Introduction: Stars, History, and the Media

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This book is based on the papers given in the inaugural conference to the International Institute for Popular Culture in the University of Turku, 2006. Main points of focus in the conference were popular music and moving image yet there were many papers that overlapped these and other areas. The starting point of this book is the pervasiveness of the star, celebrity and stardom across the modern mass media and other cultural fields. As suggested by several researchers, the role that stars and celebrities play has expanded and multiplied in recent years (see e. g. Gitlin 2001: 22; Turner 2004: 4). The magnitude of the star flow cannot be escaped: stars are encountered almost everywhere and through different media networks.

In light of this development, it is important to pose two questions. First, how has the ‘spectacle of the popular’ and its most conspicuous embodiment, the star, functioned at specific historical moments and within given cultures? Second, what are those cultural and social practices that have both contributed and responded to the star expansion? To put it more simply, the essays in this book seek to understand why the appearances and images of the star in film, television, music and other forms of mass media have become more spectacular since the early twentieth century.

The omnipresence of the star may be greater than ever but it is by no means unprecedented in history. Relying on multi-disciplinary research methods, History of Stardom Reconsidered examines stars’ history and media apparatus and the inflections generated by such factors as nation, politics, gender, ethnicity, and technology. There is also an emphasis placed upon forms of intermedial, or transmedial, relations that can be found from the history of stars and, especially, from the contemporary modes of stardom.

The underlying argument of this book is the idea that popular culture and stardom are quintessentially products of modernity and mass media. Traditionally, ‘modernity’ has been perceived as the historical period beginning from the rise of Romanticism, Industrial Revolution and French and American revolutions. This concept is generally thought of as ambivalent, referring to ever-changing social conditions, the breakup of old life styles and complex modes of individual existence in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (see Bauman 1990; Berman 1991). What should be emphasized is that modernity also refers to both societal transformation and ideological interaction that were crystallized in the rise of popular culture and the obsession with stardom. As these phenomena are intertwined it is not adequate to just ask what kind of meanings stars incorporate within given contexts. It is also meaningful to identify how stardom is construed and how we understand its role in popular culture and modern society. Why the ‘popular’ and its most visible representative, the star, have operated in conjunction with the public discourses of specific individual, collective or institutional agents and why this has become so evident in contemporary times?

Some writers in this book highlight the alliance of social and cultural forces. In this approach, the focus is on those commercial, technological and political structures that have contributed to the development in which almost any cultural phenomenon may potentially enter the field of the popular. These writings and, in fact, also other articles in the book imply that even though the triumph of popular culture stands as an emblem of the democratization of culture (or the collapse of the ‘elitist’ Culture), the economic and social struggle that is intrinsic to capitalism is very much fought in this same terrain. For example, the dimension of struggle and power relationships constantly emerge in the field of music stardom where the imperative of big profits, whether economic or symbolic, is accompanied by simultaneous interventions of different agencies: the audiovisual media has
increasingly been involved in the creation and distribution of stars; technological apparatus provided by live music agencies and designers not only underline star appearances but are vast business and cultural products themselves; governmental policy-makers, copyright organisations and sponsors may have as much to say in cultural imports and exports as the entertainment industry which has traditionally been regarded as a quarter that single-handedly conducts such enterprises.

As to the central concepts of the book, we do not draw a strong line between the ‘celebrity’ and the ‘star’. Both terms developed in the nineteenth century to describe new kind of public forms of subjectivity. The term celebrity had already been in use prior to that but it was mostly associated with solemn and religious ceremonies. It was not until the rise of individualism, new conditions of capitalism, and the development of mass media that the celebrity and the star became to mean famous or well-known persons that carried the illusion of intimacy. From that time forward, these terms have been treated as the attribution of glamorous – yet also as notorious, derogatory and pejorative – status to an individual within the public sphere. (Marshall 1997: 5; Rojek 2001: 9–29; Mäkelä 2004: 15–16)

It is, of course, possible to find differences between the terms. The scope of celebrity seems to be greater than that of the star. P. David Marshall (1997: 7), for example, writes that the celebrity works as the encompassing term, whereas concepts of hero and star can be thought of as less general categories of the specific functions of the public individual in the public sphere. Hence, the star could be understood as a subcategory of the celebrity. Historically, the term star has usually referred to high-profile creative and performing individuals working in the entertainment industry and popular culture. Adjectives such as celebrated, prominent and distinguished have often been used to describe stars. Mainly because the public sphere has both expanded and become more accessible for ‘wannabe stars’ to enter, the term celebrity has recently gained ground in those studies that focus on the contemporary relationship between the individual and cultural life (e.g. Rojek 2001; Turner 2004). Although the title and the most articles of this book prefer the star, we want to emphasize that especially in their contemporary versions the two terms are not mutually exclusive.

I Shaping the Stars: Production

The book is divided in three sections. The first section deals with the creation of stars. In what ways stars are produced and promoted? First of all, there are many players in the field. On the level of the individual star, the process of production centres on the creation of art in its various forms (acting, live performances, recording, television appearances, and so on.) and the star’s personal publicity mechanisms (interviews, film roles, autobiographies and the like) that seem to give us direct access to the artist. Another aspect of this web-like structure1 deals with the promotional strategies of the entertainment industry, especially actions taken by the particular individuals or institutions backing up the star. These strategies include producing and distributing official star image material such as films, records, press photos, advertisements, and newsletters. Basically, the task of this publicity is either to create new stars or to maintain pre-existing modes of stardom around individuals classified as stars. With already established stars the usual practice is ‘branding’, the attempt to “structure continuities in consumer culture, where a sense of trust and security is indicated by certain symbols and companies” (Marshall 1997: 245). The third constituent in the process of production is the loosely organized category of the media and its commentary on stars (critiques, columns, parodies, exposures in the tabloid press, unauthorised biographies, etc.). Like the entertainment industry, these act as mediators in the shaping of the star’s image, but their position within the discourse is different. To simplify, they can produce alternative modes of understanding stars and stardom that cannot wholly be controlled either by the stars or their promoters.

The common view is that there exists a certain star machinery which manufactures stars and sends them to the audiences in a steady, industrial-like stream. This popular argument, which dominated star theories up until Richard Dyer’s groundbreaking study *Stars* in 1979, cannot be wholly denied. From Florence Lawrence, the famous ‘Biograph Girl’ in the early twentieth century American film business, to the contemporary *Pop Idol* stars in the commercial television, the media and entertainment industries have often taken a strong control of the star process. The main aim of the industries has been to make the production of stars and celebrities as predictable as possible. One strategy has been an attempt to generate star careers from the beginning. Another strategy is to take control of promotion and distribution. (See Turner 2004: 29–86; Marshall 2006: 647–798)

Every time these strategies prove to be successful, as in the case of *Pop Idol*, discussions on the ‘star-making machinery’ are re-launched. What often remains unnoticed when another critical column on the fabrication of celebrities appears in a local paper (or, on the other hand, when the industry awards itself in a media gala) is the
fact that the cultural industries keep facing a permanent problem of irrationalism in markets. It is often forgotten that for every successful star promotion, there has been an overwhelming number of unsuccessful attempts. There is no guarantee that the latest effort to create a star will succeed. Often it is even difficult to maintain already established star standings. Yet it cannot be denied that star-making machineries, or whatever we call them, have been doing well and still do. But the relationship between the stars and the production is not only about profits and expenses and this is what the first section of *History of Stardom Reconsidered* is about.

Laura Ahonen focuses on the public images of music stars. She is particularly interested in artists who are inclined to stay outside the conventional star processes and even keep their personal identities undercover. In fact, one of the most important sub-themes in popular music has been the disagreement with the commercialism of star system. The paradox here is that practices of denial are often seen as signs of originality and strong star status. Ahonen shows how qualifications of antistardom have been enormously influential within the cultural discussions on creativity, authorship and music celebrity.

Deconstructing stardom may be used to construct stardom. Monty Python, the famous British comedy group, is a good example how stardom often involves ironic elements and self-criticism. In fact, witty comments on star appearances uttered by stars themselves form a colourful history that has rarely been analyzed. Rami Mähkä argues that in Monty Python’s celebrity image one of the striking features was the mockery towards the group itself. Such a practice can be seen as a satirical attitude welling from British comedy tradition yet also as a genre-based practice of confirming one’s own star status. This brings us to the thin line between the star and the auteur. Can these two be separated? How do stars function within the entertainment industries?

Dealing with the auteur concept, the star system in American cinema, and the questions of femininity, Zohar Altman Ravid analyzes the career of Barbra Streisand. First as a film star and then, from the 1980s onwards, also as a director, Streisand has been an extraordinary figure in American cinema. She has been able to break new ground, challenge gendered divisions and cross genre boundaries. She has also exercised a measure of control over the production processes and, in fact, her career. Yet behind the image of a perfect auteur-as-celebrity, the relationship between the star as a creation and star as a creator has been much more complex.

With careers such as that of Barbra Streisand, the maintaining of a star profile over a period of time stands as a proof of the auteur status. In star culture, the role of the past is notable not only in terms of personal stories and recollections. The dialogue with its own history has been integral to popular culture and stardom. Several articles here imply that recently this dialogue has become more distinctive. Dealing mainly with American and British artists and producers that represent modern crooning and torch singing, Sven-Erik Klinkmann focuses on the celebration of history in popular music. It could be argued that the feeling of ‘now’, once the fuel of pop music culture, is replaced by the consciousness of ‘then’. Using the concepts of retroism and anachronism, Klinkmann shows how different modes of nostalgia have had a powerful influence on the production of new music in a particular genre.

Also Kimi Kärki is interested in the relationship between the past and present in music. He analyzes ‘the ultimate rock dinosaurs’, the Rolling Stones, who have become the embodiment of a corporate and corporeal stadium superstardom. How the relationship between the old classic rock played by senior rock stars and the hi-tech industrial light and magic show of the stadium spectacle should be understood? Kärki shows how in the gigantic live shows the physical presence and the media construction of the stars are brought together by historical references of both the musical catalogue and audiovisual narratives. Thus, the celebration of history carries significant cultural, economic and symbolic values in popular music.

Live rock spectacles have given new life to the Rolling Stones’ career yet such strategies have also been seen as a sign of crisis in music culture. Arguments about the death of rock or manufactured and ‘fake’ stars are no news in star discourses which have for a long time been characterised by heavy criticism towards the production of stardom. In these discussions, it is often forgotten that stars are as much products as producers. The entertainment industries may produce stars but so may stars produce the industries. Dealing with the issues of crisis, economic reality and the circulation of stars, Wing-Fai Leung proposes in her article that the history of film stardom in Hong Kong reflects the paradigmatic shift from the critiques of culture industry to the notion of simulations in an age of media saturation. Because of the transformation of the media landscape and new practices of leisure life, the previous modes of film star production are no longer useful. Yet as the star phenomenon obstinately refuses to go away, new efforts to (re)construct stars and the film industry have been put in practice. In this process, the past may provide solutions to the set of problems, at least in Hong Kong, where the old generation of film stars are iconized.

Not only are living legends celebrated. Referring to Zygmunt Bauman’s idea that in the age of recording media things no longer live and then die but, rather, appear and disappear, Lisa Bode analyzes the discourses on
the digital resurrection of dead screen stars. The re-circulation of past celebrities is characteristic to the history of fame but what happens when the dead are digitally brought back to life? In such cases, stars themselves no longer participate in defining their positions and performances and this is why there has been abundant criticism towards the process. Dead stars may ‘survive’ but they also are vulnerable to exploitation. At the same time re-animated celebrities attract audiences and surface as a significant cultural force. This new kind of star production mingles with changing modes of media consumption. According to Bode, we are left with hybrid star texts that complicate the notions of screen performance.

The final article of this section emphasises that the most important site of star production is the media. Jamil Dakhlia focuses on the uses of the star figures in the French press, especially in the popular papers. Dakhlia shows how the obsession with celebrities is linked to a production of different modes of stardom that actually have a long tradition. Paradoxes are in the heart of star culture: Stars are exceptional beings yet at the same time boys and girls next door. In the media, stars are idealized yet also trivialized. These ambiguities imply that the uses of star figures and the production of stardom in the media are linked to the contested questions about the status of an individual within the public sphere and society.

II Shining Stars: Identities

Stars are produced and can be regarded as cultural fabrications, yet they, too, produce something. The second section deals with the relationship between stars and cultural identities, especially with those meanings that stars themselves have incorporated. In this process, aspects of gender, ethnicity, nation and other cultural identities have played crucial role. To tentatively disclose this relationship, it can be argued that both the control of the production of stars and the interpretations about stars and star-images have increased during the past two decades. Not only the film production, but the whole media coverage including advertisements, music videos, TV shows, pop music and internet, have shown way to this expanding media saturation.

Since the end of the cold war, this development has meant rethinking of how and what stars produce and where this production happens. The hegemony of Anglo-American popular culture has been questioned by non-Anglophone countries (See Chakravarty & Sarikakis 2006), mostly by Asian cultures but also by the cultural and geographical region ‘hidden’ between the East and the West, Eastern Europe. The Anglo-centric popular culture debates, created often during the heyday of British cultural studies from the 1950s to the 1980s, have been challenged by new ideas coming both from ‘the centre’ and ‘the periphery’. Susan Hayward polemically reflects this development in her conference keynote paper. By using Gilles Deleuze’s ideas and the star-image of French actress Simone Signoret, she analyzes the bodily desire between a spectator and a star. She argues that this relationship is much more varied than the traditional gender-based star-theory has suggested. No longer it has to be defined as either homo-erotic, lesbian, bisexual or heterosexual, but through an approach based in perception of ‘a sensational star body’. Furthermore, through technology-based interactivity with stars, this also creates ungendered sensations freeing up ‘a thousand tiny sexes’.

Among these sensations one could also include ‘the old time heroism’ which is investigated by Anneli Lehtisalo in a chapter about 1940s Finnish male film stardom. Lehtisalo shows vividly how the construction of ‘Leif Wager’ reflected both the ambivalent male gender of the star and fan and media reception to his stardom. She also explains how the historical image of the Tsar Alexander I was combined with the star image of Leif Wager leading to the situation where Emperor Alexander I was seen as a kind of celebrity hero in the cultural and political context of the late 1940s.

When Richard Dyer wrote his influential essays on gender and stardom (e.g. on Marilyn Monroe, Judy Garland and the culture of male gender, See Dyer 1986, 1992, 2002), the gender-specific stardom and its analysis often acted as a vehicle for political and ideological struggle. Recently, certain ideas (camp, queerness, entertainment as irony) that relate to stardom and its media production and once were subversive have inhabited the mainstream. Often stripped from their original meanings, they are catered as media sensations. The previous ‘hints of subversiveness’ have been replaced by almost inescapable irony, which goes beyond the postmodern playing with media images. Such a contemporary ironic treatment of gender and fandom play central role in the media phenomenon constructed between Finns and the American TV host Conan O’Brien. Anu Lahtinen shows in her article how O’Brien absurdly mocks his ‘manliness’ by comparing himself to the Finnish female president. Through this representation, he constructs a media phenomenon in which his stardom is surrounded by irony and exoticism. This has created a (post)modern media-carnival within the show. This also led to the special ‘Finland episode’ and media carousel following O’Brien’s visit to Finland.
During the heyday of Hollywood the star system strongly attempted to control star images and gender roles. Ironic construction of those images was mainly possible in film genres seen as marginal. This was possible especially in the Hollywood horror-genre, in which generic expectations moulded ‘monster stardom’. Set against the traditional heroic roles related to the ideal of humanity, fictitious monsters allowed film makers to invent horrific, bizarre and exotic forms of maleness. Outi Hakola analyzes this situation in her chapter on Hollywood-horror-stars and their on-screen and off-screen monstrosity. The two most influential stars were BŽla Lugosi, better known as the first remarkable count Dracula on film, and Boris Karloff, the famous actor of Frankenstein in the film that was directed by James Whale. She especially emphasizes how both of them were genre-specific stars who were also able to incorporate cultural alienation, desire and ethnic background into their roles.

Bela Lugosi in particular exploited his East European foreignness and Hungarian roots, which were largely romantized and seen as exotic. Veronika Munk analyzes in her chapter on Roma stars’ image change in Hungarian media, how the representation of this particular group is both linked to the traditional preconceptions and prejudices of the majority population (pictured as exponents of crime and/or poverty) and to the emergence of a new breed of Roma stars in Hungary. All of them arguably represent variations of the old-time ‘Roma musician’ stereotype, which seems to ensure the partial acceptance of this ethnic group by the majority.

As professor Bruce Johnson demonstrated in his keynote ‘Crime and the prehistory of stardom’, the celebrity culture has a long history that can be traced back to the eighteenth century and even further. The celebrity phenomenon can also be understood as a widely spread feature of globalisation and the post-industrialist and post-soviet societies. Celebrities with national characteristics emerge almost everywhere (see Turner 2004: 31-33; Eyre & Donaldson, 2005.) Another chapter from Hungary, by Andrea Viniczai, goes to the heart of the relationship between the celebrity and nationality. Viniczai shows the cultural specificity of celebrity by pointing out how the Hungarian King has served as a role model and how the highwayman has become a crime celebrity. By analyzing the statistics she discusses what kind of characteristics are appreciated in Hungarian celebrities. She strongly notes that the term ‘celebrity’ can only be defined in a historical context. As a conclusion she argues that because celebrities’ reputation is depending on fast changing interests of the media, it is worth in the future to analyze the celebrities in terms of the political economy as FMCG (Fast Moving Consumer Goods) products.

Linda Marchant’s paper on the celebrity images in the 1930s and 1940s goes back to the formation of Hollywood-related fame culture, in which a star-image was also seen as a crucial product of the film industry. Focusing on ‘publicity stills’ of Greta Garbo, Norma Shearer and Vivien Leigh, Marchant analyzes a kind of prehistory of contemporary celebrity culture. By this historical process the notion of celebrity itself, rather than the personality, might have become more accessible and aspirational. This culture of ‘everyone can be famous for fifteen minutes’ has made fame’s accessibility an alluring component of contemporary media culture and perhaps its most potent source can be found in the celebrity images of the 1930s and 1940s.

Laura Saarenmaa investigates the ‘seedy underbelly of fame’ and its reconstruction in the media. Concentrating on Finnish female stars and their drinking problems in the 1960s, Saarenmaa observes how difficult it is to draw the line between serious and popular journalism when they construct stories about female stars and alcohol consumption. She suggests that female celebrities with alcohol problems were brought into the public domain in a specific historical situation. Those women’s magazines that were seen as respectable had a specific role in bringing problems such as women’s alcoholism to the awareness of a wider audience.

In the last chapter of this section, Janne MŠkelŠ writes about the popular music «match» between Finland and Sweden in the 1990s. Focusing on the Finnish discourse, MŠkelŠ analyzes how the lack of international star names became an issue that was connected to the issues of national identity. As arguments about globalisation and competitive society gained ground in Finland, pressures to win international fame gradually became unbearable. In this setting, Sweden’s success in international pop markets was followed with envy yet the neighbouring country also acted as a reference point for questions about authenticity and national identity.

III Lighted by Stars: Audiences

The last section of the book surveys different audiences as the consumers who in the end ‘produce’ the star. This consumption can be direct, in the form of purchasing art works, attending performances, buying t-shirts and other promotional products; or more indirect e.g. by establishing fan clubs, collecting mementoes of the star, and so on. In the studies of stardom, the public expressions of both fans’ feelings and stars’ reactions to them have been analyzed as a polarity, not as manifestations of the same discourse. This has often made it impossible to discuss stardom in the larger context of the mass media culture that this book finds integral to the understanding of stars in society.
Audiences are produced in the areas of art and spectacular mass entertainment. People are supposed to react in different ways in different environments, time periods and performing cultures. It is arguably evident that the setting and expected audience behaviour at rock festival is very different from the night club experience or that the fan behaviour directed to a ballet dancer might differ from the admiration that participants in the TV talent show receive. The historical change in mediated and technological forms of stardom has had an effect even on live performances: ‘live’ can these days be an experience where the audience is actually watching huge mediated representations from large screens. (see Goodwin 1990: 269; Auslander 2005.) But also stars are dependent on their audiences. They want to be loved, too, as Herbert Blau has suggested. The audience that “can be had” also has the star – sometimes, like in the case of now-mythic performers such as Marilyn Monroe or Judy Garland, the consequences can be devastating. Yet much of this dark side of stardom is anonymous, hidden from the media culture surrounding stars. (Blau 1990: 6.) Media pressure on stars has increased dramatically during the last few decades. Not only the stars are changing but also the audience subcultures have become more varied and blurred, and are in a constant flux. (see f. e. Hebdige 1979; Thornton 1995; Kahn-Harris 2007.) The articles in the third section offer a diverse view to different audiences, their relations to stars and their roles as part of the culture obsessed with different forms of stardom.

The section starts with the analysis on the world of ballet stardom and the romantic notion of genius. Hanna Järvinen claims that the life and afterlife of Ballets Russes leading star dancer Vaslav Nijinsky has been a struggle with undesirable aspects of stardom. His later reputation as a gay icon has meant a challenge to traditional dance historians, who have eagerly recognized his choreographies as works of ‘genius’ but have been less concerned with queer reading of his work and influence.

Like Nijinsky in his heyday, also classic movie stars haven been – and still are – adored passionately. Jaakko Seppälä analyzes the construction of Rudolph Valentino’s stardom in Finland between the years 1923 and 1927. Comparing Valentino’s media reception in the United States to that in Finland, Seppälä observes the cultural and historical specificity of stardom. Being the most popular screen star of the era, Valentino is a great target for such comparison.

Film stars have also affected the consumption habits of the audience. The glamour of stars as style icons was perhaps most evident in the 1950s, to the point where iconic actors often had an influence to the fashion of a whole generation. Anna Möttölä focuses on fans of Audrey Hepburn and their multifaceted expressions. Hepburn became the ‘flexible’ style icon among the western white women, who saw her star persona and style as something they could identify and change themselves with. One expression of this admiration was the consumption of similar yet usually cheaper garment which had been intentionally produced to meet the demand.

Style is important also in the club environment, where the roles of performers and the audience are often mixed and blurred. Beate Peter observes the roles of, and the interaction between, the DJ and dancers in night-club. Using Althusser’s theory of ideology and Jungian psychoanalytic theory, Peter deconstructs the complex network of performers, promoters, organisers, owners and visitors to their individual components. Nightclub is a setting for a power play in which each participant take different individual and collective roles. For example, the DJ might just react on what’s happening in the dancefloor, and thus the traditional roles of the performer and the audience are reversed.

Mass audience in a festival field offers a very different perspective to this setting, yet their roles are in a flux as well. Joanne Cummings observes the meanings that festivalgoers give to their experience as audience. Starting from the very personal perspective of her own family tradition of going to Australian festivals, Cummings builds an ethnographic account based on post-subcultural approach. She applies Maffessolani thought in her observation on the ‘neo-tribal’ audience structures. She claims that young peoples’ identity formations, styles and musical tastes have ‘weakened’ and become more fluid, which has led them to combine a mix of different styles and music. Through these formations, young people find new ways of belonging together and sharing a festival experience.

In addition to new styles and ‘tribes’, teenagers are also discovering new ways of consuming stars. Reflecting this change, the recording industry is eagerly trying to find new ways of creating and marketing new stars. The final article of the book is written by Kai Lothwesen and Daniel Müllensiefen. They offer us insights on the reality TV show culture which has triumphed during the last few years. More precisely, they analyze their empirical study on TV talent shows in 2004, the year when musical TV talent shows were at the peak of their popularity in Germany. Their primary research interest was in the similarities and differences that the adolescent target group of this TV format might perceive between contestants and ‘real’ or ordinary pop music stars. Interestingly enough, talent show contestants have in some cases achieved somewhat similar success as ordinary pop stars.
Please Study Further!

We have not been selective in the editorial process of this volume nor with regards to various aspects of stardom but, obviously, there are gaps and omissions that call for further studies. For example, the changing notions of the terms celebrity and star in different cultural contexts are still largely unexplored.

Despite the limitations, we think that through studying those historical moments when the amalgamation of star production become evident this book provides information on the nature and conditions of the expanding culture of fame. In this sense, we hope that this collection will stimulate – and also provoke! – further work on how stars appear in particular historical frames and interact with various cultural and social issues.

Notes

1 Richard Dyer (1979) arranges various media texts of film star images in four divisions: promotion, publicity, films, and critics. Referring to Dyer’s conception and dealing with music stardom, Janne Mäkelä’s (2004) starnet construction identifies four major parts: star’s activities, promotion, the media, and the audience.

References


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