, the
- fear of crime, 121–6, 130, 135, 138
- Ferguson, Alex, 169
- Flynn, Errol, 148
- Foucault, Michel, 5, 9, 26, 31, 33–4, 38, 47, 50, 61, 119–20, 178, 179
- Fritzl, Josef, 99–100
- gangsta rap, 89–90, 146  
*see also* Jackson, Curtis '50 Cent'; Knight, Marion 'Suge'
- gangsters, 7, 10, 76–8, 103–4, 106, 108, 110–11
- gangster chic, 110–11
- Mafia, 106–7
- George, Boy, 172
- Gielgud, John, 156
- Glitter, Gary, 20, 147

- governmentality, 9, 38–61, 178, 180;  
     *see also* Foucault, Michel  
 governance, 9–10, 26, 34, 38, 50–3,  
     69–70, 72, 92, 120, 144, 179,  
     180; *see also* celebrated  
     criminality; celebrity  
 government, 9, 10, 38, 47, 48–9,  
     50–1, 114, 120, 179; *see also*  
     culture industry  
 updating, 47–50  
 Grant, Hugh, 151–2  
 Great Depression, 59, 76, 77, 103  
 greatness, 17  
     depreciation of, 9, 12, 14, 21–7, 33,  
     35  
 Great Train Robbery, 71, 86, 103, 111  
     *see also* Biggs, Ronnie  
 Guinness, Alec, 156  
  
 Hayworth, Rita, 148  
 hero (heroes; heroic), 14, 16, 17,  
     21–5, 26, 35, 70, 75, 77, 78, 81,  
     83, 84, 85–6, 88, 90, 95, 99  
 Hilton, Paris, 18, 170–1, 172  
 Hindley, Myra, 91  
 Hood, Robin, 75, 76, 77, 84, 97, 102,  
     103, 104  
 Horkheimer, Max and Adorno,  
     Theodor, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44,  
     45, 46, 47  
 Hurley, Elizabeth, 146  
  
 icon, 14, 23, 53, 109  
     iconic (iconicity), 22, 28, 78, 111,  
     124  
  
 Jackson, Curtis '50 Cent', 90  
 Jagger, Mick, 147  
 Jones, David, 160  
 Jones, Vinnie, 88, 149  
  
 Kelly, Matthew, 160  
 Kelly, Ned, 85  
 Kelly, R., 160  
 King, Jonathan, 144, 147–8  
 King, Rodney, 168  
 Knight, Marion 'Suge', 89, 146  
 Kooistra, Paul, 7, 70–1, 75, 76, 77,  
     78–9, 83, 101, 102  
  
 Krays, the, 7, 10, 76, 88, 89, 94, 98,  
     108–13, 116, 118–19  
  
 Leeds United footballer case, 168  
 Leslie, John, 159–60  
 Lil' Kim, 150  
 liquid modernity, 4, 52, 59, 144  
     *see also* Bauman, Zygmunt  
 Love, Courtney, 149  
  
 McCann, Madeleine, 29, 128  
 McVicar, John, 86; *see also* criminal  
     celebrity: criminal hero  
 Marcuse, Herbert, 41–2, 43  
 Martin, Tony, 98  
 Michael, George, 155  
 Mihajlovic, Mijailo, 25  
 Moss, Kate, 19, 24, 26, 33, 154–5  
  
 Najeib, Sarfraz, 168; *see also* Leeds  
     United footballer case  
  
 Osbourne, Ozzy, 149  
 Other, the, 71–4, 96, 122  
  
 Payne, Sarah, 126; *see also* victim  
     penance, 152–7, 159, 162, 164, 172  
 Pickford, Mary, 150  
 Presdee, Mike, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 95, 181,  
     182  
  
 Read, Mark Brandon 'Chopper', 115  
 Reed, Oliver, 149  
 reintegrative shaming, 153, 156  
 resonance, 9–10, 63–92, 95, 96,  
     97–108, 110, 112–13, 114–19,  
     120, 121, 122–3, 125, 126, 127,  
     128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133,  
     134–5, 136, 138, 142, 146, 149,  
     154, 161, 162, 172, 179, 180  
 Richie, Nicole, 18, 170–1  
 rogue celebrity, 10, 11, 63, 96, 138,  
     140, 141, 142–3, 148, 151–7, 161,  
     162, 163, 164, 166, 172, 181  
 conceptualization of, 143–8:  
     celebrity criminal, 10, 143, 149;  
     celebrity deviant, 10, 143, 149,  
     156, 158; celebrity suspect, 10,  
     143, 156, 157, 160, 163, 164, 168

- Rojek, Chris, 7, 15, 25, 26, 27, 59, 82, 102
- romanticized crime 10, 32, 72, 77, 78, 85, 105–6, 107, 109, 132
- image 105, 107, 109, 125, 134, 144
- Ryder, Winona, 154
- Seltzer, Mark, 80–2, 101; *see also* wound culture
- September 11, 124; *see also* Twin Towers
- Sheen, Charlie, 154, 155
- Shipman, Harold, 73, 97
- Simpson, O.J., 167–8
- Sizemore, Tom, 154, 170
- Slater, Christian, 154, 155
- Snipes, Wesley, 170
- spectacle, 5, 9, 12, 21, 27–33, 35, 54, 80–1, 96, 161, 167, 182
- synopticism (synoptic), 9, 12, 21, 27–35, 158, 161
- Stewart, Martha, 170
- Theakston, Jamie, 147, 155
- Townshend, Pete, 158–9
- Turpin, Dick, 85, 105
- Tweedy (Cole), Cheryl, 169
- Twin Towers, 23, 28, 124
- Tyson, Mike, 146
- victim (victimization), 4, 25, 28, 34, 74, 75, 84, 85, 90, 91, 97, 98, 105, 107, 122–5, 127, 137, 153, 159, 161, 169, 170, 181
- capitalist conspiracy, 44, 68
- celebrated, 128, 132, 161, 166, 167, 168, 180; *see also* Baby P; Bulger, James; McCann, Madeleine; Payne, Sarah
- return of, 121, 128–32
- victimhood, 162–6, 172
- Wallace, Christopher
- ‘Notorious B.I.G.’, 146
- war on crime, 122, 127–8
- Washington Snipers, 100
- Weber, Max, 141, 142
- see also* charisma
- West, Rosemary, 74
- Winehouse, Amy, 26, 151
- wound culture, 80, 81–2; *see also* Seltzer, Mark
- Wuornos, Aileen, 101
- Yorkshire Ripper, 124