THE TABLOID TRICKSTER

A POST-JUNGIAN EVALUATION OF EARLY 21ST CENTURY POPULAR BRITISH NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM CHARACTERISED BY THAT OF *THE SUN*

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 21st century, British tabloid newspapers, whose circulations were already in steep decline, faced twin existential challenges: a growing tendency by consumers to access free information and entertainment content from the internet, and demands for more stringent regulation of 'print' journalists, particularly those employed by, or servicing, 'tabloid' titles. The latter challenge was characterised in 2012 by the report of the Leveson Inquiry (Part 1) into the culture, practices and ethics of the press, ordered by the UK government as 'phone-hacking' revelations triggered the closure of the tabloid *News of the World,* then one of the most read English language newspapers in any country, and led to a string of high-profile court cases, one of which culminated in the conviction and imprisonment of the title's former editor Andy Coulson. For decades, influential media theorists had condemned many aspects of British popular newspaper journalism, a critique fuelled by the Leveson Inquiry and associated criminal investigations. Some analysts argued that Britain would be psychosocially healthier if newspapers such as the *News of the World*'s sister publication, *The Sun*, either ceased to exist or were radically revised. However, this work uniquely explores the proposition that British tabloid journalism is driven archetypally by what Carl Jung identified as *Trickster*, a *collective shadow* reflecting an ambiguous but necessary principle portrayed in myths, folklore, literature and contemporary media as a disruptive, lascivious, liminoid troublemaker. This thesis investigates and amplifies earlier explorations of Trickster—notably, but not exclusively, by post-Jungian thinkers—and applies its conclusions to a depth-psychological assessment of contemporaneous popular British newspaper journalism. By revealing the archetype behind the tabloid stereotype, I suggest that UK statutory press regulation would 'castrate' the tabloid Trickster, rendering it unable to perform its psychosocial function, to the detriment of a society already challenged by a fragmenting post-modern media landscape.

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I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Andrew Samuels for his unflagging faith in this project, and my sister Rosemary Tomlinson whose fortitude inspired its completion.

Glossary of terms

Overleaf (Page 10) is a selection of terms employed, at the time of writing, by sub-editors at *The Sun* newspaper. The terms are defined by me after observing, and participating in, their use. I know from my own practice that they also reflect a high degree of usage in other popular British national newspapers.

Where deployed in the text of this thesis, these definitions are sometimes amplified, often with reference to the *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism* (Harcup 2014). Terms drawn from Jungian psychology, and other fields of scholarship, are not listed here, but defined and explored within the text where appropriate.

Term	Meaning
Art desk	Page designers and page builders; image and graphics control.
Bench	Back bench: area where senior production journalists control the nightly output of the product. Middle bench: areas where line managers implement the instructions of the back bench.
Broadsheet	Newspaper considered to be dominated by 'serious' content, but usually no longer in the large format implied by its name.
Byline	Authorial name placed at top of some stories, but not always reflecting every journalist who contributed to it.
Caption	Line explaining an associated image. It is usually written in present tense, like a headline, with humour and/or impact.
Copy	Text submitted by a writer.
Crop	Technique selecting most dramatic or appropriate section of a photograph.
Graphic	Blending of image, text and illustration to accompany a story.
Intro	First paragraph of a story, designed to encourage the reader to continue, often informing the headline.
Kicker	A word at the start of a caption to add impact or humour.
Layout	The design of an individual page.
Lead	Space between lines of text, vestigial reference to metal used before 1980s.
Night editor	The most senior production news executive orchestrating the night's production in collaboration with the editor.
Nose	Angle, or main point, of a story. A journalist might be asked to 'renose' a story if her manager decides its most interesting aspect is too far down.
Off-stone	Point at which the newspaper is complete and ready for printing. It is a vestigial reference to the physical 'stone' on which metal pages were constructed before the 1980s.
Payoff	The last paragraph of a story (usually a longer, feature article) where a meaningful, concluding point is made.
Point size	Units of text height retained from 'hot metal' era: a 72-point headline is one inch or 2.5 centimetres high.
Picture	Universally used term for a photograph illustrating a story. Almost any tabloid page needs a strong picture to lead it. If the main story, or 'lead' does not include one, then a 'stand-alone' image will be chosen, accompanied by a 'picture story' 'nosing' on that image.
Redtop	A popular newspaper with a white title on a red background, such as *The Sun*. Some popular newspapers are not redtops, such as the *Daily Mail*.
Runner	A major news story sometimes running across two pages.
Splash	The main story on the front page, or the back of a sports splash.
Strapline	A line above a page's main headline which augments it. A subsidiary headline below the 'main head', further augmenting it, is commonly known as a subhead
Sub	Diminutive of sub-editor: production journalist who fact-checks, edits, rewrites stories, writes headlines and sometimes designs pages. Core journalistic function on a UK popular national newspaper.
Tabloid	A compact-sized popular newspaper, sometimes a redtop. 'Broadsheets' employing this format typically prefer to be described as 'compacts' as 'tabloid' implies 'sensational' content and presentation.
Write-off	Self-contained article introducing a major story published inside the paper.
WOB	Acronym for white text on a black background.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Media manifestation of a paradoxical principle

THIS study is a depth-psychological evaluation of popular British newspaper journalism, colloquially described as 'tabloid', extant at the work's conclusion and exemplified by *The Sun*. Under examination is the subject's praxis, i.e. the 'habitual action, accepted practice [and] custom' associated with it (O.E.D., vol. 12: 291), and the psychosocial[1] influence of its actual and perceived activity. To facilitate the inquiry, this investigation identifies and addresses three interrelated aspects of the subject: its *product*, its *practice* and its *presence* as a societal phenomenon.

The scholastic framework within which the investigation takes place is post-Jungian, i.e. it incorporates concepts and insights described by Jung and later examined, revised or challenged by analytical psychologists and other theorists in a process identified by Samuels (1985: 1). Theoretical contributions from other traditions of depth psychology, and some from outside the field, are co-opted by this work where it judges that they provide additional and productive insight, e.g. Heidegger's founding construction of hermeneutics (Heidegger 1962/2008). However, the thrust of the assessment is driven by Jung's identification and exploration of the archetypal, and by subsequent amplifications of his conclusions.

This study distinguishes contemporaneous tabloid journalism in Britain from similar traditions in other cultures, and in other historical periods, and it hypothesises that its praxis is a manifestation of Trickster[2], an archetypal, paradoxical principle described by Jung as a 'collective shadow[3] figure, a summation of all the inferior traits

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[1] Pertaining to 'the interplay between what are conventionally thought of as "external" social and "internal" psychic formations' Frosh S. and Baraister L. (2008) Psychoanalysis and Psychosocial Studies. *Psychoanalysis, Culture and Society* 13 (Dec): 346-365. (Page 347.)

[2] The first letter of the word Trickster is capitalised in this work where the term represents that archetypal principle, or where this study detects that principle in a figure or event described by it.

[3] The shadow is 'the thing [a person] has no wish to be' Jung C. G. (1946b) The Psychology of Transference. *CW 16 The Practice of Psychotherapy.* (Par. 470). It is one's 'dark characteristics' imbued with 'a kind of autonomy' Jung C. G. (1951a) The Shadow. *CW 9ii Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self.* (Par. 15).

of characters in individuals' (Jung 1954: par. 484), and discernible in many myths, folklores and art forms as figures and narratives with shared characteristics belonging to the 'oldest expressions of mankind' (Radin 1956, 1972: xxiii). The investigation identifies 12 such characteristics of Trickster and examines the three categorised aspects of the research subject—product, practice and societal presence—for indications of their influence, employing a hermeneutical rationale and incorporating both comparative and ethnographical methods.

This work applies its conclusions, uniquely, to the public discourse of a contemporaneous ethico-legal dispute fracturing the journalistic community of the United Kingdom (UK) and engaging the country's society as a whole: should newspaper journalism, notably the tabloid press, undergo more stringent, legally enforceable regulation? This debate has erupted several times since the emergence of a 'modern' popular daily press in 1896 (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 7), but it gained its contemporaneous ascendancy in the wake of a phone-hacking scandal which led to the closure of the *News of the World* Sunday newspaper in 2011 and the formation of the Leveson Inquiry, Part I into the culture, practices and ethics of the press the following year (Leveson 2012).

The phone-hacking scandal, associated criminal trials and evidence given to the inquiry fuelled criticism of popular newspapers by some politicians and academics that had grown since the tabloid format became an 'established feature of the British press in the 1970s' when '[m]ost of Fleet Street's best-selling newspapers' adopted it, and its 'size, values and production methods' were associated by many with 'dumbing down' (Williams 2010: 197). Such stinging critiques led this study to pose the research question: can early 21st century popular, British, tabloid, newspaper journalism, characterised by that of *The Sun* and *News of the World*, be shown to perform a positive

psychosocial function when assessed from a post-Jungian perspective? This investigation's secondary research question is: if the subject can be shown to perform a positive psychosocial function, would that function be improved, diminished or left unaltered by the imposition of ethical restraints beyond those imposed by law?

I worked as a full-time staff production journalist, variously, on both *The Sun* and the *News of the World* from 1977 to 2004[4]. I was a sub-editor, or 'sub'[5], on both titles and was Chief Production Editor of the latter from 1994 to 1998[6]. At the time of writing I have resumed a sub-editing role on *The Sun* in a part-time capacity. My career as a newspaper journalist, which started as a local UK reporter in 1970, and my lifelong interest in the work of Jung had prompted me to complete a Master's degree in media incorporating a Jungian-framed study of archetypal projections in the press (Anslow 2002). Later, I developed my research while lecturing in journalism full-time at two British universities[7].

Thus, this doctoral thesis is inspired, and informed, by a synthesis of my personal experiences and professional interests, and is a constructive response to the controversies and tensions engulfing British tabloid journalism as I write. At a personal level, I have come to realise that it is also an individuating[8] project, drawing together hitherto disparate aspects of my professional and intellectual development. As my critical assessment of literature in Chapter Two concludes, no other theorist discovered by this work has attempted to assess UK tabloid newspapers from a post-Jungian

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[4] Appendix A.

[5] Subbing: 'Transforming raw copy into a publishable finished product by editing and/or rewriting, cutting for length, correcting any misspellings, checking for factual or grammatical errors, removing anything that might be defamatory or in contempt of court, and ensuring consistency with house style. Some sub-editors will also have responsibility for design, writing headlines, selecting and captioning photographs' Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 291.)

[6] Appendix A.

[7] Appendix A.

[8] 'INDIVIDUATION…the process by which individual beings are formed and differentiated' Jung C. G. (1921) Definitions. *CW 6 Psychological Types.* (Par. 757.)

perspective. Indeed, there is a dearth of depth-psychological exploration of the press in general.

This work is *cross-disciplinary*[9] and addresses principally two academic fields: depth psychology and media, or communications, studies (often explored and taught from a sociological perspective). It seeks to draw wisdom from both while remaining aware of their often conflicting terminologies and scholastic reference points. This investigation is mindful of Rowland's exploration, and implementation, of the principles of *transdisplinarity*[10] (Rowland 2017: 32-38) following Nicolescu's suggestion (2014: 21) that a 'global nondifferentiated understanding' can prove a more effective mode of investigation than *interdisciplinarity*, i.e. a cross-departmental academic collaboration (Cohen and Lloyd 2014: 209) between 'artificially antagonistic cultures' (Nicolescu 2014: 21). However, this dissertation, by describing itself as cross-disciplinary rather than interdisciplinary, aims simply to throw a post-Jungian spotlight on a subject (journalism) typically examined by media sociologists, and does not attempt to 'colonise' the methodology of the latter in an academic 'stitch-up' (Rowland 2017: 2). However, by the scholastic diversity of its research, its methods and the intended breadth of its impact it also seeks to reflect the spirit of investigative globality embodied in the concept of transdisciplinarity which, to this work, appears to complement Jung's understanding of 'unconsciousness as integral to knowing' (Ibid.: 19).

This thesis seeks to inject uniquely useful depth-psychological insight into a hotly disputed contemporaneous psychosocial phenomenon. It is validated both by the practice-based journalistic knowledge of the author and by his schooled application of

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[9] A mode of academic investigation through which 'one domain of study profoundly [impacts upon] other domains' Cohen E. B. and Lloyd S. J. (2014) Disciplinary evolution and the rise of the transdiscipline. *Informing Science: the International Journal of an Emerging Transdiscipline* 17: 189-215. (Page 202.)

[10] 'A total system, a scheme of uniting all possible disciplines' Rowland S. (2017) *Remembering Dionysus,* Oxford and New York: Routledge. (Page 32.)

Jungian and post-Jungian analysis, and it is supported by ethnographical notes and recorded, indicative interviews[11] utilised alongside hermeneutically considered academic texts and contemporaneous social commentary, notably that relating to developments in British national newspapers.

This investigation makes a unique contribution to work located in the post-Jungian field of depth psychology. At the time of writing, I can find no other inquiry within that field exploring the affect or effect of tabloid journalism, British or otherwise. Indeed, broader areas of journalism appear to have been largely neglected by writers drawing on depth-psychological insight, although other aspects of mass media are usefully inspected by Bassil-Morozow in her second exploration of Trickster (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 133-200). This thesis also claims to make a *second* important contribution to Jungian and post-Jungian studies inasmuch as it applies the thoughts and theories of that tradition to a public debate which is both contemporaneous and contentious. In doing so, it illustrates to observers outside depth psychology, even those beyond academia, the societal applicability of Jungian and post-Jungian thought.

Furthermore, this investigation shines a unique, depth-psychological light on the Leveson Inquiry, Part I (Leveson 2012), and associated journalism issues, for those scholars operating within the field of media studies. That impact has been enhanced by me drawing on Jungian theories for articles about journalism I have written in media-focused journals, e.g. *British Journalism Review* (Anslow 2008: 58-65), and papers I have given at conferences attended predominantly by media academics, e.g. (with Bassil-Morozow) at *Media and/or democracy* (Anslow and Bassil-Morozow 2012).

The main argument of this thesis is that contemporaneous popular British newspaper journalism, exemplified by *The Sun*, manifests the archetypal Trickster

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[11] Appendix B.

principle. The work supports that contention by comparing aspects of its subject to 12 Trickster traits by means of case studies. This dissertation signposts the three substantive elements of its investigation—tabloid journalism, Trickster and their connection—in the titles of its chapters and subchapters. For example, Chapter Three explores the tripartite phenomenon that is contemporaneous UK tabloid journalism, reflecting each of its identified aspects in the titles of its first three subchapters: *product*, *practice* and *phenomenon*. (Its fourth subchapter investigates the technological transformations underpinning the subject.)

Chapter Four re-examines the archetypal Trickster principle. Its first subchapter distils the essence of the principle into a dozen characteristics, judging that existing lists require revision. Its second subchapter identifies and investigates links with Jung's concept of the *transcendent function[12]*, and its third posits and explores connections between Trickster and Jung's concept of *synchronicity*[13]. The fourth subchapter investigates Trickster's postmodern cultural manifestations.

Chapter Five performs the evaluation promised in the work's title by identifying and examining Trickster characteristics in 20 case studies drawn from the three aspects of contemporaneous UK tabloid journalism under review (product, practice and societal impact). As portrayed in Figure 12[14] the categories of product and practice are subdivided into *content* and *containers* for the former and *actors* and *figures* for the latter. These subdivisions are signposted in the titles of the subchapters 5.1 (content), 5.2 (containers), 5.3 (actors) and 5.4 (figures). Four case studies are employed in each of the four subchapters and are indicated in Figure 12[15]. The subject

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[12] The function which mediates OPPOSITES. Expressing itself by way of the SYMBOL, it facilitates a transition from one psychological attitude or condition to another. Samuels A., Shorter B. and Plaut F. (1986) *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis,* London and New York: Routledge. (Page 160.)

[13] [A]n 'acausal connecting principle'…events meaningfully but not causally related…events that coincide in time and space but can also be seen to have meaningful psychological connections. Ibid. (Page 156.)

[14] Page 163.

[15] Page 163.

category of societal *phenomenon* is similarly signposted, in 5.5, by referring to (societal) controversies. A further four case studies are employed in that subchapter.

In total, this dissertation is delivered in six chapters, the first of which introduces the subject of inquiry, contemporaneous UK tabloid journalism, and the hypothetical instrument used for its assessment, the archetypal Trickster principle. These are each characterised as a paradigm, i.e. a 'pattern' (O.E.D., vol. 11: 183) which in turn is defined, tellingly, as '[t]he original proposed to imitation; the archetype; that which is to be copied; an exemplar…an example or model' (Ibid.: 356-357). Chapter One goes on to present, in subchapters 3, 4 and 5, aspects of the investigation's methodology, adopting a broad, but appropriate, interpretation of that term, using it to include both its research methods and the 'theoretical ideas and concerns that inform the use of [those] different methods' (Schneider 2014). Consequently, expositions of the study's chosen theoretical framework and epistemological position are presented, implicitly, as an integral part of the work's methodology, rather than parallel to it as some researchers prefer (Patel 2015). The desired outcome is what Kuhn calls a 'body of intertwined theoretical and methodological beliefs' (Kuhn 1962/1968: 16-17).

Regarding its theoretical framework, this study, at its core, is post-Jungian, as its title explicitly declares. Subchapter 1.3 explains how the investigation deploys concepts supplied by Jung's canon, and amplified by commentators, remaining mindful that nowhere in his *Collected Works* will we discover 'a neat explanation of all [his] key ideas' (Rowland 2002: 24-25). The study's epistemological position is described and discussed in 1.4, primarily in relation to the hermeneutical reading of text that this investigation has chosen to employ, encouraged by the informed assertion that '[h]ermeneutics has been central to the practice of Jung's psychology from the beginning' (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 57). The work's research methods, in addition

to the interpretation of published texts and newspaper product, are described in 1.5. They include autoethnography drawing on this author's experience of working on British tabloid newspapers for many years[16], and edited transcripts of subject interviews.

The second chapter is a critically selective review of relevant literature drawn primarily from Jung, post-Jungians, media theorists and anthropologists. As described above, Chapter Three reveals the praxis of contemporaneous UK tabloid journalism and Chapter Four reimagines Trickster, Chapter Five is a summative analysis testing the study's primary hypothesis. The sixth chapter firstly tests the secondary hypothesis by injecting the findings of Chapter Five into the contemporaneous British public debate on press regulation, epitomised by phone-hacking and the Leveson Inquiry, Part I. The effect on the tabloid paradigm of technologically-driven media transformation is examined in 6.2, and the study concludes with a recapitulation of its findings and recommendations based on them.

The six chapters are followed by two appendices, the first supplying a summary of my experience in journalism and presenting some items from my personal collection (P.C.)[17]. It also records notes made by me while working at *The Sun on Sunday* (the newspaper's differently branded seventh-day edition) throughout 2014, and some data drawn from the relevant front pages. By contrast, Appendix B primarily contains edited transcripts of interviews conducted by me in 2014 with four contemporaneous, or former, *Sun* journalists, selected for their differences in function, age and gender. Edited transcripts of interviews with two other *Sun* journalists conducted by me in 2000 for a separate unpublished project (Anslow 2002) are also included for additional

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[16] Appendix A.
[17] Page 299.

reference. (The appropriate permissions were received for their re-use.) The final section of this work presents timelines of *The Sun* and the phone-hacking controversy, a list of referencing abbreviations employed and a bibliography.

1.1 The tabloid paradigm

This subchapter provides an introductory overview to the research subject of this inquiry: British popular, or tabloid, newspaper journalism as characterised by *The Sun* and the *News of the World*. The totality of the subject embraces both its praxis, i.e. the 'habitual action, accepted practice [and] custom' associated with it (O.E.D., vol. 12: 291), and the psychosocial influence of its actual and perceived activity. For ease of identification, this inquiry adopts a single term to embrace both dimensions of the subject, and has chosen paradigm. In doing so it follows the example of Barbour, using the word 'to refer to a tradition transmitted through historical exemplars' (Barbour 1974: 9), rather than Kuhn's narrower 'universally recognised scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners' (Kuhn 1962/1968: x). The latter definition has been criticised, rightly in the view of this work, for being 'vague and ambitious' (Barbour 1974: 106), and so this inquiry employs the term throughout to convey a pattern (O.E.D., vol. 11: 183), its commonly understood meaning outside any particular scholastic community. Although not commonly applied to UK tabloid journalism, the term paradigm has been used to describe the version of the tradition extant in the United States of America (Krajicek 1998: 203).

This subchapter is intended to provide the reader with some context for the relevant subchapters of Chapter Two's literature review, and serve as a precursor to the substantive investigation of the subject in Chapter Three. In 2015 two leading media academics noted, 'Love them or loathe them, we need to take the tabloids seriously'

(Bingham and Conboy 2015: 22). Their comments were published in a year that criminal trials of UK tabloid journalists, triggered by multiple police investigations, continued to attract headlines and debate (Greenslade 2015c). The investigations were the result of, or connected with, the discovery that journalists, particularly on the *News of the World* Sunday newspaper, had illegally intercepted voicemails left on subjects' mobile telephones. The scandal led to the closure of that 168-year-old redtop[18] title, claimed in an 'obituary' to have a bigger readership than any other English-speaking newspaper in the world (BBC 2011a). The controversy also provoked the setting-up of a wide-ranging public inquiry into the culture, practices, and ethics of the press (Leveson 2012) whose regulatory recommendations remain controversially unimplemented as this dissertation is submitted.

British newspapers had grown in popularity since the fantastically named Wynkyn de Worde set up a press next to St Bride's Church in London's Fleet Street in 1500 (Griffiths 2006: xi). The UK national press' connection with that location, and the often raucous sub-culture associated with it, has continued unbroken until the time of writing 516 years later. Despite the migration of all UK national newspaper presses and staffs from central London described in Chapter Three, Fleet Street has remained the 'spiritual home' of British journalism (Haria 2015), and I still frequently attend memorial services to journalists at St Bride's Church.[19] Media historians judge the 'popular press' to have begun with the launch of the *Daily Mail* in 1896 (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 7) as that title was the first to reach a circulation of a million (Griffiths 2006: 132). However, the format of the *Daily Mail* was broadsheet[20] and it did not

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[18] 'An industry term for those tabloid newspapers in the UK … which have traditionally had their name printed in large white letters on a red box at the top of the front page' Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, ibid. (Page 262.)

[19] E.g. this 2010 service for sports journalist Bill Bateson: http://www.stbrides.com/news/2010/02/bill-bateson.html (Retrieved 5 September 2015.)

[20] '[T]he standard broadsheet page size in the UK is 750mm by 600mm' Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 43.)

become tabloid, originally self-styled 'compact'[21], until 1971 (BBC 2005a), four years

after the redtop *Sun* was launched by media magnate Rupert Murdoch.

The launch of Murdoch's tabloid *Sun* in November 1969 (B.L.) came six weeks

after I began my journalistic career as an 18-year-old student on a journalism course in

Sheffield accredited by the National Council for the Training of Journalists.[22] As the

careers of both myself and *The Sun* progressed over the following 40 years, *The Sun*'s

favoured tabloid format colonised previously broadsheet products, e.g. *The Times*, *The

Independent*, *The Daily Express* et al (Greenslade 2004: 676, passim) and the tabloid

news agenda and attitude extended to other media, including the tabloidisation of

television (Harcup 2014: 297). Indeed *The Sun* itself was deemed to be a British icon

worthy of inclusion in a BBC2 television series released on 6 November 2002 in which

I played a small part (Sandiford 2002). However, as the circulation of all British

newspapers, including tabloid titles, dipped into steep decline at the beginning of a new

century, and the number of people accessing free news and information online

increased (Sweney 2013), the public debate about press regulation took place against a

shifting technological landscape that some, including Shirky, claimed heralded the end

of a recognisable newspaper form completely (Shirky 2008b).

As television channels rose from one at the medium's inception in 1932 to 1,000

by 2011 (MailOnline 2010), and as 24-hour 'rolling news' from *BBC* and *Sky* became

a media staple, tabloids' content of choice expanded from a diet of crime, sex and sport,

(all provided by many other media sources by then) to embrace the increasingly popular

areas of showbusiness celebrities, 'soap'[23] stars and 'reality' show contestants, the last

typified by shows in which members of the public are either portrayed in their normal

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[21] 'A newspaper published in tabloid size but whose editor and/or proprietor wishes to distance the product from the more sensationalist…end of the market' ibid. (Page 62.)

[22] Appendix A.

[23] 'A radio or television serial dealing esp. with domestic situations and freq. characterised by melodrama and sentimentality' O.E.D. (Vol. 15, Page 897.)

settings (e.g. *Undercover Boss* created by *Channel 4* in 2009), or raised to celebrity status partially by public acclaim (*The X Factor* first screened on *BBC1* in 2004). Celebrities, often shortened by tabloid journalists and fans to the diminutive 'celebs', embraced by TV and the tabloids, paradoxically, were often not the most accomplished or successful in their fields, e.g. the cage-fighter Peter Andre who married model Katie Price after she fell in love with him 'in the Australian jungle surrounded by eight other celebrities'(Price 2007: 13). Soap operas, named after the 1930s toiletry manufacturers who sponsored such daily radio shows were embedded in the tabloid mix by the turn of the century, to the extent that fiction and reality appeared to become conflated in the minds of readers. An example of this phenomenon was Deirdre Barlow, a fictional character in the *ITV* soap *Coronation Street*, being sent to jail in 1998 and prompting thousands of people to lobby for her freedom. Even the Prime Minister of the time, Tony Blair, became involved (BBC 1998) .

At the beginning of the 21st century, the bizarre cast of real, exaggerated and fictional characters covered in the columns of the shrinking British tabloid press, were still eagerly followed by millions of readers. This content was presented in a carefully-crafted, interwoven package of images, headlines and tightly edited text. The huge technological and industrial leap from the 'hot metal' production of Fleet Street with its craft practices robustly-monitored by trades unions, to a computerised factory in Wapping, east London, in 1986 (Buckley 2016), meant that the processing and integrating of type and images that had sometimes taken days, as I myself frequently witnessed, now could be achieved, literally, at the click of a computer mouse. Such integration and graphic alchemy was at the heart of *The Sun*'s daily output and produced controversial front pages such as those shown in chapters Three and Five.

Colourful, comic-book style presentation, typified by *The Sun*, blurring reality and fiction, reflected in many ways the pop art that had preceded it in the 1950s and 1960s, and that had been made famous by artists such as Lichtenstein (1923-1973) and Warhol (1928-1987). Perhaps in unwitting acknowledgement of the former's cultural influence, 'thought' bubbles were often injected into humorous photographs by inventive sub-editors and puns and playful use of typography became one of the hallmarks of *The Sun* in the periods that I worked there. Just as actuality was teased and moulded by tabloid staff, often acclaimed by peers in more serious sectors of journalism (Sarler 1999), their own actuality was caricatured by artists in literature, the stage, TV and film. The play *Great Britain* is a notable example of this (Bean 2015). I, and thousands of other London theatre-goers, laughed in 2014 as we watched an ambitious, attractive, female tabloid editor ruthlessly hunt for scoops on stage while a real ambitious, attractive former editor of the UK's two leading tabloids (Rebekah Brooks), in reality, was still embroiled in the fall-out from the phone-hacking scandal (Tulloch 2013).

'Blagging' is part of a lexicon of terms used by British tabloid journalists first exposed to most of the British public during the Leveson Inquiry, Part I. Harcup defines the technique as '[t]he obtaining of confidential information by using a mixture of deception, charm, persuasion, and confidence. One of the "so-called" dark arts of journalism' (Harcup 2014: 38). Author J.K. Rowling gave the Leveson Inquiry an example of how she was almost certainly a target:

> It was shortly after we moved into our first house that we owned, and I believe the journalist didn't know where I had moved to. Somehow, I don't know how, had my telephone but did not know my exact address. So I received a phone call allegedly from the post office and this man said to me, "I am from the post office, I've got a package here for you, what's your address?" So I began to speak and then I said, "Wait, wait a moment, you're from the post office, well, what does it say on the package?" And there was a moment's embarrassed silence and he hung up.
>
> (Leveson II: 474)

Gathering of news by all journalists has always been an ambiguous project. In 2009 the *Daily Telegraph*, a renowned 'serious' newspaper, and one of the few in Britain still (in 2016) printed in a broadsheet format, published a notable 'scoop' [24] that exposed false expenses submitted by many MPs (Telegraph 2009). The story was based on data copied on to a computer disk and sold to the newspaper for £150,000, and the editor in chief at the time, Will Lewis, conceded to the Leveson Inquiry that the 'legality of the data' was a 'serious consideration', but insisted there was public interest in exposing a 'profound wrongdoing' (Leveson II: 467). 'Public interest' is an overriding criterion enshrined in several codes of ethical conduct theoretically adhered to by British journalists, including the Editors' Code of Practice of the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) and the Press Complaints Commission which it controversially replaced in 2014. However, the dividing line between 'public' interest' and the 'prurient interest of the public' (Archard 1998: 82) is a matter of professional and theoretical discussion which, in the judgement of this practitioner and media theorist, has yet to be consensually resolved.

In the late 20th and early 21st century, a British national tabloid newspaper would often be described by a press professional as 'a subs' paper' (Hattenstone 2009). My 30 years' experience as a tabloid sub-editor knows this to mean that much of the text appearing in the newspaper is written by 'subs', editing and merging copy from multiple sources. They also write the headlines and picture captions and some lay out pages, often in collaboration with a graphics artist. The desired, and often achieved, result of this production emphasis is that body text, headlines and images are integrated into a seamless, multimedia narrative that flows throughout the product. 'Subbing' on *The Sun* was for many years, and remains at the time of writing, 'the best in the

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[24] 'An exclusive story, which can either mean a story that no other news organisation knows of, or one that nobody else has yet published' Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 273.)

business' (Greenslade 2011), with its practitioners having the 'freedom to be creative, sometimes coming at things from left field' and 'drawing a picture in my head and painting it on to the page' as *Sun* sub-editor Chris Hockley has explained (BBC 2012b). I can testify that sub-editors, and senior production executives, often work as a team, 'bouncing' ideas off each other in the manner of TV scriptwriters. Sometimes it is impossible to declare which individual is responsible for a specific headline.

Thus, the creative practice of many tabloid journalists contrasts with the public perception of that cohort and the often grotesquely comical cultural representations of tabloid journalists and their products, e.g. a pig-like reporter holding a copy of *The Sun* (Fig. 1)[25] built for the satirical television series *Spitting Image* (Fluck and Law 1984) which ran in Britain from 1984 to 1996. Media controversies, including the coverage of the death of Diana, Princess of Wales in 1997 and culminating in the phone-hacking scandal, led to the public view of the tabloid press reaching a new low (Kellner 2012).

Figure 1   A 'tabloid pig' from *Spitting Image*   *(Spitting Image Productions)*

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[25] Page 25.

1.2 The Trickster paradigm

This subchapter introduces the Trickster archetype, or principle, and provides a context for the literature review in Chapter Two, the investigation in Chapter Four, the analysis in Chapter Five and the conclusions in Chapter Six. As the title of Chapter One implies, the paradoxical nature of Trickster is identified by this work as one of its most significant characteristics, hence the reader is alerted to it early, in advance of the later examinations. The term paradigm is employed, once again, with the meaning explained above[26].

Trickster is 'both a mythical figure and an inner psychic experience' (Samuels et al. 1986: 152). It is the iteration, through multiple cultural representations and human behaviours, of a 'personally eternal' (Samuels 1989: 22) archetypal function, or psychological process, explored by Jung (Jung 1954: pars. 456-488) and amplified by post-Jungians (Samuels 1993 et al.). The archetypal paradigm, or pattern (O.E.D., vol. 11: 183) is also examined by anthropological investigators including Radin (1956, 1972), Ricketts and Pelton (1980). Trickster as a psychosocially influential, archetypal phenomenon is written throughout this work with a capital T in order to make it clear that the term does not simply describe a cultural figure and, furthermore, the word is used without any explicit or implied gender.

The paradox at the heart of Trickster is the frequent, and sometimes apparently oxymoronic, cultural portrayals both of the principle's selfish cleverness (Klapp 1954) and selfish stupidity (Carroll 1984). As Bassil-Morozow notes, Tricksters 'combine the sly and the stupid in them; in their behaviour we can discern both intention and lack of it.' (2015: 10). Samuels is comfortable with this apparent contradiction, rightly

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[26] Page 19.

recognising that it exposes a tension at the very core of this often baffling psychological configuration: 'The Trickster is compatible with order and organization on the one hand, and with chaos and fluidity on the other' (1993: 86). Although Kerenyi says the principle's purpose 'is to add disorder to order and so a make a whole' (Radin 1956, 1972: 7), Samuels warns that any such outcome is accidental, wisely exhorting us not to give Trickster 'one iota of credit for it' (Samuels 2015: 235).

In this introductory subchapter, a number of different terms have already been used to conceptually categorise Trickster including paradigm, principle and archetype. It is the archetypal nature of the principle that underpins this work's primary hypothesis. The existential nature of the archetypal has been passionately discussed since the publication in 1938 of Jung's insights on the concept of 'an *a priori* factor in all human activities, namely the inborn, preconscious and unconscious individual structure of the psyche' (Jung 1938/1954: par. 151). Disagreements on the concept's validity have tended to cluster around inquiries into its disputed biological genesis (Stevens 1982/2002 et al.), inevitably presenting the ontological, and ultimately teleological, question: if the archetypal exists, is it emergent or pre-existent? (Hill 2015 et al.) This study agrees with Jung that archetypal potential in human psychology and social behaviour does exist. However, it finds the case attributing to this potential an identifiable biological location unconvincing. Nonetheless, it concludes that the uncertainty around its biological premise in no way impairs the utility of the archetypal Trickster as an investigative instrument of this study.

Trickster has manifested itself culturally throughout the world and throughout millennia in myth, literature, religious and social ritual and, more recently, in film (Bassil-Morozow 2012: 2, passim) and television dramas and comedies (Waddell 2006: 33, passim). Sometimes the manifestation is as a god or godlike character, e.g. Hermes

(Doty 1993a), an animal such as Coyote (Erdoes and Ortiz 1998: 1-89) or, less concretely, a socio-political event or process, such as early 20th century revolutionary communism, energised by, and reflecting, 'an impulse that challenges the existing order of things' (Bassil-Morozow 2015: Loc. 3). For Jung, such cultural manifestations of Trickster betray 'an archetypal psychic structure of extreme antiquity' (Jung 1954: par. 465) and 'a collective shadow figure' (Ibid.: par. 484). The principle, and thus its narratives and imagery, correspond to a psyche that has 'barely left the animal level' (Ibid.: par. 465) and so stands, liminally, on the threshold of modern human consciousness while retaining unconscious certainties.

Jung had read, and was inspired by Bandelier's work, *The Delight Makers*, (Ibid.: par. 456), a novel informed by eight years the anthropologist lived among the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico in the USA and which describes an eponymous secret society of 'sacred clowns' (Bandelier 1890/1971). That society's symbols and activities evoked for Jung the 'reversal of the hierarchic order' displayed in medieval European church carnivals (Jung 1954: par. 456). Jung links Trickster with characters in fairy tales and the alchemical figure of Mercurius (Ibid.) and describes with characteristic insight the 'psychologem' that 'haunts the mythology of all ages sometimes in quite unmistakable form, sometimes in strangely modulated guise' (Ibid.: par. 465). He saw Trickster as a mythical figure which, like all myths, corresponds 'to inner experience and originally sprang from them' (Ibid.: par. 457).

In Chapter Four, I describe my surprise and disappointment that Jung did not build on his relatively brief initial examination of Trickster; indeed he barely mentions the principle again. He made no concerted attempt to integrate his recognition of this principle's pivotal psychic importance with some of his other radical insights, including the *transcendent function* and *synchronicity*. This curious apparent lack of interest in

the archetype and its figures was later compensated by the investigations and amplifications of some of the post-Jungians already cited here, notably Samuels and Bassil-Morozow.

Four decades earlier a Roman Catholic priest and academic had painted, in this work's view, the most comprehensive picture of Trickster, yet could only tentatively move 'towards' a theory (Pelton 1980: 223-284). Rowland fruitfully connects Trickster, albeit indirectly, with the postmodern antihero by her observation that '[a]rguably, the whole tenor of "Trickster" is that the days of western heroic triumphalism are numbered' (Rowland 2005: 175). Tannen associates the principle with female TV and film characters (Tannen 2007). These post-Jungian explorations, and others, have given this investigation the confidence to revisit and reimagine a Trickster theory, by identifying and recategorising 12 definitive traits of the principle.

1.3 Theoretical framework

This subchapter describes and amplifies the primary theoretical framework employed by the investigation and explains why it was chosen. It also examines and explores subsidiary theories co-opted and integrated into that framework. Theories pertaining to this work's methodology are examined and discussed separately: epistemological considerations in 1.4 and research methods in 1.5. This subchapter also explores the investigation's psychosocial and depth-psychological foundations and introduces, where relevant, theories and insights co-opted from the fields of cultural and media studies. As the title of this thesis suggests, analytical, or Jungian, psychology, as amplified and developed by post-Jungians, is at the heart of its rationale.

As already declared, this thesis assesses a psychosocial phenomenon: the paradigm of contemporaneous British popular newspaper journalism, including its occupational practice, its cultural products and its social impact. In its pursuit of this

assessment, this investigation chooses to employ the word psychosocial without a hyphen in defiance of Hoggett's insistence that such a separating device should be used because it 'signifies both the irreducibility of the psychological to the social (and vice versa)' (Hoggett 2008). This investigation detects no such irreducibility and prefers to follow the practice of Frosh and Baraister who observe:

> Developing a plausible trajectory for psychosocial studies can lead one in several directions, but for those schooled in certain kinds of psychological traditions, it tends to lead to questions about the nature of subjectivity and subjecthood, and consequently to an engagement, however ambivalently and partially, with psychoanalysis. This has occurred both theoretically and methodologically.
>
> (Frosh and Baraister 2008)

Investigating culture as a psycho-social (sic) process, Trist calls social psychology 'the intervening discipline between general psychology and general sociology', adding, 'Its function is to enable the social and psychological field to become related to each other. For this purpose it requires a concept of culture as a psycho-social process.' (1990: 539). He explains:

> The psychologist begins with people whether as individuals or as members of particular groups. Since, however, individuals and groups exist in a society, he or she is obliged to follow them through into the institutional systems in which they take roles and make relationships.
>
> (Ibid.)

While acknowledging that this conflation of the terms psycho-social (or psychosocial) and social psychology[27] can lead to confusion over the academic disciplines and sub-disciplines implied, the spirit, and direction, of this investigation is inspired by Trist's insight, and by Hinshelwood and Skogstad's accurate conclusion that Trist 'wanted to relate…external aspects [,]of roles and practices at work [,] to the internal states of mind of the individuals who take the roles and perform the practices' (Hinshelwood and Skogstad 2000: 9).

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[27] 'The branch of psychology which studies the psychological conditions underlying the development of social groups, the mental life, so far as it manifests itself in their social organization, and their institutions and culture, and the development of the behaviour of the individual, in relation to his [sic] social environment, or generally all problems having both an individual and a social aspect. Drever J. (1952/1962) *A Dictionary of Psychology,* Aylesbury and Slough: Penguin Books. (Page 269.)

Although the word psychosocial is sometimes regarded as a 'grab-bag' term reflecting 'any situation where both psychological and social factors are assumed to play a role' (Reber 1985: 596), this thesis broadly subscribes to that meaning (although not to Reber's pejorative adjectival noun). The term is widely used in the social sciences to embrace a broad range of research subjects and methodologies. This investigation, exploring as it does both social and psychological phenomena and their interconnections and interactions, employs it to 'signal a shift of emphasis to questions of subjectivity' (Parker 2010: 456). However, it continues to regard its psychosocial perspective as one which remains 'attentive to the co-presence of psychic and social dimensions of human behaviour' without concentrating on either 'in a reductive fashion' (Hollway 2012). An equally useful definition is provided by Baraitser: 'Psychosocial studies is a putatively "new" or emerging field concerned with the irreducible relation between psychic and social life' (Baraitser 2015: 207).

Frosh points out in an intriguing inventory of relevant UK educational faculties that psychosocial studies has emerged, in academic context, very separately from psychology in that country. He adds that psychosocial studies arose 'primarily from disciplines that lie in a critical relationship with mainstream academic psychology – sociology and psychoanalysis, with applications such as social work and cultural studies' (Frosh 2003: 1550). However, the very continued existence of psychosocial studies indicates to me that, Trickster-like, it provides a needed, liminal, pedagogical space in which to address important aspects of the human condition pertaining both to an individual's inner and outer world. Furthermore, I am delighted that it has 'created an opportunity for the re-insertion of psychoanalysis into the social sciences' (Frosh and Baraister 2008: 346-347). However, '[t]his has not proved uncontroversial: for

example many psychosocial researchers share the traditional sociological suspicion of psychoanalysis because of its strong individualizing tendencies' (Ibid.).

This study also remains acutely aware that, even where the dual components of psychosocial studies—psychoanalysis and sociology—blend with most synergy, it tends to be the object relational and Lacanian forms of the former that have emerged as a 'favoured if fought-over element in social theory' (Ibid.). Analytical psychology, despite the cultural incursions of post-Jungians reviewed in 2.4, has yet to be as warmly welcomed in the social sciences arena. It too, in a Tricksterish, meaning-making way, retains the core of its ambivalent scholastic independence which, in the view of this study, is an academic strength not a weakness, and should be assessed as such.

This work employs a framework of analytical psychology in the service of psychosocial understanding in much the same way as Robinson describes using 'psychoanalytic theory in the service of psychosocial research'. She explains, 'Psychoanalytic research is a vast tradition…very much specific to psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic practice', and so she seeks to utilise psychoanalytic theory, or theories, to understand 'what's going on in the mind as the individual acts in the social world both as an individual and in groups' (Robinson 2009). This investigation emulates that aspiration and predicts that its research discussions and outcomes will most frequently express themselves in the psychosocial field. However, its theoretical disposition is explicitly post-Jungian, and therefore embedded in the field of depth psychology. Both these terms require, and will receive, further clarification and amplification, but before supplying that, it is instructive to address a third substantive term: psychoanalysis.

As stated on its opening page, this doctoral dissertation has been submitted to a centre for psychoanalytic studies. That centre describes its approach to 'both

psychoanalytic and Jungian studies'[28] and, in doing so, discriminates the latter from the study of 'the form of treatment of the neuroses invented by Freud in the 1980s and elaborated since then by himself, his disciples and followers' (Rycroft 1968/1995: 143). Rycroft concedes of psychoanalysis that 'the laity use the term in a much wider sense to include the theories and therapies of all psychotherapists who follow Freud, Jung and Adler' (Ibid.), and the publication of *Jungian Psychoanalysis*, (2010) edited by Stein, indicates that 'wider sense' has been adopted by at least some active proponents of Jung's analytical psychology. This terminological examination, and clarification, is not intended to exacerbate theoretical and/or professional tensions within the field of study broadly called psychoanalytic, but rather it is made in acknowledgement of the fact that this work, while not institutionally interdisciplinary, has a subject of study, journalism, which is more typically investigated by scholars in the fields of cultural and/or media studies, or other social sciences. It is primarily with this intended audience in mind that this brief terminological discourse is presented.

The theoretical meta-framework within which this investigation operates can accurately be called depth psychology: what Jung credited Bleuler as naming 'that branch of psychological science which is concerned with the phenomenon of the unconscious' (Jung 1948: par. 1142) and which has also been defined as '[a] generic term used to cover any psychological system that assumes that explanations of behaviour are to be found at the level of the unconscious' (Reber 1985). I am unhappy using either Bleuler's archaic-sounding 'psychological science' or Reber's reductive choice 'explanations'. Taking all my previously explored definitions and caveats into account, I prefer to define depth psychology as the psychoanalytic study of unconscious influence on mind, culture and society, using the term psychoanalytic in its most

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[28] http://www.essex.ac.uk/cps/ Promotional website of the Centre for Psychoanalytic Studies at the University of Essex, UK (Retrieved 3 September 2016.)

inclusive sense. That is the theoretical premise upon which this investigation is founded.

Refocusing from the meta-theory of depth psychology to the specifically post-Jungian approach of this investigation, it is instructive to recall Rowland's warning that nowhere in Jung's *Collected Works* will we discover 'a neat explanation of all [his] key ideas' (Rowland 2002: 24-25). This work's literature review, presented in 2.4, concludes that a similar lack of theoretical neatness is often encountered when examining the work of post-Jungians who

> challenge or attack Jung's work, often arguing with him on the basis of stringent criticisms from non-Jungians, as well as adapting and integrating parallel developments in other approaches to psychology, and also from entirely different disciplines.
>
> (Samuels 1985: 1)

In 1921 Jung defined the principal theoretical concepts employed in his analytical psychology[29] (Jung 1921: par. 675) after first warning that psychological concepts in use at that time 'are so imprecise and so ambiguous that mutual understanding is practically impossible' (Ibid.: par. 673). Concepts are necessarily the terminological currency of theories, and so it is no surprise to learn that 17 years later, in 1938, Jung remains equally wary of the validity of codifying psychological theories, judging them to be 'the very devil' (Jung 1910/1946: 7). He concedes in a foreword that '[i]t is true that we need certain points of view for their orienting and heuristic value' but, tellingly, he insists that 'they should always be regarded as mere auxiliary concepts that can be laid aside at any time' (Ibid.). This ambivalence to theory and, by extension, to scientific and other scholastic categorisations, expresses itself in a 'tension between factual knowledge and insightful wisdom [that is] the key to Jung's identity crisis as a scientist' (Jones and Gaist 2014: 167). Nevertheless, Samuels finds Jung's professed

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[29] The term first used by Jung in 1913 to 'identify what he called a new psychological science seen by him as having evolved out of psychoanalysis.' Samuels A., Shorter B. and Plaut F. (1986) *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis,* London and New York: Routledge. (Page 21.)

attitude 'enormously helpful' in understanding his work, but concludes that the 'suspect idea of theory' can still be detected in his 'overall approach' (Samuels 1985: 4). This investigation agrees, and below discusses the theory, or more accurately the insight, of Jung that most comprehensively underpins its theoretical rationale: his connected notions of the collective unconscious and its archetypal content. His concepts of synchronicity and the transcendent function are examined in Chapter Four where they are utilised in this work's reimagining of the Trickster principle.

The theory of an 'impersonal stratum in our psyche'[30] was named by Jung the 'collective unconscious' (Jung 1917/1926/1943: par. 103) and described by him as containing the 'inherited possibilities of human imagination as it was from time immemorial' (Ibid.: par. 101). Of all the conceptual terms used in this thesis, none is more fundamentally important to its rationale because, reductively expressed, this work postulates that there is something about the production, consumption, perception and cultural expression of popular newspaper journalism in Britain that reflects a collectively unconscious paradigm. Jung concluded that the collective unconscious gives rise to personal, cultural and social phenomena, a single example of which he calls an 'archetype' or a 'congenital and pre-existent instinctual model, or pattern of behaviour' (Jung 1909/1949: par. 729). Later, he reinforces his conviction that such archetypes are 'innate' (Jung 1911/12-1952: par. 474) 'organising factors' and 'inborn modes of functioning that constitute, in their totality, man's nature' (Ibid.: par. 328, n39). He also suggests they are 'forms existing *a priori*, or biological norms of psychic activity' (Jung 1941: par. 309 n1).

This study takes the view that some of Jung's earliest definitions and characterisations of the term archetype most accurately reflected his insight. He used it

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[30] Said by Jung to interviewer John Freeman during an interview broadcast in 1959 on BBC TV's *Face to Face* series and retrieved on 14 January 2016 via YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTBs-2cloEI

at a symposium in London in 1919 describing archetypes as 'the necessary *a priori*, inborn forms of "intuition"' that 'force' an individual's 'ways of perception and apprehension into specifically human patterns' (Jung 1919a: par. 270). More astute still, in the judgement of this inquiry, and perhaps implying an openness more comfortably applicable in our age, is the definition recorded from the original address: '[A] factor determining the uniformity and regularity of our apprehension" (Jung 1919b: 22). Employing his originally favoured term for the concept, he observes neatly, 'The primordial image might suitably be described as the *instinct's perception of itself*, or as the self-portrait of the instinct' [italics in the original], continuing, 'Just as conscious apprehension gives our actions form and direction. So unconscious apprehension through the archetype determines the form and direction of instinct (Jung 1919a: par. 277). This theoretical context helps this study envisage how an archetypal principle such as Trickster can become an important psychosocial actor.

Where possible, this investigation avoids using the word 'archetype' preferring 'archetypal', particularly in its adjectival mode, agreeing with Samuels that 'the archetypal is in the emotional experience of perception' (Samuels 1985: 53). This work's adjectival preference follows that of Hillman's archetypal psychology (Adams 1997/2010: 109) partly because it is mindful of Samuels' observation that analytical psychology is moving away from 'single, big, decorous, numinous expectations of archetypal imagery' and that some post-Jungians already 'abandon discrete archetypes altogether and assume the existence of an omnipresent archetypal component' (Samuels 1985: 53), and partly for clarity of communication to the non-Jungian readership of this work who learn from a non-technical dictionary that an archetype is '[t]he original pattern or model from which, in Jungian theory, is 'a primitive mental image inherited from the earliest human ancestors and supposed to be present in the

collective unconscious' (O.E.D., vol.1: 611). This definition points to the core terminological ambiguity of the word, and to the impressions and assumptions predicated upon it which fatally blight the abstract noun 'archetype' by erroneously transforming it into a concrete one, i.e. one describing a phenomenon that is consciously perceived, often as an image. At many points in his life, Jung's discussions of the archetypal are confounded by his use of the word image in this context. He seeks to explain, 'When I speak of image I do not mean the psychic reflection of an external object, but…a figure of fancy or fantasy-image which is related only indirectly to the perception of an external object' (Jung 1921: par. 743). However, later he puts it more precisely by declaring, 'We must constantly bear in mind that what we mean by "archetype" is in itself irrepresentable, but has effects which make visualizations of it possible, namely, the archetypal images and ideas' (Jung 1947/1954: par. 417). This investigation sympathises with Hobson's frustration at Jung's lack of terminological consistency and the

> sometimes bewildering way in which he changes from one language to another one with a different logical structure. For instance the archetypes, which have been defined as explanatory models or hypothetical constructs, are suddenly incarnated and appear as active personalities or even gods.
>
> (Hobson 1974: 67)

Among post-Jungian scholars and contributors from other areas of depth psychology and beyond, there is no consensus about the genesis, construction or purpose of the archetypal principle and its perceived manifestations. Knox asks if they are 'biological entities in the form of information which is hard-wired in the genes', 'organizing mental frameworks of an abstract nature', 'core meanings which do contain representational content' or even 'metaphysical entities' (Knox 2003: 28-34). This work has some sympathy with Stevens' proposal that the archetypal comprises 'innate strategies…partly biological and partly cultural' (Stevens 1982/2002: 96). However,

this study remains agnostic on the matter of the genesis, and biological nature, of the archetypal principle and contends that its standpoint does not disrupt the theoretical integrity of its investigation, which concerns itself with psychosocial manifestations of archetypal processes rather than the causation of the psychological phenomenon itself. Regarding the latter, I prefer to follow Jung's example and 'accept my ignorance' (Jung 1963/1995: 384), agreeing with him that 'in so far as the archetypes act upon me, they are real and actual to me, even though I do not know what their real nature is' (Ibid.).

This thesis remains mindful of Jung's observation that 'archetypal content expresses itself, first and foremost, in metaphors' (Jung 1934/1954: par. 267) and views the archetypal as an unconsciously appreciated quality reflected in social and cultural products and processes as well as in personal psychology and characterised by feeling-toned patterns. This work conjectures that the archetypal is an innately strategic, predisposed, potential pattern of behaviour or psychological attitude, enhancing, but not guaranteeing, the possibility of positive human outcomes. Regardless of the phenomenon's origins, to be archetypal is to reflect collective, unconscious, autonomous, survival-enhancing meaning-making.

Although the theoretical framework of this investigation is depth psychological, its subject has been most commonly explored academically within the diffuse disciplines of media and cultural studies. Some insights from those areas are co-opted in this work's summative analysis in Chapter Five and some selective, relevant literature is identified in 2.2. However, media theory itself is as amorphous as archetypal theory, and has been defined somewhat axiomatically as 'a systematic way of thinking about means of communications' (Laughey 2009: 4). One of those ways utilised here, most notably in the examination of newspaper text and imagery, is media

semiotics, which helps to describe how news stories 'exhibit a number of consistent and repeated features. So the news value criteria can be regarded as a coding system which is knowingly or unknowingly used by journalists in order to shape the meanings of events as news' (Bignell 1997: 90). This investigation has discovered that 'borrowing' such analytic tools from media studies enhances its underlying psychoanalytic and psychosocial examination.

The final cultural theory to be identified here, and one of the most significant to be utilised in this work's concluding Chapter Six, is Habermas' 'public sphere' which comprises 'private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state' (Habermas 1962/1989: 176). The shared space provided by media communications, including the tabloid paradigm and its transformative internet iterations, was perceptively anticipated by Habermas with this concept, and his identification of the transformation of its 'pre-eminent institution', the press, from 'a system of private correspondences' to a commercial business carrying news and views (Ibid.: 182). This shared, or third, space is also identified by other disciplines, notably psychoanalysis (Ogden 1994) and anthropology (Turner 1982).

To recapitulate, this subchapter had identified the primary theoretical concepts derived from the fields of depth psychology and media and cultural studies that inform this investigation. However, in addition, the theory of hermeneutics is explained and discussed in 1.4, as it relates, specifically, to this dissertation's epistemological position. Jung's theories of synchronicity and the transcendent function, and an amplification of his views of the archetypal, are explored during the reimagining of the Trickster principle undertaken in Chapter Four.

1.4 Epistemological position

Jung did not write 'clearly and specifically about epistemology and methodology' and his insights on these areas 'were interwoven into the very fabric of his theories and his overall psychology' (Papadopoulos 2006: 7). However, it is possible to extract his core theoretical contributions to knowledge: his concepts of self and archetypes, typology, the collective unconscious, individuation and synchronicity.

The inextricable tensions between notions of knowledge, fact and truth confront scholastic investigations in any discipline. '[I]t is precisely facts that do not exist, only interpretations' suggests Nietzsche, according to one translation (Nietzsche 1959: 458). Echoing Jung's regard for the metaphorical, and perhaps reflecting the 'extraordinary connections' between the two men (Hutchinson 2004), he dismissed truth as '[a] mobile army of metaphors, metonymies, anthropomorphisms' (Ibid.: 46). Yet, it can reasonably be asserted that the purpose of any theoretical investigation is, firstly, to identify and test truths, however ontologically relative (Gangadean 1980: 465) and, secondly, to present them to others as knowledge, accompanied by verifiable evidence. This work seeks to earn that epistemological validity by employing the interpretative rationale of hermeneutics, mindful that it has been 'central to the practice of Jung's psychology from the beginning' (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 57), and recalling Brooke's invocation of Sardello's observation (Sardello 1975: 273-280) that

> [t]o read Jung hermeneutically, therefore, is to do more than merely read his writings in a different way. It is to encounter them, to hold them in a dialogue that is both respectful and critical at the same time. Out of this dialogue it is hoped, and expected, that a way will be found to read Jung with an existential depth and significance that is often lost in his struggle with words and his own met theoretical foundations.
>
> (Brooke 1991: 27)

Tellingly, Shamdasini points out that the second layer of the Draft of Jung's *Red Book* 'is itself a hermeneutic experiment' (Shamdasani 2009: 203).

This study wholeheartedly agrees that psychoanalysis, and by extension depth psychology in general, is both a science and hermeneutics and that 'the hybrid quality of this position should not be used to dismiss it' (Hinshelwood 2010: 365). We applaud his comment that 'psychoanalytic knowledge says something real about the human mind' (Ibid.), and are encouraged by the observations that epistemology 'is and always has been hermeneutical' (Rockmore 1990: 116) and 'contemporary hermeneutics has expanded the scope of the term text to include not only documents in the conventional sense but organizational practices and structures, social and economic activities, cultural artefacts and the rest.' (Prasad 2002: 29). These analyses, and others, help validate this work's epistemological platform, and its decision to employ hermeneutics as an 'interpretative methodology' (Ibid.: 12).

It is beyond the methodological purview of this dissertation to examine exhaustively every scholastic argument for and against the use of hermeneutics either as an epistemological position or an analytical instrument. Rather it presents here information about some of the concept's rationale and history. Hermeneutics has been with the West since ancient Greek times; Plato used the term in a number of dialogues that contrasted hermeneutic knowledge to that of Sofia's, a subject often discussed by Jung (Jung 1952a: par. 610, passim). However, it was Heidegger who framed the term ontologically, as for him it was about 'the most fundamental conditions of man's being in the world' (Wright and Loosekoot 2012: 420).

This investigation agrees that 'there is no longer truth as such, but only truth relative to a given conceptual framework' (Rockmore 1990: 130), and that theoretical perspective sits comfortably with the methodological, theoretical, ontological and epistemological positions of this thesis. If Rockmore's assertion is 'true', then a theoretical investigation cannot purport to impart the 'truth' unequivocally. However,

according to Heidegger, his 'disciple and student' Gadamer, Ricoeur and others, skilful deployment of 'the art or principles of interpretation' is epistemologically valid (Fry 2009: video). Instead of reflecting 'truth', this manner of deployment reflects the existential essence of the relationship between the reader and the text, which begins, inevitably, with the former bringing to bear all her prejudices and expectations on that portion of the latter she sees first, but subsequently experiencing an educative change in that relationship as more portions of the text are revealed to her.

This interpretative mode of gaining and imparting knowledge through the psycho-relational enhancement nurtured by the to-ing and fro-ing between past and present, reader and text (or, by extension, reader and author) is labelled by Gadamer a 'fusion of horizons':

> Every finite present has its limitations. We define the concept of "situation" by saying that it represents a standpoint that limits the possibility of vision. Hence essential part of the concept of situation is the concept of "horizon." The horizon is the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point…A person who has no horizon is a man [sic] who does not see far enough and hence overvalues what is nearest to him. On the other hand, "to have an horizon" means not being limited to what is nearby, but to being able to see beyond it.
>
> (Gadamer 1975/1989: 302)

Heidegger epitomised the process with a model, later developed by Gadamer, named the hermeneutic circle[31]. A corollary of that relational theory (not universally accepted by concerned scholars, although accepted by this study) is that, instead of simply reflecting the relationship between text and reader, hermeneutical interpretation reflects 'a relationship between a reader and an author where the text is a kind of mediatory document containing the meaning of the author' (Fry 2009).

This work is mindful of Gadamer's advice (in this case to a male reader) on how to extract that essential meaning from texts, which he calls 'the thing':

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[31] It refers to the idea that one's understanding of the text as a whole is established by reference to the individual parts and one's understanding of each individual part by reference to the whole. Johns C. (2009) *Becoming a Reflective Practitioner,* Singapore: Wiley-Blackwell. (Page 44.)

> [I]t is necessary to keep one's gaze fixed on the thing throughout all the constant distractions that originate in the interpreter himself. A person who is trying to understand a text *is always projecting*. He projects a meaning for the text as a whole as soon as some initial meaning emerges in the text. Again, the initial meaning emerges only because he is reading the text with particular expectations in regard to a certain meaning. Working out this fore-projection, which is constantly revised in terms of what emerges as he penetrates into the meaning, is understanding what is there.
>
> (Gadamer 1975/1989: 267 [emphasis added])
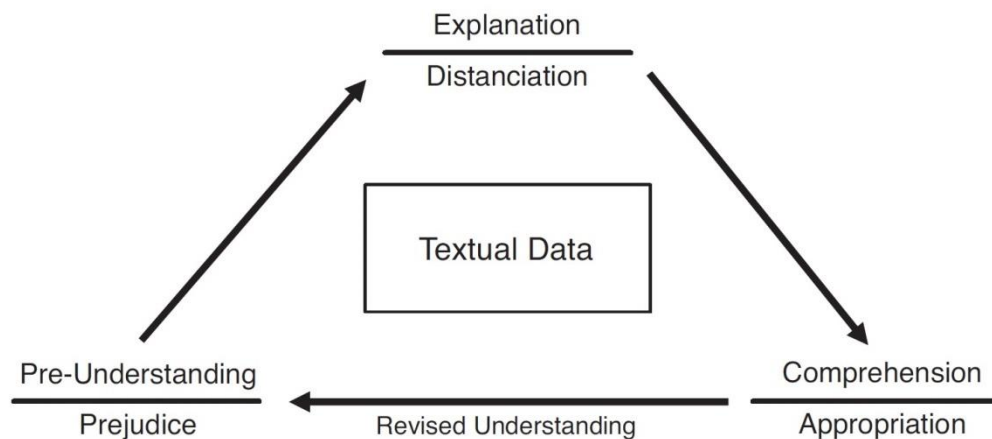
Figure 2 Hermeneutical process based on Ricoeur, adapted by Grassie (*Sandage et al. 2008*)

Gadamer concludes that hermeneutics overcomes the 'epistemological problem through phenomenological research' (Gadamer 1975/1989: 242-264) and Ingram and others escalate that assessment by claiming Heidegger's holistic version of hermeneutics 'undermines the foundation of classical epistemology' (Ingram 1985: 37). This study, however, concurs with the conclusion that, rather than overcoming epistemology, 'epistemology has become a form of hermeneutics, that is a hermeneutics of the object of knowledge' (Rockmore 1990: 131). It is this view that intrinsically informs the methodological rationale of this investigation, which applies Ricoeur's 'working definition' of hermeneutics as 'the theory of the operations of understanding in their relation to the interpretation of texts' (Ricoeur 1986/1991: 51). This thesis accepts his explanation that 'understanding is entirely mediated by the whole of explanatory procedures which precede it and accompany it' (Ricoeur 1981:

44

220). The process, based on Ricoeur's model as adapted by Grassie (Grassie 1994), is well illustrated in Fig. 2[32] (Sandage et al. 2008: 356).

As well as the connection of hermeneutics to Jung's text, there are two others that make this epistemological position a particularly appropriate one for this inquiry: firstly, the need for 'hermeneutic intent' in the theoretical discussion of media (Carey 1989: 53) and, secondly, the word's semantic connection to the arch Trickster Hermes. Regarding the former connection, Carey judges that

> [t]he hermeneutic intent is nowhere more needed than in theoretical discussions of the mass media. Of all the areas or subareas within communications, that of the mass media has proved to be the most fiercely resistant to adequate theoretical formulation–indeed, even to systematic discussion.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ibid.)

Regarding the latter connection, this study detects the provoking spirit of Trickster within the very fabric of the hermeneutic rationale. However tempting, it would be scholastically insupportable to intuit that recognising Trickster energy at play within hermeneutics would alone make the latter an apt epistemological and methodological foundation upon which to construct this research. Nonetheless, it feels appropriate to employ that connection as a supporting factor when one detects the etymological link between the words hermeneutic and Hermes (a mythological Trickster examined more fully in Chapter Four). Heidegger explains:

> The expression 'hermeneutic' derives from the Greek verb hermeneuein[33]. That verb is related to the noun hermeneus, which is referable to the name of the god Hermes by a playful thinking that is more compelling than the rigor of science. Hermes is the divine messenger. He brings the message of destiny; Hermeneuein is that exposition which brings tidings because it can listen to a message. Such exposition becomes an interpretation of what has been said earlier by the poet who, according to Socrates...'are interpreters of the Gods.'[34]
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Heidegger 1971: 29)

This study advocates 'playful thinking', and examines the concept further in Chapter Four, locating that activity at the heart of its reimagined Trickster theory.

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[32] Page 43.

[33] "Make something clear, to announce or unveil a message" Thompson J. B. (1996) Hermeneutics. In: Kuper A and Kuper J (eds) *The social science encyclopedia.* New York: Routledge, 360–361. (Page 360.)

[34] This is attributed to Socrates by Plato in *Ion* http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1635/1635-h/1635-h.htm Retrieved 11 February 2016.

1.5 Research methods

This subchapter identifies and describes methods employed by this investigation in pursuit of its objective to answer its primary research question: does early 21st century popular, British, tabloid newspaper journalism, characterised by that of *The Sun* and its discontinued stable mate the *News of the World*, be shown to perform a positive psychosocial function when assessed from a post-Jungian perspective? This investigation explores that question by testing the hypothesis that the subject manifests the archetypal Trickster principle. The subject of the inquiry, the investigation's depth-psychological framework, its epistemological and ontological positions, the readership it addresses and the nature of its primary hypothesis have now been presented. There were three modes of investigatory methods available to this investigation: qualitative, quantitative and mixed. It has chosen the first, attentive to the observation that the 'major distinction' between the two substantive research categories, qualitative and quantitative, is the cause of 'endless debate' within the research community (Rohricht 2013). Indicatively, a quantitative researcher has been recorded as saying, 'There is no such thing as qualitative data. Everything is either 1 or 0.' (Miles and Huberman 1994: 40). This investigation refutes that assertion, providing as evidence successful qualitative research provided by Jung, post-Jungians and others, cited throughout Chapter Two.

This inquiry's choice of a qualitative mode has been guided by the observations of Rohricht, a psychotherapist, psychiatrist and researcher who usefully lists key words and terms closely associated with qualitative research as 'multiple realities', 'socially constructed', 'interrelated', 'holistic' and 'inductive reasoning' typically examining smaller samples in 'naturalistic settings'. By contrast, the list of key words he identifies for quantitative research are 'objective as possible', 'reductionist' and 'context free',

typically examining large samples 'reduced to numeric properties in controlled situations' (Rohricht 2013). These descriptions, and the interpretive nature of this study's hermeneutic rationale lead this work to conclude that a qualitative research mode is the most appropriate.

This investigation rejected the third option of a mixed method, taking the view that any statistical sampling of the study's subjects would be inappropriately small for its quantitative component. Hermeneutic interpretation of the writing of Jung and post-Jungians and semiotically-informed analysis of newspaper text and imagery, in the view of this investigation, is best carried out within a qualitative research environment. Furthermore, this thesis argues that quantitative data regarding journalism, however thoroughly gathered, will always contain hidden variables and imposed categories, for example, those displayed by Smith (1997: passim) and consequently are of limited value when analysing the psychological effect of news coverage of any kind.

Knowledge in the broader reaches of social science, has been that elicited through the use of qualitative methods, notably those employing personal, sometimes observer-participant, observations recorded ethnologically; for example, the ground-breaking work of Cohen on reportage of 1960s 'mods and rockers' (allegedly violent youth sub-cultures) is most effective when citing the exact words used by a popular newspaper rather than quantitatively listing the number of reported arrests and varying estimated costs of damage. He writes, 'The full flavour of such reports is captured in the following lines from the *Daily Express* (19 May 1964):

> There was Dad asleep in a deckchair and Mum making sandcastles with the children, when the 1964 boys took over the beaches at Margate and Brighton yesterday and smeared the traditional postcard scene with blood and violence.
>
> (Cohen 1973: 30-48)

In my opinion, informed by many years of experience as a production journalist on UK national tabloid newspapers quantitative inventories of news output compiled

by social scientists are invariably hampered by a misunderstanding of the way in which journalists gather their information and the spirit and manner in which it is cited by them. My conclusion is that social scientists often project their own ethos and practice on to that of newspaper journalists, who do not gather ratified, statistical information in the statistically punctilious manner of their often critical academic observers; rather they take a textual or visual snapshot of an event and cite the most authentic-seeming statistics associated with it at that moment. Typically the 'true' numbers will continue to vex empirical analysis until a resultant court case is heard or a government database publishes verified statistics; both these outcomes usually take months to conclude.

Journalists are neither scientists nor social historians and, in the view of this author, journalism, popular or otherwise, is usually far too crudely acquired to be considered even a first draft of history. Yet such reportage is often cited as historical document and its impact can be hugely psychosocially meaningful (as this study seeks to show). Quantitative content analysis often overlooks how newspaper stories and headlines change between editions or are subject to the sub-editorial process of headline writing with all its typographical restrictions (Hall et al. 1978: 358). Written articles are often analysed as though they are the product of a single individual (Conboy 2010: passim) rather than, as is invariably the case, an amalgam of inputs from reporters, contributors, sub-editors and revise sub-editors. Stories change throughout the night as events are updated, managerial briefs are revised and/or more or less space is allocated to them. Hence traditional quantitative tools of textual analysis, notably content analysis, are ineffective because they are relatively 'blunt' and lacking the nuance to monitor the processes behind the textual output.

Having established that the research mode of this work is to be qualitative, it is necessary to select appropriate analytical tools. For ease of identification, they are

categorised here as data-collection methods and those used for data analysis. As has already been explained, the primary subjects of this research—newspaper journalism and the archetypal principle employed in its evaluation—are two disparate paradigms never before compared. It has been necessary to keep that disparity in mind when selecting the tools to be used, both for analysis and collection.

Describing the data collection tools first, contemporaneous commentary is predominantly harvested from informed online content, notably the blog written by Roy Greenslade, of City, University of London's journalism department, for the media section of *The Guardian*'s internet platform[35]. Newspaper text and images considered relevant have been gathered, either from their online manifestations, or from printed newspapers collected, or photographed, by me. Fifty-two consecutive printed copies of the *Sun on Sunday* (*The Sun*'s Sunday edition) were collected by me throughout 2014[36] to accompany my autoethnographic notes made on the days that I worked on those editions as a sub-editor. These are sometimes amplified by my own heuristically acquired, contextual knowledge, drawn from 28 years' working on the title and the *News of the World* that was effectively replaced by the *Sun on Sunday*. Some relevant artefacts collected by me in that period are also invoked, and photographs of those included.

Four interviews conducted by me with four selected *Sun* journalists were captured on audio files and transcribed. Edited transcripts appear collected in categories explained there. I considered four to be a sufficient number, as each of the interviewees is representative of a different skillset employed within *The Sun*'s editorial department: sub-editorial, revision, design and reporting. As this thesis has no aspiration to present a quantitative data set, I judged that more interviews, simply for the sake of numbers,

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[35] http://www.theguardian.com/uk/media (Retrieved 28 September 2016.)
[36] Appendix A.

would be superfluous. However, additional notes from interviews with two *Sun* journalists carried out earlier by me for a different, unpublished project (Anslow 2002) are included (with appropriate permissions) to provide extra context.

For analysing textual and visual data gathered, both ethnologically and archivally, three qualitative methods are available, psychoanalytic, semiotic and discourse; this study combines aspects of all three in a hermeneutical manner. Psychoanalytic analysis is the interpretive application of depth-psychological insights (mainly Jungian) to text and imagery (and process where appropriate). Analysis of Jungian and post-Jungian texts is comparative, as is the matching of defined Trickster traits with aspects of tabloid journalism. Lu adopts a similarly comparative approach to establish 'critical points of convergence' in an historiographical study (Lu 2014: 52). Where appropriate, newspaper texts and images are analysed using semiotic principles pioneered by Barthes (Barthes 1964) and others. In an unpublished, work I used semiotic textual analysis to interpret press stories in newspapers and associate them with Jungian archetypes (Anslow 2002).

As important as purely textual analysis is, I know from my own experience[37] that UK tabloid newspapers employ images in an organic collaboration with words to execute their most effective storytelling. This judges that Jung would have appreciated this technique as 'his way of knowing is primarily through the image' (Rowland 2017: 20). The central hypothesis of this investigation is an archetypal one and this work agrees that 'archetypes are story-generating, deathless, and endlessly creating via their images' (Ibid.: 6). This insight encourages this investigation to examine imaginal tabloid content as closely as, and in association with, its texts. The imagery employed in the tabloid front pages published in this thesis in figures 4, 16, 18, 20, 31[38] et al.

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[37] Appendix A.
[38] Pages 102, 174, 182, 185, 191.

provide useful indications of typical textual and imaginal collaborations in the tabloid form. For example, *The Sun*'s front-page headline *Heel, boys*[39] about the UK's new Prime Minister of the time, Theresa May, is illustrated by a picture of 'her famous kitten-heeled leopard print shoes' (Sun 2016a: 1). The pictorial presentation reinforces the 'acoustic' imagery (Kugler 2002: 20) reflected in the text placed alongside it. This investigation judges that this presentation evokes for the reader a 'psychic image' (Ibid.) of erotic maternal power.

This work is mindful of the method of *close reading* employed by some scholars, notably within the area of literary criticism, and described by one as a 'newly minted hermeneutics' stressing

> the most careful scrutiny of words on the page, while stripping out any possible context that might daringly claim to be a co-text capable of affecting interpretation. Forbidden contexts include, of course, emotions, feelings, personal associations, anything known of the author or time of writing, and word etymologies.
>
> (Rowland 2017: 19)

Another author describes it as

> the cultivation of self-consciousness about the reading experience, a desire for more awareness of what's going on—the kind of reading that opens the door to a deeper, more critical understanding of the *particular* work being read and of the *experience* of reading as a whole
>
> (Federico 2016: 18)

When considering tabloid texts as a psychosocial analyst, it can often be useful to employ the method as a reinforcement to the semiotic approach described above. However, it is the experience of this investigation that the 'forbidden contexts' make themselves felt, usually unconsciously, when the reader's attention turns to the text's associated imaginal content, as described above in relation to *The Sun*'s coverage of May's kitten-heels. Rowland suggests that such a close reading of text and imagery 'active imagination[40] as he [Jung] called it…was simultaneously an act of liberation

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[39] Page 185.

[40] One concentrates on a specific point, mood, picture or event, then allows a chain of associated FANTASIES to develop and gradually take on a dramatic character Samuels A., Shorter B. and Plaut F. (1986) *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*, London and New York: Routledge. (Page 19.)

and repression' (Ibid.: 91). Following its examination of selected tabloid content throughout Chapter Five, this investigation agrees with Rowland that the employment of 'active imagination and what I have been calling close readings are responses, in different disciplinary locations, to the perceived loss of the communicable symbol in culture' (Ibid.: 94). Hence, in the view of this work, May's kitten heels and other examples explored in Chapter Five, provide a symbolism that resonate psychically with *The Sun*'s readers and can be detected by scholars employing the spirit of active imagination and close reading in their textual analysis. Invoking this 'interplay of the *active* and *reflective* aspects of reading' (Federico 2016: 19) is particularly appropriate, in the experience of this investigator, when applied to tabloid products as, typically, they are collectively produced (written, rewritten, revised) and so not the work of a single psyche.

This investigation considered, but rejected, analysing interviews with journalists using qualitative data analysis software, such as *QSR* Internationals's NVivo programme, because, once again, the quantity of data was not sufficient to require such an application. This study also considered, but rejected, employing methods associated with grounded theory for this investigation because it concluded that its 'bottom-up' approach (Charmaz 2006: 139) while possibly being applicable to the journalism content being explored, would not provide a vigorous enough tool for the textual analysis required. Furthermore, discourse analysis was considered an investigative tool as it is based in a very different 'philosophical camp' from the more quantitatively traditional content analysis (Hardy et al. 2004: 19), It is qualitative, interpretive and constructionist and provides 'a more profound interrogation of the precarious status of meeting' (Ibid.). However, this study agrees with Bell that it is best considered as less

reductionist 'discourse interpretation' (Bell 2011: 558) and it follows his advice by employing it as part of its hermeneutic approach.

As noted in Chapter Two, sociological explorations, notably those of cultural anthropology, also inform this work's understanding of the Trickster principle, while cultural and media theories, particularly those employing a semiotic analysis of language and imagery, aid this investigation's examination of the narrative power of tabloid newspapers, enabling it to identify more clearly the archetypal processes and projections it observes embedded in the processes and products of popular text-based journalism. This thesis also explores social phenomena (e.g. changing newspaper technology) and socio-political events, e.g. the Leveson Inquiry, Part I (2012) that are contemporaneous with its writing, and so often cites current affairs commentary from newspapers and websites. The newspapers examined are largely selected from national UK tabloids published between 1950 and 2015; *The Sun* is used as a specific case study, augmented by examples for its defunct sister publication, the *News of the World*.

Concluding remarks

To summarise, this work is a depth-psychological (specifically post-Jungian) evaluation of a phenomenon contemporaneous with its submission. It hypothesises that this subject (i.e. popular UK newspaper journalism) is a manifestation of the archetypal Trickster principle, and it tests that hypothesis, primarily, by (re)defining Trickster and then measuring 12 of its observed characteristics against the subject. It then discusses the psychosocial implications of its conclusions, particularly in regard to the contemporaneous debate about the regulation of British tabloid journalism, and makes some suggestions.

Chapter One has introduced the subject, its author, the study's academic context, and its primary and secondary research questions. It has presented the

paradigmatic practice under examination and the hypothesis employed for the task. It has also outlined the research's depth-psychological framework, the primary theories and insights applied, its epistemological rationale and the methods used to test the hypothesis.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Critical interrogation of selective writings

This chapter critically reviews a selection of writings about its primary subjects of inquiry, the instrument used to examine it, and the theoretical and methodological framework within which it is examined: UK tabloid journalism, Trickster and depth-psychological study, notably from a Jungian and post-Jungian perspective. This work suggests that tabloid journalism and Trickster reflect connectable paradigms, neither of which, this review concludes, has been explored exhaustively from a depth-psychological perspective, nor subjected to an adequate psychosocial assessment. Regarding Trickster, there are some notable exceptions to this lack of inquiry, and these are presented here. Regarding popular newspaper journalism, the review discovered a pervasive absence of post-Jungian inquiry, other than some excellent, press-related essays addressing the media phenomenon of Diana, Princess of Wales (Haynes and Shearer 1998).

This review seeks to remain consistent with the presentational structure of the rest of this study by exploring, firstly, writings relating to UK newspaper journalism and its cultural context, secondly, those relating to Trickster and associated content and, thirdly, that relating to the post-Jungian framework. The first two subchapters review contemporaneous, or contemporary, commentary, professional recollection and cultural interpretations predominantly relating to UK newspaper journalism[41]plus analyses by academics including newspaper historians, media sociologists and other cultural and philosophical theorists[42]. Reviews in the remaining subchapters relate to the insights of predominantly anthropological writers on myth and folklore[43] and,

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[41] 2.1
[42] 2.2
[43] 2.3

crucially, the writings on Trickster by Jung, post-Jungians and other commentators and theorists, mainly in associated areas of depth psychology[44]. The positioning of the fourth subchapter towards the end of the chapter does not imply that it has secondary importance to the thesis rather that the subchapters are ordered in a way that reinforces the structure of the dissertation.

2.1 Press analysts, raconteurs, entertainers, educators

Most of the writings examined in this subchapter emerge from books, academic papers and journals; there are also some references to unpublished tabloid training material. Some are contemporaneous commentaries and analyses published on informed websites e.g. the media section of *The Guardian*.[45] As well as books written by former tabloid journalists about their occupational experiences, this subchapter also looks at fictional, or semi-fictional, representations of the practice and its product, and examines some work by journalism educators, indicative of practitioners' motivations. It concludes with a brief review of public inquiries into those practices.

Very few British tabloid journalists make a successful transition to academia from their 'trade' as Marr insists on calling journalism (Marr 2005) – a description this work applauds and that is also endorsed by at least one editor of *The Sun*. (Ponsford 2016b). Greenslade, Professor of Journalism at City, University of London, one of the world's leading journalism education institutions[46], and former editor of the *Daily Mirror* (1990-1991[47]) is one of those rare migrants from redtop journalism to academia. From 1999 to the time of writing in 2016[48], he also wrote a media blog for *The Guardian* newspaper, which this work frequently cites, mindful of Greenslade's

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[44] 2.4
[45] http://www.theguardian.com/uk/media (Retrieved 9 March 2016.)
[46] http://www.city.ac.uk/arts-social-sciences/journalism#unit=research (Retrieved 2 February 2016.)
[47] From Greenslade's biographical details in his blog at *The Guardian*: http://www.theguardian.com/profile/roygreenslade (Retrieved 22 January 2016.)
[48] N.B. Greenslade temporarily left *The Guardian* to work for the *Daily Telegraph* in 2006: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/2934708/Notebook. (Retrieved 2 February 2016.)

journalistic experience and academic reputation. Despite his redtop history, or perhaps because of it, he is often critical of the owners of *The Sun*, (Greenslade 2015a) and sometimes of *Sun* and *News of the World* journalists themselves (Greenslade 2006). Having closely followed his blog since its inception, and reviewed with interest his observations on technological and economic developments in journalism and, most usefully, having archived his commentaries on the phone-hacking scandal and matters arising (Greenslade 2016d), this study concludes that any investigation of contemporary UK tabloid newspapers would be inadequate if it failed to acknowledge his work.

Some other contemporary observers and analysts of the British press in the late 20th and early 21st century have made useful contributions to an understanding of the UK tabloid tradition, apart from the media historians and sociologists examined in 2.2. Some are polemical, and need to be read accordingly, e.g. the work of *The Guardian* investigative journalist Nick Davies, widely regarded as exposing phone-hacking at the *News of the World*, and a virulent critic of Rupert Murdoch's tabloid newspapers (Yorkshire Post 2014). Davies also expertly identifies the economic travails of many newspapers as the media landscape is transformed by the internet and digitalised news and entertainment (Davies 2009). On the other side of the tabloid divide are books written by contemporaneous or former Murdoch employees: *Sunrise* by the launch editor of the tabloid *Sun* (Lamb 1989) and *The News of the World Story* (Bainbridge and Stockdill 1993) are examples. Although these might reasonably be interpreted as partisan to the respective titles, both provide informative insight into the world of the British tabloid journalism, and some useful detail of those newspapers' histories. However, works tracking histories of Britain's tabloids, typically authored by outsiders, are examined in 2.2.

Multiple influences at the heart of this study coalesce at a critical juncture in the history of communications. Those influences – technological, economic, cultural and ethico-legal – coincide with relevant commentary and analysis about popular British newspaper journalism being disseminated through subject-specific, and more generally oriented, platforms typically not available in the 20th century in a process described by Shirky (Shirky 2008) and others, notably via informed blogs and social media platforms including *Twitter* and *Facebook*. This subchapter explains the value of one of those blogs, Greenslade's[49], and it is appropriate here to highlight another platform, that of *Press Gazette*[50], which, in a previous printed medium launched in 1965, became the 'trade paper' of British journalism. Additionally, two academically-based platforms in the USA provide invaluable contextual information regarding global journalism practice and products in general, and burgeoning digital journalism in particular: the Tow Center for Digital Journalism[51] based at New York's Columbia University and the Nieman Foundation[52] based at Harvard.

The core aim of this thesis is to explore the extant practice of UK tabloid journalism, and therefore, by extension, to examine the thoughts, emotions and motivations of practitioners. My own ethnographically supported observations as a participant-observer[53] provide some input, augmented by the responses of my interviewees[54]. I have been unable, however, to find published, peer-reviewed, academic writing attempting the same exploration in a way that is useful to this work. A few journalists, not necessarily British, nor tabloid-oriented, have applied their professional knowledge of the area to connected inquiries. For example, Greenslade

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[49] http://www.theguardian.com/uk/media (Retrieved 29 February 2016.)
[50] http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/ (Retrieved 29 February 2016.)
[51] http://towcenter.org/ (Retrieved 29 February 2016.)
[52] http://nieman.harvard.edu/ (Retrieved 29 February 2016.)
[53] Appendix A.
[54] Appendix B.

looks at profits and propaganda in newspapers (Greenslade 2004) and Lule, an American newspaper journalist and academic, examines the mythological role of journalism (Lule 2001).

Most journalists do not 'progress' to academia, neither to teach nor become media researchers nor educators. However, some usefully draw on practice-based experience for anecdotally driven works. Charles Rae, who is interviewed in this study[55], is an eminent example of such a redtop raconteur. A journalist for 50 years, 30 of them at *The Sun* and the later discontinued *Today* popular national newspaper, he reported throughout the 1980s (Rae 2013: Loc. 43). His recollections of a practitioner's life on a British tabloid are informative in a way that outside observation often fails to be. For example, his description of the 'Curse of the Crying Boy' running story[56] that *The Sun* first reported on September 4, 1985 is illuminating. He explains:

> It began with the Yorkshire home of Ron and May Hall being gutted by fire. Everything was destroyed or badly charred, everything that is apart from a picture that hung in their small living room. Their painting of a crying boy remained unscathed, completely untouched by the fire that had caused so much damage…When the story landed on The Sun news desk it was about to be put on the spike as editor Kelvin Mackenzie[57] [sic] was passing by. He looked at the 100 words or so [from a news agency] that were on a piece of paper – and the curse of the Crying Boy was about to be born.
>
> (Rae 2013: Loc 1405)

It is and indicative example of how the tabloid news potential of a small item can be identified by an experienced eye and turned into a popular newspaper cause celebre after *The Sun* organised mass burnings of prints of the popular painting sent to it by frightened readers (Punt 2010). Barker, another former veteran UK national newspaper reporter, provides a similarly well-informed practitioner's insight, this time

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[55] Appendix B.

[56] 'An event or item that continues and develops over a period of time' Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 270.)

[57] The correct spelling is MacKenzie as his accredited Twitter handle attests https://twitter.com/kelvmackenzie Retrieved 7 September 2016. (From my long experience of his work, I judge this to be an uncharacteristic error by the author.)

into the events leading up to the death in a road crash of Diana, Princess of Wales in 1997:

> She still maintained her [press] contacts while publicly complaining of harassment and frequently asking 'Will they never leave me alone?' Yet on the last day of her life she teasingly promised hordes of journalists 'sensational announcements to come'. What did that mean? Was she about to get engaged to Dodi Al-Fayed? Was she perhaps pregnant? Whatever, it wasn't the sort of comment calculated to keep journalists at bay.
>
> (Barker 2015: 64)

Mike Molloy, a former editor of the *Daily Mirror,* weaves historical minutiae of 20th century British tabloid history with the informed personal insight of a figure at the helm of Britain's biggest-selling newspaper when it was overtaken by *The Sun* in 1977 (BBC 2002) under the editorship of Kelvin MacKenzie:

> Kelvin was one of the new breed of pop-paper journalists who emerged in the seventies. He considered the Sun an entertainment and the Mirror's political lectures hopelessly outdated. In some ways he had a point. I had edited the Mirror for nearly ten years and the readers I'd originally connected with were changing. Until the late sixties there was still a vast part of the population that considered itself working class, but this pool of readers had begun to shrink like the air leaking from an old Christmas balloon.
>
> (Molloy 2016: 296)

Some journalists, including those in the tabloid sector, use their experientially based knowledge to authenticate fictional, often comic, works rather than accurately relate remembered anecdotes. Such work can provide useful contextual and emotional ambience in a way that pure inauthentic fiction does not. Examples of the former are the fictionally framed writing of Bernard Shrimsley, a former editor of the *News of the World* (Shrimsley 2003) and, more memorably, that of journalist and writer Evelyn Waugh, creator of the tabloidesque *Daily Beast* (Waugh 1938/2003). Andrew Croker, a sports journalist, incorporated real newspaper headlines which were 'beyond parody' in his otherwise fictional book about 'the shady world of tabloid media, espionage and political scandal'(Croker 2015: Loc. 50) and a former showbusiness editor of the *Daily Express* wrote a comic play about a tabloid newspaper whose editor, in the words of one of the characters, is 'a deeply weird, sexually malfunctioning headcase' (Jagasia

2015: 37). Non-journalists who write about tabloid practice can, by the use of keen observation, interaction and/or research provide comic psychosocial insight; two prime examples are the stage play *Great Britain* (Bean 2015) and the television comedy *Red Top* (Wollaston 2016), both of which supply grotesque, but revealing, renditions of fictional characters and events recognisable as those connected with the *News of the World* phone-hacking scandal.

Writing designed to train, or educate, journalists, particularly that writing aimed at journalists who work on, or aspire to work on, popular UK newspapers, reveal the broadly-based, nuanced, cultural and socio-political knowledge required to make appropriate news selection and presentation. While a lecturer in journalism[58], I expected my students, undergraduate and post-graduate, to be able to name three senior Government ministers and their Opposition 'shadows', three Association Football teams in that year's English *Premier League* and three characters in the leading television soap opera *EastEnders* (Holland 1985). However, purely factual knowledge of these areas is not enough: feeling is required as well, as corporate internal newspaper handbooks make clear. One advises explicitly, 'Get a feel for it' (MGN c2000). Such internal guidelines are rarely published publicly, although there are exceptions e.g. *The Guardian* style book (Marsh and Marshall 2004). *The Sun*'s stylebook is not publicly available, although it was publicly discussed, with input from me (Greenslade 2014). It is a thoughtful counterpoint to the caricatures of its use of English portrayed in the fictional examples cited, e.g. in *Great Britain*, and that seeming paradox is explored in this thesis, notably in Chapter Five. Examples of its advice provide counter-intuitive insight into its internal culture:

> [A]nalyse every word. Why is that adjective there? Does it add anything, or is the noun self-explanatory? Was that person really rushed to hospital, or just taken? Is Sir Alex Ferguson really the legendary ex-Manchester United manager – does he feature in medieval legend…Is

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[58] Appendix A.

the bloke perving over sex abuse pictures really evil, a word now meaningless through overuse?
(Perry and Moorhead 2014: 13)

My experience as a journalism educator indicates to me that, usually, the most effective books written to train journalism students are authored by those who are, or have been, journalists themselves. Books aimed at first-year university students cover ground that applies to all text-based news journalism, whether explicitly for popular newspapers or not. Anna McKane, a former *Reuters* journalist who became a reader at City, University of London, perceptively points to the dialogical nature of reportage: 'The news story should be one half of the dialogue with the reader' (McKane 2006: 57) and Fred Hodgson, a former production journalist at the *News of the World*, identifies the fluid nature of the participants in that dialogue, noting that 'newspaper markets are by no means fixed and there can be subtle shifts in the balance of contents and news coverage over a period' (Hodgson 1987: 28).

However, journalism educators report that some central aspects of effective reportage remain constant, particularly the dialogic of emotion. In 1968, Leslie Sellers, a former production editor of the *Daily Mail*, once Britain's most widely circulated daily newspaper (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 8), advises aspiring sub-editors to seize on 'the kind of point that rouses emotion' (Sellers 1968a: 43). He amplifies this advice when describing techniques for writing the first paragraph of news stories or 'intros' as journalists call them: 'The DISTURBING [sic] intro has its virtues too. If you can't excite or stimulate people there's no harm in making their flesh creep, providing you don't do it too often' (Ibid.). Such didactic advice from veteran practitioners provides unparalleled insight into the thought processes of UK national newspaper journalists. Sellers' suggestions to the 'Compleat Sub' were used by me to teach journalism to university undergraduates 40 years after they were penned:

> The good sub has a sharp news sense, but it is not concerned with news as an abstraction, or with his (sic) own particular prejudices or interests. The first will lead him into forgetting the kind of reader he is aiming at, and the second into only getting excited about stories emanating in Central Africa or dealing with the Chelsea set, according to his individual weakness.
> (Ibid.: 10)

His sensible advice to sub-editors (who, on redtop newspapers, write most of news copy from content provided by staff reporters and freelancers), was 'Nothing that can't be absorbed at first reading ought to appear in a newspaper' (Ibid.: 48). Forty years later Harcup gives trainees journalists some revealing epistemological insight: 'Truth has become an increasingly slippery notion in recent decades as the apparent certainties of modernity have come under challenge' (Harcup 2009: 81). Citing Seib, he goes on: 'Yet for many journalists the truth is still out there in the shape of 'facts that are verified and explained'' (Seib 2002: 4). Intriguingly, this advice reflects the dual teaching areas of practice and theory undertaken by journalism educators, often described as 'hacademics' (Mair 2013). As indicated above[59], it is rare for able journalism practitioners to become effective media academics and lecturers, however, another example is that of Professor Richard Keeble who gives practical training to young journalists in the use of metaphor (Keeble 1998: 276) while also discussing theories of ethics (Keeble 2008).

This subchapter has identified and reviewed selected works providing useful insights into the British tabloid phenomenon by press analysts, practitioners turned raconteurs or educators, and non-journalists projecting cultural notions of tabloid journalism through literary and televisual media.

2.2 Media theorists, historians, sociologists

This subchapter reviews a selection of work by historians of the British press, and recorders and/or commentators of aspects of individual newspapers. It also examines

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relevant work by sociologically framed cultural theorists and media analysts. While writing this section, I was reminded that little, if any, published work effectively describes or analyses the actors within UK tabloid journalism, their psychological processes or the psychosocial impact of their output. To mitigate this inadequacy, I occasionally cite the unpublished dissertation I submitted in the successful pursuit of my Master's degree in media (Anslow 2002). It examines archetypal representations in the press from a Jungian perspective and is alluded to by Luke Hockley (2007: 122). I cover similar ground in a journal article about the newspaper coverage of three prominent women (Anslow 2008).

Typically, UK tabloid newspaper journalism is examined within the field of cultural studies, more specifically, media studies, sometimes categorised (particularly in North America) as communications or mass communication studies. The term 'media' now often expressed as a singular noun, rather than as a grammatically more precise plural, has been employed in its current usage for fewer than 100 years and describes 'vehicles of mass communication' (O.E.D., vol. 9: 542). These vehicles and the phenomenon they represent can usefully be examined sociologically from an economic, political, cultural-linguistic or socio-historical point of view. However, it is the way in which the practice, content and phenomenon of a modern medium relates to the depth psychology of individuals, and their collective psychosocial response to that interaction, that most concerns this investigation and works, and authors reviewed here reflect this imperative.

The most comprehensive sociological history of British tabloid journalism is by two authors who have published heavily on the subject of the UK press: Bingham and Conboy (Bingham and Conboy 2015). A purely chronological progress of British national newspapers, including the *Daily Mirror* is mapped adequately by Temple

(2008), Williams (2010) and others. The latter plots 'the rise of the tabloids' accurately (Ibid.: 202) but his account of the *Daily Mirror*'s decline at the hands of Murdoch's *Sun* launched in 1969 is pedestrian, giving little insight into the complacency of the former's owners and the inappropriate, even condescending, nature of its content. For this, one must turn to Greenslade's *'The King is Dead, Long Live Rupert'* (Greenslade 2004: 195-228). Greenslade accurately interprets the societal and commercial changes underpinning *The Sun*'s transformation from a subsidised trade union newspaper to a full-blooded tabloid whose circulation, within a few years, overhauled that of the *Daily Mirror*, which in turn had taken the national lead from the *Daily Express*, itself preceded by the first million-selling UK newspaper the *Daily Mail*. Greenslade notes that the original *Sun* 'had never fulfilled the sociologists' dreams. It had neither held its traditional trades union readership nor found a new audience.' (Ibid.: 214). Greenslade's personal, practice-based 'inside' knowledge of events augmented by his sociological nous makes his accounts of UK tabloid newspapers among the most reliable of all writers on those subjects.

Another highly accurate account of events surrounding *The Sun*, this time 16 years later, is by Melvern. She plots the move of the then-titled *News International*'s four newspapers, *The Sun*, the *News of the World*, *The Times* and the *Sunday Times* from their historic bases in and around central London's Fleet Street to a new headquarters in Wapping in the east of the capital in 1986. There followed a violent trades union dispute that lasted a year (Melvern 1986). I can attest to the veracity and detail of some of Melvern's accounts of highly charged events and meetings during this period because I was then a journalist at *The Sun* and attended them. The verbatim detail of some of them indicates that they are drawn from recordings; they particularly capture the Tricksterish personality of one of the key players in this landmark industrial

battle, the then editor of *The Sun*, the mercurial MacKenzie. Here is an excerpt from

Melvern's account of a meeting between MacKenzie and *The Sun*'s National Union of

Journalists' chapel (the traditional collective term for the body of journalists within that

union working for the title and of which the author of this thesis was then a member).

MacKenzie had promised to renew a pay-and-conditions 'house agreement' for the

journalists, due to expire after a further two months, if they agreed to make the move

to the new Wapping plant. He went out of the tense, sometimes angry, meeting to

discuss the matter with the News International proprietor Murdoch. Melvern accurately

relates what ensued when *The Sun's* editor returned to the gathering of anxious

journalists:

> It was MacKenzie the comedian who came back. 'All right, all right, I think on one of the main assurances you seek–since you seem to be such as untrustworthy (sic) lot–anyone would think you were journalists–is that you are worried that at the end of eight weeks, right, the company house agreement is up, introduce the old banging drums, slave masters and away we go, seven days a week, eighteen hours a day…now I put this forward to Rupert [Murdoch] and Rupert is dead against it.' The chapel was laughing again. 'And in his place, I am quite happy to assure you that agreement will be standing for another year, right?...So there we are, game set and fucking match. I'll drop my trousers…OK?'
>
> (Ibid.: 66)

It is this kind of detail, unmatched in other accounts that help to give the feeling of

working at a UK tabloid like *The Sun* in the 1980s.

Other accounts of events surrounding contemporary UK redtop newspapers are

less punctilious and such books usually bear titles and cover designs intended to

emulate tabloid style, examples of these are *Stick It Up Your Punter!* (Chippindale and

Horrie 2013), *Shock! Horror!* (Taylor 1992) and *News of the World? Fake Sheiks &

Royal Trappings* (Burden 2009). Burden's fierce antipathy towards the *News of the

World* and its then investigations editor, the Tricksterish Mazher Mahmood (dubbed

the 'Fake Sheik' because of a costume he often wore on undercover assignments),

infects much of his factual reporting. For example, he describes the newspaper's then

legal adviser Tom Crone 'walking the knife-edge between fact and fantasy'(Ibid.: 59),

I can attest, having worked with Crone, sometime closely, for at least 20 years, that I never saw him deal in 'fantasy'. The fact that Burden misspells the name of Kelvin MacKenzie (Ibid.) raises more doubts. Taylor's accounts are detailed, and generally appear well-sourced, but also suffer from unsubstantiated assertions. For example, she writes that 'Tabloid journalism is the direct application of capitalism to events and ideas. Profit, not ethics, is the prevailing motivation' (Taylor 1992: 409). There will be many who agree with this point of view; but it is simply her point of view with little or no attempt at verification. Her informed intuition, however, should not be dismissed by this thesis exploring, as it does, emotional reactions to its subject as much as empirical deductions. In that spirit, Taylor's conclusion from her investigation of USA tabloids is one with which this inquiry notes with interest and incorporates into its investigation: 'The lesson from America is that, without the tabloids and their spirit of irreverence, the press becomes a bastion of conformity dedicated to lofty purposes understood only by the few, an instrument for and by the elite – a danger sign for any society'(Ibid.: 17-18).

Horrie prematurely predicts the demise of British tabloid newspapers in the sub-title of his book *Tabloid Nation, From the Birth of the Daily Mirror to the Death of the Tabloid* (Chippindale and Horrie 2013). He covers his declared ground factually, providing useful timelines. However, as in the case with the other titles cited, there is little or no presentation of historical events. Biographies abound of journalists and proprietors involved with UK tabloid newspapers, and Page on Murdoch (Page 2003) and Chisholm and Davie on Lord Beaverbrook (Chisholm and Davie 1992) are two that provide useful contemporary and historical context.

The first cohort of theoreticians to examine the psychosocial significance of media (although that is not an adjective, nor an explicit perspective, characteristically

recognised by them) was that which pioneered the field of semiotics, or semiology. This interpretation of the signifying process used throughout cultural communications was originated by de Saussure and Peirce (Bignell 1997: 5) and, in the view of this work, no psychoanalytic examination of news content and its affect can sensibly ignore it. For example Barthes' understanding of the significance and symbolism of the spectacle rather than the sport of wrestling in 'squalid Parisian halls' of the 1950s (Barthes 1957/2000: 13) relates directly to the presentations of celebrities in modern tabloid newspapers (Anslow 2002). Among a maze of theoretical frameworks attempting to make meaning of the psychosocial process of journalism, semiotics is, in the view of this thesis, one of the very few to display some grasp of the nuanced interplay of wordplay and imagery employed so effectively within the tabloid tradition. The more philosophical extrapolations of later semiotically-motivated theorists such as Metz's are also welcomed, and largely endorsed, by this thesis. Metz's declaration made within the context of film studies that 'there are no 'events' in the world – narrative form is needed to create an event' (Metz 1974: 17) can equally be applied to newspapers stories in general and those generated by tabloid platforms in particular.

As well as textual analysis by semioticians led by Barthes, theorists including Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1996), Baudrillard (Baudrillard 1995) and Habermas (Habermas 1962/1989) navigate the implications of media-related technological developments in, what was then, a relatively unexplored post-modern landscape. Their investigations took place as post-structural theorists including Foucault (1989) and the radical psychoanalyst Lacan (Lacan 1966/1999) challenged—many would argue successfully—the structuralism of Levi-Strauss (Levi-Strauss 1963/1968) and others. However, as intriguing as this philosophical meta-dispute is, its travails are beyond the

scope of this investigation, except where a psychoanalytic perspective is introduced into the psycho-cultural arena.

The shared space of media communications, including that propelled by popular journalism, was perceptively anticipated by Habermas in his concept of the 'public sphere' and his identification of the transformation of its 'preeminent institution', the press, from 'a system of private correspondences' to a commercial business carrying news and views (Habermas 1962/1989: 182). This shared, or third, space is a conceptual phenomenon identified within multiple theories and disparate disciplines, notably psychoanalysis Ogden (Ogden 1994), and cultural anthropology (Turner 1982), examined more closely in 2.3. This work argues that, as tabloid journalism, and other forms of popular reportage, continue to migrate into a new media landscape dominated by social and/or interactive platforms, that third space becomes an even more intimate and critical psychosocial arena of cultural negotiation. Such technological, professional and social convergence undermines Bourdieu's concept of a discrete 'journalistic field' (Bourdieu 2005).

As new waves of media technology, from the telegraph to the internet, radically informed the dissemination of popular news and entertainment throughout the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, new styles of theoretical responses arose to meet the academic challenge. McLuhan, the prescient Canadian media analyst, was one of the first, perhaps the first, theorist to truly grasp the truth that media technology is not purely a vehicle transporting and disseminating information and ideas, rather its very mode and mechanics of transportation give the conveyed content meaning and purpose beyond that intended by authors or their cultural and/or political context. This effect was amusingly and effectively indicated by him and collaborator Quentin Fiore in the easily misread title of their cult book, *The Medium is the Massage*. (McLuhan and Fiore 1967)

Following McLuhan's insights, the profound effect of media technology on the 'message' and information conveyed became increasingly better appreciated and explored by north American academics, including Carey whose investigation of the introduction of the telegraph revised earlier notions of 'mass media'(Carey 1989: 53-67) cleared a pathway for Shirky and others to better appreciate the impact of the internet on journalism and other publishing 'gateways' two decades later. This investigation agrees with Shirky that the internet with its resultant social media and ease of self-publication and the self-selection of news agenda, is posing a fundamental challenge to the 'profession' of journalism. As he puts it:

> We've long regarded the newspaper as a sensible object because it has been such a stable one, but there isn't any logical connection between its many elements…what holds a newspaper together is primarily the cost of paper, ink, and distribution…The old bargain of the newspaper–world news lumped in with horoscopes and ads from the pizza parlor–has now ended.
> (Shirky 2008: Loc. 815)

Despite the absolutism of Shirky and others, however perceptively founded, the final publishing fate of British newspapers, and their tabloid content, is far from clear at the time of this work's writing. This thesis finds merit in the prediction of Bromley and Tumber that the internet 'may contain the potential for overcoming some of the uncertainties over the public sphere role of the 'news sheet' (Bromley and Tumber 1997: 376). Certainly the work of Thurman, who worked with the Bromley and Tumber at City, University of London's journalism department has since thrown serious doubt on the inevitability of the complete migration of newspapers to online platforms espoused by Shirky, since '[n]ewspapers are still overwhelmingly reliant on their print products for audience attention and revenue' (Thurman 2013: 21).

Brock and other practice-focused educators also convincingly challenge the 'end of journalism' landscape described by Shirky and others. Brock insists 'this does

not mean that 'print' will die' (Brock 2013: 142) and he graphically compares journalists' attempts to adapt to the Trickster-like internet landscape as 'throwing spaghetti at the wall' in order to test which techniques of reportage stick and which dribble to the floor (Ibid. 200). Brock argues that 'journalism' remains a distinctive process if it successfully achieves four 'core tasks': verification, sense-making, witness and investigation (Ibid. 201). This thesis, however, argues that an archetypally-driven, story-telling function transcending 'sense-making' is also required. Brock additionally astutely exposes the failures of the Leveson, Part I report (Leveson 2012) to grasp the enormity of the internet 'revolution' as it applies to journalism in general and UK national newspapers in particular. This investigation applauds his observation that

> [o]ne issue that Leveson barely touched is the degree to which any national law or regulation can now cover media headquarters outside Britain. While the inquiry was sitting, a senior executive of the Daily Mail speculated openly that if the inquiry restricted the newspaper unduly, the online operation would move its headquarters to New York.
>
> (Brock 2013: 189)

In Britain, media studies, firmly embedded in a sociological, and often post-Marxian, interpretive framework, continue to investigate journalism monolithically, as a social construction, with little, if any, attention given to its internal actors and their attendant psychologies, particularly those working in 'popular' news reporting. The investigation of the 'manufacture of news' by Hall et al. concludes axiomatically, 'The media do not simply and transparently report events which are "naturally" newsworthy in themselves. "News" is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systemic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories' (Hall et al. 1978).

Journalism studies itself, notably in Britain, cannot decide if it is in the business of training journalists, or of educating scholars in the phenomenon of journalism and this conflation is reflected in academic books about journalism. Scholarship on the subject can be divided broadly into three categories: theoretical, socio-historical and

instructional. Of course there is often overlapping between the categories. Some categorise and quantify almost every aspect of a news producing process except the motivation and psychology behind the choices and actions of individual journalists.

Even painstaking theoretical work like that of Conboy often appears not to grasp the psychological processes, typographical restrictions and team dynamics involved in putting a story together and the psychodynamic motivation of the reader's desire to consume it. It also sometimes appears unaware of some of the practical reasons for journalistic decisions to which it has ascribed other motivations. For example, Conboy undertakes an interesting investigation of 'familiar names' used by tabloid newspapers, particularly in their headlines. As part of a chapter entitled *Rhetorical Patterns of Tabloid Language*, he examines a story about the eccentric pop star Michael Jackson published in the UK's *Daily Star*, a popular redtop national newspaper, in 2004. Before reproducing the headline Conboy tells us

> Familiar names and nicknames are used in the tabloids as a bridge of familiarity, connecting readers to a world outside the confines of their lived experience…Such language reinforces the linkage between the tabloid news agenda and broader aspects of popular culture including television, film and popularity.
>
> (Conboy 2006: 22)

Conboy connects this 'intertextuality' with Dahlgren's analysis of the 'cultural discourse' of popular journalism (Dahlgren 1988: 51). In the view of this thesis, and its author who wrote headlines for tabloid newspapers for more than 30 years (and still does[60], Conboy considerably overestimates the concern, conscious or unconscious, of the headline writer (a sub-editor in this case), to form a textual bridge to her audience.

The dominant criterion for a headline writer on a UK redtop is to find words that fit the exacting typographical context within which she produces them; this almost always means the words have to be very short, often no more than five or six characters; hence 'Jacko' can be chosen where 'Michael' or 'Jackson' cannot. Sub-editors writing

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headlines on UK redtops do not choose the word 'Jacko' primarily because it resonates with their readers; they choose it because it fits the typography because they are not allowed to shrink typographically the prescribed type (Perry and Moorhead 2014: 39). Other criteria that must be observed are the avoidance of words breaking across two lines of type, and the avoidance of words appearing more than once in any headline on the page. Tabloid sub-editors often use the word 'rap' if they want to convey the idea of 'criticising'. However, they are under no illusion that 'rap' is a word that their readers use in everyday life. That would be absurd. They choose the word because of typographical restraints in the print medium. Such a reality is not mentioned by Conboy or others. This work acknowledges Conboy's useful social analysis of journalistic language but feels it would be improved by considering the points laid out here.

Breed's *Social Control in the Newsroom* is a rare attempt at studying journalists' internal processes, their 'socialization' (Breed 1955: 109) and political instincts. However, these journalists were working on American newspapers which were, in the main, of a 'serious' nature. Nonetheless, some of his observations set some important groundwork for cultural and media studies academics, and journalism scholars, to build upon later. He records that 'Newsmen [sic] define their job as producing a certain quantity of what is called 'news' every 24 hours. This is to be produced *even though nothing much has happened*.' (original italics) (Ibid. 113).

A welcome exception to the lack of practical experience and ensuing flawed analyses often displayed by journalism scholars is a by Zelizer, herself a former practitioner who, like myself, migrated to academia from a newspaper newsroom. I recognise the experience she describes here:

> When I arrived at the university – 'freshly expert' – from the world of journalism I felt like I'd entered a parallel universe. Nothing I read as a graduate student reflected the working world I had just left. Partial, often uncompromisingly authoritative, and reflective far more of the academic environments in which they'd been tendered than the journalistic settings they described, these views failed to capture the life I knew.

I agree with her that 'existing journalism scholarship has not produced a body of material that reflects all of journalism' and with her conclusion that 'rather, much existing scholarly work reflects only a portion of that which constitutes journalism and allows it to stand in for the whole' (Ibid. Loc. 175). Critiquing Dahlgren, she complains that '[i]n his view, journalism has been primarily defined in terms of only a small (and decreasing) dimension of news making—hard news, and this has created a bias that undermines scholars' capacity to embrace journalism in all of its different forms, venues, and practices'(Ibid.). Zelizer concludes that the 'metonymic bias of journalism studies also comes in part from the separation of the efforts of academics who study journalism, on the one hand, from those of journalism educators on the other' (Loc. 200). This thesis agrees with her, as she invokes Adam (1993) and Cottle (2000) to observe that

> informally, or perhaps even subconsciously, many of us have tended to accept social sciences, and particularly sociology, as the background field for conceptually considering journalism. But in adopting a sociological mode of explanation we may have cut ourselves off from other ways of knowing.
>
> (Zelizer 2004: Loc. 2120)

This investigation suggests that a post-Jungian approach is well-placed to identify the drive behind journalistic motivation and the archetypal nature of narratives employed.

Histories of journalism are as problematic as the academic subject itself. As Carey notes, 'The study of journalism history remains something of an embarrassment. Can it be justified as a form of knowledge, an entry in the curriculum, an activity to which one can usefully devote his professional life?' (Carey 1989: 89). It is not the purpose of this subchapter to provide a lifetime's study, rather it is intended to lead readers not steeped in journalism studies, on to an historical literary pathway which

will quickly take them to the co-subject of this thesis, contemporary UK tabloid journalism, while providing them with an opportunity to ingest some historico-cultural context where required. The writings of Williams provide such context, although, as Sparks notes 'this usually…infallible source on these matters contains a surprisingly limited discussion of 'the popular'' (Sparks 1992/2008: 238). Nonetheless, his thorough, relatively even-handed and comprehensive sweep through UK culture from 1780-1950 (Williams 1959) provides the ideal platform from which to dive into journalistic histories.

In his highly selective, but equally informative, critical history of journalism, Conboy engages with Habermas' theory of the public sphere (Conboy 1988: 44-83) discussed here earlier, and explains how commercial and technological developments in the West enabled journalists to become 'more respectable'(Ibid.: 124). Voices raised in defence of tabloid journalism as a constructive instrument of society are rare, particularly in Britain. Wasserman, referring to post-apartheid South Africa, has put forward a convincing case for tabloids encouraging 'the politics of the everyday' (Wasserman 2008: 24). However, even this advocate concedes that 'Not all the political work that tabloids do is constructive' (Ibid.: 30). He does, however, acknowledge the 'emergence and unprecedented success of tabloids' and urges critics within that country's mainstream media to move beyond 'professional ritual' and avoid 'simplistic binaries'. He argues that tabloids should be 'taken seriously' and not homogenised into the mainstream (Wasserman 2006: 74). The experience of this newly democratically transformed state is perhaps idiosyncratic; however it points a tentative finger at the democratising potential of the medium for other countries, even Britain.

A former UK broadsheet journalist, Carol Sarler sums up the 'nub of the snobbish industry opposition to tabloids' as the notion that

> [b]roadsheets are there to stimulate those capable of debate and of making up their own minds…while tabloids are there to exploit and to manipulate Common Man, the built-in assumption being that he is somehow less capable. There is a breathtaking, arrogant irony here. For it is the left-of-centre liberal, who most concerns himself with the enfranchisement and civil rights of Common Man, who is also least happy with Common Man's free vote on reading material. What is really going on, of course, is that his expression of contempt for the reading material is actually an expression of his underlying contempt for the reader himself.
>
> (Sarler 1999: 253)

Such a scathing insight is rare and Sarler, who went on to work on tabloid titles, accompanies it with an appreciation of the professionalism of tabloid journalism rarely publicly admitted by her then cohort of upmarket broadsheet journalists:

> To walk through the tabloid door, after fifteen years on 'the other side' is like being allowed to stay up late with the grown-ups. There is an absolute professionalism that is at once terrifying and exhilarating. All broadsheets have one or two bright sparks upon whose slender shoulders the product rests; tabloids are staffed by entire teams of bright sparks whose conversation – whose informed conversation – makes their company a joy.
>
> (Ibid.: 249)

No exploration of contemporary British culture would be complete without reference to Fiske. He perhaps more than any other investigator understands that 'popular culture in industrial societies is contradictory to its core' (Fiske 1989: 23); implicitly, this includes the popular culture of tabloid journalism. Fiske continues perceptively, and in terms that unwittingly invoke the Trickster principle,

> It is shot through with contradictions that escape control. Those who accuse it of being simplistic, of reducing everything to its most obvious points, of denying all the subtle complexity, all the dense texture of human sentiment and of social existence, are applying inappropriate criteria.
>
> (Ibid.: 120)

Fiske employs this insight to berate critics of the readers of American tabloid newspapers and magazines like *Weekly World News* whose headlines including *Alien Mummy Found* (Ibid.: 115) make UK tabloids appear staid by comparison. This front page of March 1988 he observes perceptively,

> is not an escapist fantasy bringing some unusual stimulation into the drabness of the everyday. Such a dismissive 'explanation' of sensationalism leaves one finally to the belief that those who find pleasure in it are essentially undiscriminating and have such blunted sensibilities that only the crassest, most exaggerated sensationalism can get through to them at all.
>
> (Ibid.)

Fiske stingingly suggests, with the full agreement of this thesis, that such a view 'may do much for the egos of those that hold it, but that does little to explain the popularity of such magazines in contemporary America' (Ibid.: 116).

2.3 Anthropologists, folklorists, mythologists

The body of work about Trickster examined here is predominantly of European and American origin, although the subject of these works is sometimes not, e.g. that of Pelton (Pelton 1980). Anthropologist Carroll tells us, 'More has probably been written about "tricksters" than about any other single category of character that appears in the myths and folktales of the world' (Carroll 1984: 105). Another anthropologist, Goldman, agrees, declaring that Trickster 'is a universal folklore figure that, unlike any other character in myth, has uniquely engaged anthropological attention'(Goldman 1998: 188). Levi-Strauss, the father of modern anthropology (Kuper 2009), rightly warns that the Trickster figure is 'problematic' (Levi-Strauss 1963/1968: 224). So, when collating and presenting this section of its literature review, this study remains mindful of the necessity of clearly defining and discriminating aspects of the subject and the various purposes and contexts of writings about it.

Lopez faithfully, and entertainingly, retells stories of the ubiquitous Coyote Trickster of Native American cultures and sub-cultures (Lopez 1990). However, unlike other, more scientific, writers e.g. Radin (1956, 1972) this author declares frankly, 'This is not a scholarly book' (Lopez 1990: xi). Nevertheless its content is no less relevant to this thesis, and so is included in its review. Trickster, personified in this case as Coyote, 'is not a scholarly character', Lopez warns (Ibid.), and has proved a challenging subject for the most robust of academics, often splitting opinions and triggering oppositional critiques. An illustrated book that, at first glance, appears 'non-scholarly', until the academically robust sourcing of the stories is revealed, includes

Trickster tales from around the world retold by folklorist Sherman. The first four textual page of this enshrine two aspects of Trickster that are at the heart of this investigation: 'The trickster! Oh, what fun it is to read or hear of the guy (or, sometimes, the gal) who pulls off a trick on the folks who are in charge of things – or who think they are! The trickster is present, deep down, in most of us.' (Sherman 1996: 9). Later, she writes that a West African Trickster '[s]ometimes…acts like a hero, but he can also be selfish and greedy' (Ibid.: 9). A book, whose illustrations indicate it is aimed at children, describes escapades of South American Trickster Pedro (Brusca 1995) whose wiliness has also been analysed by Samuels (Samuels 2015).

It is probable that the first person to identify Trickster in a surviving document, not just as a recurring cultural figure but as a category, was the American anthropologist and folklorist Brinton. Some argue that he did this as early as 1868 in his book *Myths of the New World* (Pelton 1980: 6), but, like Hyde, as reported by Hansen (Hansen 1989: Loc. 167), I can find no mention of the word trickster in that work. However, the May 1885 issue of *The American Antiquarian* published a three-page paper by Brinton entitled *The Chief God of the Algonkins, in His Character as a Cheat and Liar* and this does use the word trickster, in his description of the mythology of the Crees, one of the largest groups of First Nation (Canada)/Native American (USA) peoples in North America (Brinton 1885: 137).

Trickster's ambiguities and apparent self-contradictions are evident in the very first anthropological engagements described by Brinton in his commentary on a work by Leland (Leland 1884). The latter had examined the chief divinity of two tribes, the Micmacs and Penobscots, of the Algonquin Native American people of the USA's New England region (Brinton spells the word Algonkins). This heroic figure was confusingly called Gluskap The Liar in a translation provided by missionary Silas T.

Rand (Brinton 1885: 137), and Brinton describes the name Gluskap as appearing at first to be 'outrageously incongruous'. He suggests that a more linguistically accurate translation for Gluskap (or Glus-Gahbe) is 'word-breaker' or 'deceiver with words' adding 'this is but one of several, to our thinking, opprobrious names they [the Algonkin/Algonquin people] applied to their highest divinity, their National Hero, and the Reputed Saviour and Benefactor of their Race'. Brinton rejects Leland's suggestion that the sobriquet 'liar' (or word-breaker) is awarded by the Algonkins because, in legend, the Hero-God disappears promising to return, but never does, much like Britain's legendary King Arthur (Ibid.). Brinton does not attempt to 'solve' the riddle of this ambiguity, rather he appears to accept that it is an integral part of the hero-legend. This apparent conflict persists throughout anthropological and/or cultural investigations of Trickster until the present day. Another core Trickster characteristic highlighted in this early exploration is the importance of wordplay, characterised by the term 'deceiver with words' applied to Gluskap 'deceiver with words', which, this thesis argues, provides an informative link with the phenomenon of tabloid journalism.

After Brinton's intriguing initial exploration, ethnologists and other cultural and/or social anthropologists, particularly those working in the Americas (Gill and Sullivan 1992: 308), frequently used the term 'trickster' to describe folk figures existing in the myths and stories of indigenous peoples. The seeming ambiguity of the mythical character in its myriad forms, and the various folk stories surrounding it, triggered a profound and abiding conflict among theorists which can be summarised thus: Trickster figures are sometimes intelligent if crafty heroes and sometimes clownish buffoons blundering through life driven only by their base desires for sex and food (Carroll 1984). How can two such seemingly contradictory characterisations co-

exist within a single cultural entity, psychosocial principle or psychologem[61]? Klapp poses the key question: can Trickster truly be seen as a representation of a single principle or 'type' or is it a conflation of two, one stupid and aimless, the other crafty and purposeful? Klapp describes the second of those types as 'the clever hero' or 'rascals on the other side of the law' citing Robin Hood and Pancho Villa as examples. This kind of Trickster is 'upstart, rebel, lawbreaker, liar, thief and malefactor; and yet, in spite of being so—or perhaps because of this—he is a social force' (Klapp 1954: 21). The dichotomy is neatly encapsulated, and rigorously examined, in Carroll's *The Trickster as Selfish-Buffoon and Culture Hero* (Carroll 1984).

The 'buffoon or hero' conundrum presented in, and by, Trickster is illustrative of the mischievous creative power of the paradigm itself and thus, this thesis argues, answers its own question: it is the very 'impossibility' of the co-existence of two such polarities that, koan-like, empowers the archetypal principle. Brinton seeks to reconcile the two seemingly conflicting aspects of Trickster by viewing the buffoon figure of some Native American culture-stories of the north-west USA as 'debased' versions of original higher beings (Lowie 1909: 431). However, this assessment was not shared by that of two founding figures of modern anthropology who were among the first to follow Brinton into the ethnological fray presented by Trickster: Levi-Strauss and Boas. As early as 1898, Boas was pointing to the apparent paradox of Trickster that was to generate discussion throughout the following 100 years (Boas 1940/1961: 474 n471): does Trickster represent a culture (anti-)hero consciously helping humankind in its struggle to survive the vagaries of fate and the gods or does it represent that unconscious fool driven by selfish lust and triggering collateral outcomes, some positive, some negative?

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[61] '[A]n archetypal psychic structure of extreme antiquity' Jung C. G. (1954) On the Psychology of the Trickster-Figure. *CW 9i The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious.* (Par. 465)

Like this investigation, Boas initially sees no inherent contradiction in the perceived contrasts of Trickster's motivations, and, inadvertently, perfectly describes the post-modern anti-hero pervading late 20th and early 21st century popular culture, when he writes

> The identification of trickster and transformer is a feature which deserves special notice. I have called attention to the fact – borne out by most of the mythologies in which trickster and culture-hero appear as one person – that the benefactions bestowed by the culture-hero are not given in an altruistic spirit, but that they are means by which he supplies his own needs. Even in his heroic achievements he remains a trickster bent upon the satisfaction of his own desires.
> (Boas 1940/1961: 474)

Unlike Brinton, Boas does not see the ambiguity of Trickster as the result of debasement from a previously morally-superior hero myth. In fact, he claims it indicates a transitional phase of the Trickster's transformation into an unambiguous culture hero motivated by 'good': 'It was Boas' opinion that…[o]ut of this trickster, whose egotistical acts sometimes benefited mankind incidentally, there evolved with the progress of human thought the idea of a culture hero who brings good things to men intentionally' (Ricketts 1966: 329). Brinton's thesis was also challenged by other anthropologists including Radin, Lowie and Ricketts, (Goldman 1998: 188), the last of whom described the ambiguity of the Trickster function as 'one of the most perplexing problems confronting those who wish to understand the myths and folk tales of the North American Indians'. Consequently, he anointed the figure 'trickster-transformer-culture hero (or 'trickster fixer,' for short)' (Ricketts 1966: 327).

Levi-Strauss reinforced the importance of Trickster to structural anthropology by including an analysis of it in his first article on myth, written in 1955 (Carroll 1981: 302) and republished in a slightly different form in *Structural Anthropology* (Levi-Strauss 1963/1968). In this he sees Trickster, like all myths, as representing a progression 'from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution' (Levi-Strauss 1963/1968: 224) and goes on to theorise why many Trickster figures in indigenous

North American cultures are represented as a coyote or raven, both carrion-eating animals. This, he suggests, results from the antithesis of hunting and agriculture. He insists that Trickster's apparent contradictions can be seen in all powerful mythical figures.

> Not only can we account for the ambiguous character of the trickster, but we can also understand another property of mythical figures the world over, namely, that the same god is endowed with contradictory attributes – for instance, he may be good and bad at the same time.
> (Levi-Strauss 1963/1968: 227)

At least 20 years before Boas studied the Pueblo Native American communities of New Mexico, another ethnologist, Bandelier was living among them and learning about their secret societies, one of which was a collection of 'sacred clowns' whom he wrote about in his novel *The Delight Makers* first published in 1890 (Bandelier 1890/1971). Jung read the book and recalls it in his seminal work on Trickster (Jung 1954: par. 457), reviewed more fully in 2.4, which united him with two other important commentators on the archetype that he concluded the figure manifests: the cultural anthropologist Radin and the classicist Kerenyi.

Radin's book *The Trickster, A Study in American Indian Mythology* first published in 1956 (Radin 1956, 1972) includes contrasting commentaries from both Jung and Kerenyi and is an important link in the chain of Trickster investigation and debate stretching from turn-of-the-19th Century North American anthropology to turn-of-the 20th century post-Jungian depth-psychological critiques of contemporary cultural phenomena. Radin, a student of Boas, was, inevitably, profoundly influenced by Levi-Strauss who also studied the Winnebago people of Nebraska and Wisconsin with whom Radin's book is concerned. In the view of this thesis, the book sets the scene for the next important work on the subject and one which, unusually for its time, is focused firmly outside the Americas and Europe, *The Trickster in West Africa, A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight* by Pelton (Pelton 1980)

The introduction of Kerenyi's classical expertise marks a critical step in this journey of Trickster from its recognition as a Native American socio-anthropologically identified phenomenon to a developed psychosocial theory, a journey that this study aims to progress. Kerenyi was an inspired choice to accompany Radin's insightful work, illuminating the function of Trickster with his knowledge of Greek mythology, particularly that of Hermes, the tricky Olympian communicator. Kerenyi reports how classical audiences, just like Winnebago listeners, enjoyed Trickster's disdain of boundaries. He notes that the nature of the Winnebago Trickster is

> inimical to all boundaries…open in every direction…he does not even observe the boundaries of sex. His inordinate phallicism cannot limit itself to one sex alone…he cunningly contrives to become a bride and mother-for the sake of the wedding feast and also, no doubt, for the fun of it.
>
> (Kerenyi 1956/1972: 188)

Kerenyi cuts straight to the heart of the Trickster riddle – by then splitting scholars for over half a century—by insisting Hermes is *not* the same Trickster as the Winnebago's because, while equally disdainful of boundaries, he is not 'a spirit of disorder'(Ibid.: 189). Kerenyi's sense of classical order, like some of the ethnologists who had preceded him, could not countenance this paradox existing at the heart of a single psychologem. As explained, this investigation disagrees with his conclusion.

Pelton's informative and original study of West African Trickster figures, Makarius' earlier work on that continent (Makarius 1993) and Ellwood's examination of the Japanese figure of Susa-no-no (Ellwood 1993) are examples of theorists extending Trickster scholarship beyond Europe and the Americas. However, it is the view of this investigation that this internationalisation has done little to unite and rationalise the various theories and interpretations of the phenomenon. Babcock-Abrahams (Babcock-Abrahams 1975) makes one of the earliest attempts in the latter 20th century to categorise Trickster characteristics, followed by the provision of a

useful theoretical overview by Hynes and Doty (Hynes and Doty 1993b). Pelton's chapter 'toward a theory of the Trickster' (Pelton 1980: 223-284) gets closer to achieving a comprehensive definition of Trickster, before Bassil-Morozow's theoretical constructions in (2012) and (2015) take on the task, employing a framework that reaches far beyond the concepts, and language, of Jungian depth psychology, leaving the 'confines' of the archetypal to embrace the insights of sociology and anthropology. In the opinion of this thesis, Pelton's chapter fails to complete the task, as its title suggests, and Bassil-Morozow's embracing of multiple theoretical frameworks, whilst exhilarating, leaves the more psychoanalytically focused reader running to catch up with the myriad sources she stirs into her exploratory pot from outside the field of depth psychology. One is reminded of Pelton's examination of Trickster as a 'structuralist cog' (Pelton 1980: 236). However, despite, or perhaps because of, the scholastic 'reaching out' of Bassil-Morozow and others, it is predominantly post-Jungians who have pursued Trickster into the 21st century and, at the time of writing, continue to unpeel the multiple facets of its function.

2.4 Jung and post-Jungians

On 10 April 1954, Jung told Dominican priest Father Victor White, unequivocally and in English, that the figure of Trickster *is* the collective shadow (Jung 1976: 163). He was responding to an earlier letter from the cleric refuting Jung's views on Christ's shadow which, according to Catholic doctrine, cannot exist (Ibid.). It is clear from the construction of Jung's letter that he wanted a short phrase to encapsulate the concept of Trickster while informing Father White of Radin's new book on the subject and his contribution to it (Radin 1956, 1972). His choice of the term 'shadow' to sum up his view of Trickster's over-riding characteristic can reasonably be taken as an indication

of his feeling about the principle, i.e. that it is a manifestation of a collective, autonomous, inferior psychic component.

Lest there be any doubt of Jung's assessment of the shadow (and, by extension, of Trickster), he employs fiercely negative language when associating the term with the figure of Hitler who 'represented the shadow, the inferior part of everybody's personality' (Jung 1946: par. 454). However, even this damning evaluation attributes to Hitler (and, by extension, to the shadow and therefore to Trickster) the potentially positive and creative function of intuition which the Nazi fuehrer expressed as a failed fine arts academy candidate (Kershaw 1998: 38). Later Jung elaborates on 'the moral problem' of the shadow, explaining that self-knowledge is unattainable without consciously recognising the process at work within (Jung 1951a: par. 14). Crucially, he identifies the emotional and autonomous nature of the shadow and, by extension, of Trickster (Ibid.: par. 15).

Apart from briefly referring to Satan as Trickster, a 'spoilsport who loves nothing better than to cause annoying accidents' (Jung 1952a: par. 619), and linking the figure with the alchemical figure of Mercurius (Jung 1934/1954: par. 456), Jung's work explicitly about Trickster is disappointingly confined to his seminal essay *On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure* published as part of Radin's Der Gottliche-Schelm (The Divine Prankster) (Radin 1956, 1972). This work, re-presented in Jung's *Collected Works* under *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, expands and reinforces the definition of Trickster he gave Father White:

> [T]rickster is a collective shadow figure, a summation of all the inferior traits of character in individuals. And since the individual shadow is never absent as a component of personality, the collective figure can construct itself out of it continually. Not always, of course, as a mythological figure, but, in consequence of the increasing repression and neglect of the original mythologems, as a corresponding projection on other social groups.
>
> (Jung 1954: par. 484)

Apart from those already mentioned here, there are no explicit references to the term in any other published works by Jung. However, he does at least implicitly discuss the nature of the principle in 'The Spirit of Mercurius', given as two lectures at the Eranos Conference in Switzerland in 1942. Here, while recounting for a symposium on Hermes the folk story of the 'spirit in the bottle' collected by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm[62] he reaffirms his view that such fairy tales can be viewed as 'spontaneous statements of the unconscious about itself' (Jung 1943/1948: par. 240). Furthermore, he observes of Hermes, that 'this many-hued and wily god did not by any means die with the decline of the classical, but on the contrary has gone on living in strange guises through the centuries' (Ibid.: par. 239)

Jung views Trickster as a negative archetypal principle in a compensatory relationship to the 'saint' (Ibid.: par. 458) but, beyond that, rather than developing a comprehensive theory of the principle, he distils his insights about it within his general theory, or non-theory, of archetypes. This is consistent with his repeated emphasis that his general formulations about archetypes, and the archetypal, are 'tentative' (Hobson 1974: 68), and that he is concerned with 'disclosing a wide field of obscure and unexplored experience' (Ibid.) rather than comprehensively defining the Trickster paradigm. Thankfully, a small but perceptive group of contemporary post-Jungians identified the potency of the Trickster principle, perhaps in part influenced by the spiritual disenchantment of the late 20th and early 21st century rather than the romantic period that preceded Jung's birth, and which still suffused much of the culture in which he was immersed.

The first post-Jungian into the Tricksterish fray was Willeford, a professor of literature with a BA in anthropology who graduated from the C.G. Jung Institute in

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[62] Grimms' Fairy Tales is a collection of German folk stories first published in 1812. The version used by this thesis is Grimm J. and Grimm W. (1976) *The Complete Grimm's Fairy Tales,* New York: Pantheon.

Zurich to become a Jungian analyst. He was taught by Marie-Louise von Franz and, in turn, taught mythology and fairy tales (Davis 2010: 1). A book based on his doctoral thesis examining the figure of the Fool was published in 1969 (Willeford 1969), approximately midway between the anthropologically-based investigations of Radin and Pelton (reviewed in 2.3). Willeford was deemed to have written the 'definitive work on the subject' of Trickster in contemporary analytical psychology (Samuels et al. 1986: 153). However, he only explicitly associates Fool with Trickster briefly, although his descriptions of the former (Willeford 1969: 11, 132-133, 228) echo those of the latter already made by the time of publication, or about to be made. Willeford identifies the Fool as occupying a 'mysteriously ambiguous position on the borderline between good and evil, order and chaos, reality and illusion, existence and nothingness' (Ibid.: 228). Despite the explorations of the archetype by Jung himself (Jung 1954) and others working in a broadly post-Jungian field, including Bassil-Morozow (Bassil-Morozow 2015), it is the judgement of this investigation that no 'definitive' examination of the principle has yet been undertaken within that field.

It is noteworthy that Willeford's rare, explicit mentions of Trickster cut straight to the heart of the dichotomy identified by Ricketts and others and introduced in 2.3: is Trickster one principle or two; can selfish buffoon and crafty culture hero co-exist in one expression? Willeford (perhaps donning his anthropologist's hat) sees the dichotomy representing the attitudinal difference of monotheism and polytheism:

> Hermes in Greece, Loki in northern Europe, Maui in Polynesis, and Raven, Bluejay, Coyote, and Old Man in Indian North America are some of the many gods who have played pranks and caused laughter. Though their ethical sense in much weaker than their appetites, such tricksters often institute customs and bestow other blessings. Within the polytheistic societies in which these figures have arisen, their anticultural behaviour and its culture-serving effects are accepted as single whole. In monotheistic societies in which, on the other hand, the tendency that has made one god of many (or kept one god from dividing into many) rules out this kind of acceptance of the trickster, who is felt to raise problems of understanding, faith, and morals.
>
> (Willeford 1969:Ibid.)

Willeford's identification of exaggerated sexuality as a characteristic of the Fool (Ibid.: 12) is equally telling.

Characteristically, among post-Jungians, it took Samuels, the coiner of that term, to revisit troublesome Trickster and attempt to make some meaning of the meaning-maker within the context of analytical psychology and its broader cultural associations. However, the publication of his insight was preceded by five years by Beebe's excellent examination of Trickster in art (Beebe 1981). The very last line of that paper encapsulates exactly Trickster's contested role as culture hero: 'In a work of art the trickster succeeds in shocking or confusing us out of our complacency, he does this that we may see anew and thereby manage to survive the world.' (Ibid.: 54) In looking at Trickster figures, notably those among the Winnebego, Samuels, intuits the importance of the mythologem, tantalisingly concluding that it 'represents psyche itself', and thus begins a conversation within the Jungian community that has continued until the time of writing. Several years later in his exploration of the political Trickster he is the first to see in Hermes the archetypal symbol of modern 'information culture' and in all things representative of 'the pattern of our particular socioeconomic epoch' (Samuels 1993: 89). The central dichotomy of Trickster—is this principle calculated or clumsy?—is not addressed head-on by Samuels. However, in applying the Hermes story to capitalism his observation could equally apply to popular journalism: 'Hermes speaks for both the inequitable, unjust cheating side–and the creative, transformative, compassionate side of the market' (Ibid.: 102).

In 1993, psychiatrist and mythologist Chinen hailed Tricksters as 'the stuff of men's lives' (Chinen 1993: 73) and, correctly, assessed the principle as 'post-heroic' (Ibid. : 9) differing 'in basic ways from the sociopath and the savage' (Ibid.: 63), with manifestations such as Odysseus 'consciously acknowledging the shadow' (Ibid.: 66).

Hermes' characteristic riddling wordplay and anti-heroic snubbing of authority (Doty 1993a), provides an intriguingly appropriate model for 20th century story-telling, which was identified by Jungian Lopez-Pedraza and applied to a pre-eminent, living Trickster of that century in his chapter 'A Tale of Homer and Picasso' (Lopez-Pedraza 1977: Loc. 1918-2213). However, it is Samuels who points out the principle's activity within the jungle of modern culture and politics, and, as importantly, who connects the archetype with, perhaps, its most fruitful contemporary manifestation: the female Trickster (Samuels 1993: 95). Tannen (Tannen 2007) explores more fully this feminine 'terra incognita' sketched by Samuels (Samuels 1993: 96), while also acknowledging the identification by Rowland (Rowland 2002) of how 'a reconnection with the goddesses of memory can heal', which Tannen regards as synonymous with her own perspective 'regarding the virgin energy returning to the postmodern world in the guise of the female Trickster' (Tannen 2007: 75).

Rowland characterises Jung himself as a 'Trickster writer' (Rowland 2006) and, while acknowledging his 'well-documented misogyny' (Rowland 2002: 67), describes mythology as a 'means of connecting individual psychic experience of gender to Jung's work and to the wider culture' (Ibid.: 69). In her identification of a 'postmodern Jungian feminism' (Ibid.: 151), Rowland cites work by a list of 'key authors' (Ibid.: 65) who are all women. They include Woodman (Woodman 1985), Qualls-Corbett (Qualls-Corbett 1988) and Bolen (Bolen 1984). Therefore, this work judges it relevant to note that some of the most informative post-Jungian explorations of Trickster, particularly of its culturally subversive postmodern female manifestations, have also been by women.

Jungian psychoanalyst McNeely characterises 'Trickster woman' as Sophia, Soul of Yahweh; Lilith, Soul of Satan; Melusina, Soul of Mercurius and Earth Woman,

Soul of Coyote (McNeely 1996: 105-147). However, these figures remain dogged by patriarchal stereotyping; the full disruptive potency of the feminine in Trickster fails to manifest itself in them. Tannen identifies 'a different attitude' in the 'postmodern female Trickster', in which its energy is not confined to expressions within marriage and procreation (Tannen 2007: 188-189). Waddell perceptively traces the female Trickster through television sitcoms including *Absolutely Fabulous* (Saunders and French 1992-2012) in which traditional stereotyping of motherhood and marriage is turned on its head' (Tannen 2007: 181).

Of those chroniclers of the postmodern Trickster who fall broadly into a post-Jungian category, it is Bassil-Morozow who most effectively addresses the paradigm's theoretical challenge. This author, who describes herself as a 'cultural philosopher' (Bassil-Morozow 2015: Loc. 17), undertook the first academically considered attempt to construct a comprehensive theory of Trickster since the unconsummated bid by Pelton. Firstly, she examines the principle in contemporary films (Bassil-Morozow 2012) and then, more broadly, in contemporary culture (Bassil-Morozow 2015). Like some of the earlier anthropologists described, and along with their largely Native American subjects, she is completely comfortable with the ambiguity at the heart of the unintended meaning making of Trickster. She displays her understanding of the principle by lauding its ambiguous efforts as 'both ludicrous and heroic' (Bassil-Morozow 2012: 23), and, to give that ambiguity cultural context, she invokes another anthropologist's understanding of the liminoid[63], describing it as 'an inevitable by-product of modernity and its preoccupation with individualism' (Ibid. 58). Bassil-Morozow adduces what Jung does not, an intrinsic connection between Trickster and

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[63] 'Liminal' expresses the transitional process of moving from one state to another, often expressed in a rite de passage formally practised in many societies. By contrast, 'liminoid' phenomena, although transitional 'tend to be more idiosynchratic, quirky, to be generated by specific names [sic] individuals and in particular groups…[t]heir symbols are closer to the personal-psychological than to the "objective-social"' Turner V. (1982) *From Ritual to Theatre*, New York: PAJ Publications. (Page 54.)

the individuating process in which the principle plays an 'important part' (Ibid.: 22).

Without falling into the trap of compromising Trickster's necessary amoral ambiguity,

she compares cultural expression of the principle to an image of 'heroic consciousness

fighting with its seeming inhuman instincts of becoming oneself in a complex

modern/postmodern world' (Ibid.: 23).

As far as journalism is concerned, tabloid or otherwise, Jung did not engage

with it in any publication or correspondence located by this investigation. There is no

reference to the word journalism in the *Collected Works* and only one to 'journalists'.

Characteristically, that single reference is full of tantalising insight ahead of an age

where news media becomes such an integral part of most individuals' lives in the

'developed' world, however subliminally ingested. Jung's brief and disdainful

observation is that 'Zeus no longer rules Olympus but rather the solar plexus, and

produces curious specimens for the doctor's consulting room, or disorders the brains

of politicians and journalists who unwittingly let loose psychic epidemics on the world'

(Jung 1929: par. 54).

Similarly, post-Jungians have largely failed to engage with the phenomenon of

modern news media. Bassil-Morozow's chapter on 'The Media Trickster' (2015: 133-

155) explores aspects of information media in general, briefly accessing (Ibid.: 149)

issues of social media via the work of Charles (Charles 2012), and invoking (2015:

144) an investigation of celebrity undertaken with me during my doctoral research

(Bassil-Morozow and Anslow 2014), a collaboration which informed the conclusion

that the Trickster paradigm might usefully be applied to the Leveson Inquiry (Bassil-

Morozow 2015: 187). The case study Bassil-Morozow and I employ in our

investigation of celebrity is that of Diana, Princess of Wales, and it is this public figure

who, a year after her death in a car crash, had prompted the most comprehensive,

explicitly post-Jungian, commentary on a news-related phenomenon: *When a Princess Dies*, edited by Haynes and Shearer (1998). Haynes says of the outpouring of public grief after the death that '[o]ne of the most extraordinary facets of this national mourning process has been the declaration of the People that they felt, not as if but that they concretely knew Diana.' (Haynes 1998: 26). Samuels writes of readers being thrown into the 'archetypal realm' by the intensity of their emotions (Samuels 1998: 43), and in an examination of 'collective masks' Papadopoulos concludes that Diana's confessions of her various psychological weaknesses 'instead of bringing her down from stardom…made the public love her more' (Papadopoulos 1998: 63).

Hockley (2007) and Hauke (2000) apply the prism of analytical psychology to other media content, including films and television shows. However, the omission of news media from the post-Jungian research agenda, with the limited exceptions discussed is this subchapter, is surprising when so many other cultural phenomena have had a Jungian light shone on them from von Franz's deconstruction of fairy tales onwards (Franz 1995).

Concluding remarks

This review has sought relevant writings about Trickster and British tabloid journalism, particularly those employing a post-Jungian, or more broadly depth-psychological, perspective. It has included writing which it felt constructively provided a broader cultural and/or social context for those two subjects. Its selective examination of analyses of contemporary press and media issues incorporated societal and historical experts in the field, and its parallel exploration of Trickster commentaries interrogated critiques from anthropology and depth psychology. It concludes that internal motivations and dynamics of contemporaneous British popular newspaper journalism remain relatively unexplored by cultural analysts, and almost completely ignored by

post-Jungian writers. No work by the latter explicitly examines a connection between Trickster and tabloids, nor, in any other way, attempts to assess the British redtop phenomenon. This review concludes, therefore, that the study undertaken in this thesis is unique among publications available at the time of writing.

CHAPTER THREE: INVESTIGATION I

Trisecting the British tabloid paradigm

This is the first of a pair of chapters, each of which investigates one of the two primary subjects of this work: Chapter Three explores the paradigm of contemporaneous popular British newspaper journalism exemplified by that of *The Sun* and Chapter Four examines the archetypal Trickster principle. The findings from each of these chapters are compared for analysis in Chapter Five. As already outlined the term paradigm is employed here to embrace multiple dimensions of early 21st century UK tabloid journalism and its manifestations. To facilitate the investigation, that paradigm is divided into three categories: its product, its practice and its impact as a socio-political and cultural phenomenon. The term paradigm is not typically applied to UK tabloid journalism, although it has been used to describe the version of the tradition extant in the USA (Krajicek 1998: 203). In Australia, a journal article's introduction, interestingly entitled 'In search of the Tabloid Heart', usefully describes 'a tabloid dialectic in which a complex feedback loop interactively configures and reconfigures media and society' (Rowe 2000: 78).

The tabloid dialectic investigated by this work is that pertaining to British national popular newspapers shortly before, and at the time, of writing. *The Sun* is used as an exemplar for two reasons, firstly because, in the identified period, it was the product with the biggest print circulation and, along with its discontinued sister newspaper the *News of the World* (BBC 2011a), had a large, perhaps the biggest, impact on UK societal discourse, as indicated by the events and public discussion preceding and during the Leveson Inquiry, Part I of 2011-2012[64]. The wide circulations of British

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[64] This assessment results from a comprehensive reading of the report of the Leveson Inquiry (Part 1) freely available on the website of the UK National Archive at webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140122145147/http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/hc1213/hc07/0780/0780.asp (Retrieved 4 November 2014.)

tabloid newspapers, of which *The Sun*'s was pre-eminent, 'seemed to give them authority in representing key swathes of public opinion, and they played a crucial role in setting the tone of popular culture' (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 21). This investigation's second reason for choosing *The Sun* as an exemplar is that I have prolonged experience of its internal dynamics[65].

3.1 The product: archetypal tales in redtopped caskets

This subchapter investigates the underlying nature of the content generated by British tabloids as characterised by *The Sun*. I and another journalist-cum-academic, or 'hackademic' (Hewitt 2014), Lule (2001), have argued separately that the nature of newspaper content is mythologically driven. Unlike Lule, I explicitly evoke the Jungian concepts of the archetypal and the collective unconscious in my discourse, and focus on UK tabloid newspapers (Anslow 2002). For the purpose of this investigation, contemporary British tabloid product is divided into two, interrelated categories: firstly, the nature of subjects prioritised for coverage and the choice of words used to disseminate them and, secondly, the effects and affect of techniques used to project those subjects within an organically designed 'redtop' package comprising body text, images and headlines.

The word tabloid is derived from a patented term, coined from tablet, representing compacted medicine, the meaning of which became figurative as early as 1884 when Burroughs, Wellcome & Co. registered the term with a capital T for their easily swallowed and digested remedies. Common and 'sometimes humorous' usage of the word, with a small T, leaked into the language, retaining meaning associated with the easily assimilated 'compressed or concentrated form of the drugs sold by the firm under the name' (Simpson and Weiner, vol. 17: 520) Within a journalistic context,

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[65] Appendix A.

the word's etymological associations underline the purpose of condensing news and information into a digestible form. Hence, in that context, a tabloid is

> A small-format newspaper, as opposed to a broadsheet [a large format employed, for example, by Britain's Daily Telegraph] or Berliner [employed by Britain's Guardian]: the standard tabloid page is 430mm by 280mm. Traditionally the tabloid press has been associated with popular and/or mid-market journalism focusing on sensationalism, scandal, sport and sex…Popular tabloid journalism tends to privilege celebrity or entertainment-driven material over more serious news, big headlines over background analysis, and pictures over text…all of which contributes to them selling more copies than the so-called quality press.
>
> (Harcup 2014: 296)

As Harcup indicates, the term tabloid, when related to newspapers, conveys a much broader meaning than its purely typographical one. Newspapers with a reputation for carrying 'more serious news' such as *The Times* are tabloid in their physical format, but would claim not to be so in their journalism, which is why they choose to describe themselves as compact (Ibid.: 62). In a comparable semantic migration, the term tabloid is now used adjectivally to describe content published beyond the realms of printed newspapers: Langer reminds us that the term has extended into television to describe sexually-charged documentaries and 'reality' shows about celebrities (Langer 1998: 1, passim).

The term has also embedded itself in the evolving landscape of digitalised journalism. It is, perhaps, an irony of technology, history and language that, at the time of writing, *The Sun* produces a version of its daily printed edition designed to give paying readers access on their 'tablet devices' (Sun 2015b). Celebrity-focused websites, either associated with a print newspaper, like *MailOnline*,[66] or not, like *tmz.com*,[67] can also appropriately be designated tabloid because their content reflects people's general understanding of the word. *MailOnline* is produced by the owners of the *Daily Mail*, which has Britain's second biggest print circulation at the time of

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[66] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/index.html Retrieved 28 April 2016.

[67] http://www.tmz.com Retrieved 28 April 28 2016.

writing (Ponsford 2016a). It became the biggest English-language newspaper website in the world in 2014 with 55.8 million unique users (Sweney 2014), and matches all tabloid criteria apart from those relating to the physical construction and dimensions of the publishing vehicle: it concentrates on sexually-charged stories, celebrity news and, often salacious, crime. According to Greenslade, most people, particularly in Britain and the USA, read it for its 'sidebar of shame', the section at the side of its home page displaying showbusiness gossip, often of a sexual nature, thus indicating that 'celebrity gossip, pictures of scantily clad women and so on are big sellers' (Jones 2014).

For the reasons outlined, when this study employs the word tabloid, it means condensed, factually-based (i.e. not deliberately fictional) textual and/or visual content, often, but not exclusively, about sport, sex, crime and celebrities, sensationally presented on multiple technological platforms, including traditional newsprint, television and radio and multimedia internet outlets. The phrase 'tabloid journalism' reflects the methods and culture of the agents producing tabloid products. It is important to note that it is specifically the British version of this tradition that is being examined. In 2006 Conboy writes that British tabloid newspapers

> are now identified as drawing upon and amplifying all the following features and popular journalism down the years: sensationalism, emotive language, the bizarre, the lewd…cheque book journalism, gossip, police news, marriage and divorce, royal news, celebrities, political bias and any form of prurience which can be including under the general heading of human interest.   (Conboy 2006: 12)

Sparks notes that the tabloid tradition 'devotes relatively much attention to the personal and private lives of people, both celebrities and ordinary people' (Sparks 2000: 10). However, research undertaken by this study shows that celebrity subjects, rather than the lives of 'ordinary people' provide the splashes (main front page stories) for 29 of the 52 *Sun on Sundays* [68] published in 2014. Seven of those celebrity splashes

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[68] The title given to the Sunday edition of the newspaper, in part to distinguish its circulation figures from those of its weekday counterpart.

concern television soap stars, which this research categorises as a sub-genre, and six

feature reality-show participants, another sub-genre. The subjects of the other splashes

(fewer than half) in what was then Britain's biggest selling Sunday newspaper (ABC),

were news (11), sport (8) and politics (4). The sexual nature of the content emphasised

in the text of each splash, celebrity or otherwise, is indicated by the number of times

the word sex, or an associated term (e.g. Fig. 3)[69], appears in the splash headline: 27 in

all [70].

Figure 3 Front page of *Sun on Sunday*, 9 November 2014

This indication of celebrity content, and the digital supremacy of the *MailOnline* whose

content is celebrity led, indicates the overarching importance of this subject area to the

21st century tabloid paradigm. It is celebrity content, therefore, that this study identifies

as a definitive characteristic of contemporary UK tabloid content.

[69] Page 97.
[70] Appendix A..

Brock accurately identifies humour as being another key component of tabloid content, and claims the 'mixture of silly and serious' no longer works (Brock 2014). However, characterising the intrinsic humour of tabloid product and practice as 'silly' underestimates the importance of that ingredient to its subject: without humour there can be no British tabloids, and certainly no *Sun*. When I first joined that newspaper in 1979, the night editor[71] Roy Pittilla, described as a 'mainstay' of the newspaper's back-bench[72] for over 25 years (Greenslade 2004: 251), took me to one side and told me how important it was that all reporters' facts should be checked and double-checked by sub-editors. But he added emphatically, 'We like our readers to smile.' He explained how crucial it was that readers had 'fun' when they bought the newspaper. Pittilla was not the first journalist on a popular newspaper to have that insight: 134 years earlier, the first edition of the Sunday newspaper that was to become *The Sun*'s sister in 1969, launched with a headline in column six of its front page simply saying, 'Jokes'. (NoW 1843)

Tabloid journalism's sense of fun, far from being 'silly' continues to be taken seriously by the producers of Britain's biggest-selling newspaper at the time of writing. *The Sun*'s front page splash headlines often attract criticism, but it is their humour, sometimes witty, sometimes crude, often both, that frequently makes them memorable. Examples of this are *Stick it up your Junta* (Sun 1982b) published in 1982 after reports that Argentina was about to offer Britain a negotiated settlement ahead of the Falklands War (Chippindale and Horrie 2013: Loc. 2165) and *Paddy Pantsdown* (Sun 1992c) after the then leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats Paddy Ashdown admitted an affair with his former secretary. This thesis concludes that any attempt to produce

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[71] The senior executive reporting to the Editor and in charge of producing a UK national newspaper (knowledge from my own practice (Appendix I).
[72] A term used by British newspaper journalists for senior executives running the newspaper on any given night (knowledge from my own practice, (Appendix I).

popular news-based, textual journalism without humour that is transgressive and provocative, politically, culturally and/or sexually, is doomed to fail. It has been suggested that initiatives by Hugh Cudlipp (influential editor in chief of the Mirror Group of tabloid newspapers in the 1950s and 1960s) to move the *Daily Mirror* (then Britain's biggest-selling daily title) up-market made a key contribution to the launch and success of Murdoch's *Sun* in 1969 (Greenslade 2004: 216). In that year, Murdoch met prospective *Sun* editor Larry Lamb to discuss launching a redtop rival to the *Daily Mirror* and '[C]rucially, both were…critical of Cudlipp's attempt to move the paper up-market by including overtly educative features. They were scathing about a page called *Mirrorscope*, a 'sincere attempt at instructive journalism' (Ibid.). 'Overtly educative' implies content that *Daily Mirror* working-class readers would find boring and lacking in humour. The assessment was prescient: within nine years of that 1969 conversation *The Sun* had overhauled the *Daily Mirror* as Britain's biggest-selling newspaper (Williams 2010: 197).

The succession of *The Sun* confirmed the historical evidence that, in Britain at least, 'serious' tabloids do not succeed: they are oxymoronic, with the important qualification that 'serious' in this usage applies to the tenor and style of presentation, not, necessarily, to the nature of the content or information being communicated. More evidence of this self-defeating mode of journalism can be gained by noting that Murdoch's *Sun* was launched as a replacement for a failed, and more dour, namesake which, in turn, had replaced the trade-union inspired *Daily Herald* (Greenslade 2004: 214) Greenslade correctly observes that this *Sun* 'had never fulfilled the sociologists' dreams. It had neither held its traditional trades union readership nor found a new audience.' (Ibid.) A later project with a vision of combining concise news stories, large images and impactful headlines in a somehow socially 'worthy' style—that perhaps

would have pleased the sociologists to whom Greenslade refers—also failed disastrously. The *News on Sunday* proclaimed 'We Have a Dream' in an editorial headline in its first edition (Chippindale and Horrie 1998: 168). The editorial trumpeted that it was a newspaper 'committed to equality, justice and freedom' (Ibid.). McNair records the lead-up to the ill-fated tabloid's birth:

> In the second half of 1986 plans were announced for the long-awaited launch of a popular newspaper with a left-wing editorial policy – the first such to be established since the Daily Worker in 1930…the paper would be launched with £6.5 million raised from the trade unions, sympathetic local councils and businesses.
>
> (McNair 1999: 158)

The serious-minded Sunday tabloid launched in April 1999 and closed in November of the same year (B.L. 1999). Failings of its corporate structure and political infighting among the largely middle-class, politically left of centre 'right-ons' were given as the main reason for its demise (Chippindale and Horrie 1998: 223-232). This thesis believes Chippindale and Horrie accurately point to the core problem: its 'earnestness' and, by extension, lack of humour accessible to its targeted working-class readers. This was evidenced by the belated, but successful, attempt by the newspaper's executive committee to get their initial advertising slogan 'no tits but a lot of balls' replaced after the founders thought it 'sexist and vulgar' (Greenslade 2004: 495). Chippindale and Horrie conclude, correctly:

> [F]or all that News on Sunday masqueraded as the 'People's Paper', [it] was essentially the concerned and middle-class approach-the earnest and deeply held belief that 'the people' (who invariably only appeared as dots on market-research charts) were crying out for a paper like theirs. [The editor] Alan Hayling's muddled brief for News on Sunday said: 'Today too many people despair of the popular press', They do, but the despairers tend to be the middle classes who don't read the pops.
>
> (Chippindale and Horrie 1998: 225-226)

This thesis suggests that the journalistic alchemy *News on Sunday* was so keen to co-opt for its project cannot be extracted from its cultural and class bedrock; the projection of textually consumed 'tabloid' content, whether in printed newspapers and magazines or in online editions of those newspapers, or other internet platforms (e.g.

BuzzFeed[73] and *MailOnline*) is a blended admixture of words, images and headlines presented within the cultural paradigm that is partly 'celebrity' and partly hyperbole tacitly accepted and discounted by the reader. As *Sun* assistant art director Jonathan Roe, also a trained textual journalist, observes

> I like the way you could see the story on the shelf [in a shop or store]…you don't have to read the intro [the article's first paragraph] you can see that from the headline, you can see that from the picture…and you know that the story was the story of the day that everyone was going to be talking about…it's got to hit you straight away.[74]

Sun assistant chief sub-editor Jo Porter further describes the complementary elements of a tabloid, 'I try and really pare things back as much as possible and let the design and headlines do the talking'.[75]

The observations of Roe and Porter are made with passion and emotion that, at times, seems visceral to this observer. As a practitioner, I share their journalistic perspective, which acknowledges imagery and projection as much as textual information. This attitude characterises the tabloid journalist and, based on my long years working on Fleet Street, (both actual and figurative), can be observed only to a much smaller degree among their broadsheet counterparts. This merging of text and imagery is the hallmark of redtop fame and infamy. A notorious example was *The Sun*'s placing a Labour leader, unfavoured by the newspaper, in a light bulb ahead of the 1992 General Election alongside a headline stating, *If Kinnock wins today will the last person to leave Britain please turn out the lights* (Sun 1992a) (Fig. 4)[76].

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[73] https://www.buzzfeed.com (Retrieved 4 May 2016.)
[74] Appendix B.
[75] Appendix B.
[76] Page 102.

Figure 4   Front page of *Sun* 9 April 1992

The words in the headline flow perfectly around the shape of the bulb in a bespoke arrangement that would not work for another news subject. Despite this unique partnership of imagery and text to project news on print, *The Sun* and other UK tabloids unambiguously give the word as evidenced by the advice *The Sun* gives its headline writers, emphasising that neither humour nor imagery should obscure the fundamental task of every storyteller: 'If possible, tell the story. Your first thought should not be the rib-tickling pun or the headline that rhymes. It should be "what is the story"?' (Perry and Moorhead 2014: 38). Guidelines by a rival tabloid company to its production staff urge more prosaically, 'The headline sells the news…[The] headline gives the main point as accurately and succinctly as possible. Bland and unspecific words (alert, probe, services, council, facilities, etc) are not words that will attract the reader' ("Headline Writing" c2000).

This subchapter has examined the nature of the content preferred by British tabloids, exemplified by *The Sun*, and explained the rationale behind the unique way in which those stories, sometimes resonating archetypal themes, are packaged, with both text and imagery being taken into account.

3.2 The practice: collective psyche constructing a daily mythology

This subchapter investigates some of the feelings and motivations shared by journalists, including myself, working on British tabloid newspapers, characterised by *The Sun*, at, or shortly before, the time of writing. The practice of six named tabloid journalists, plus me, is interrogated for the purposes of this indicative research, and edited transcripts of their interviews with me are presented in Appendix B, along with biographical details of their careers. Five of the six can accurately be described as production journalists and the Sixth, Charles Rae, was variously a reporter, royal correspondent and political writer.

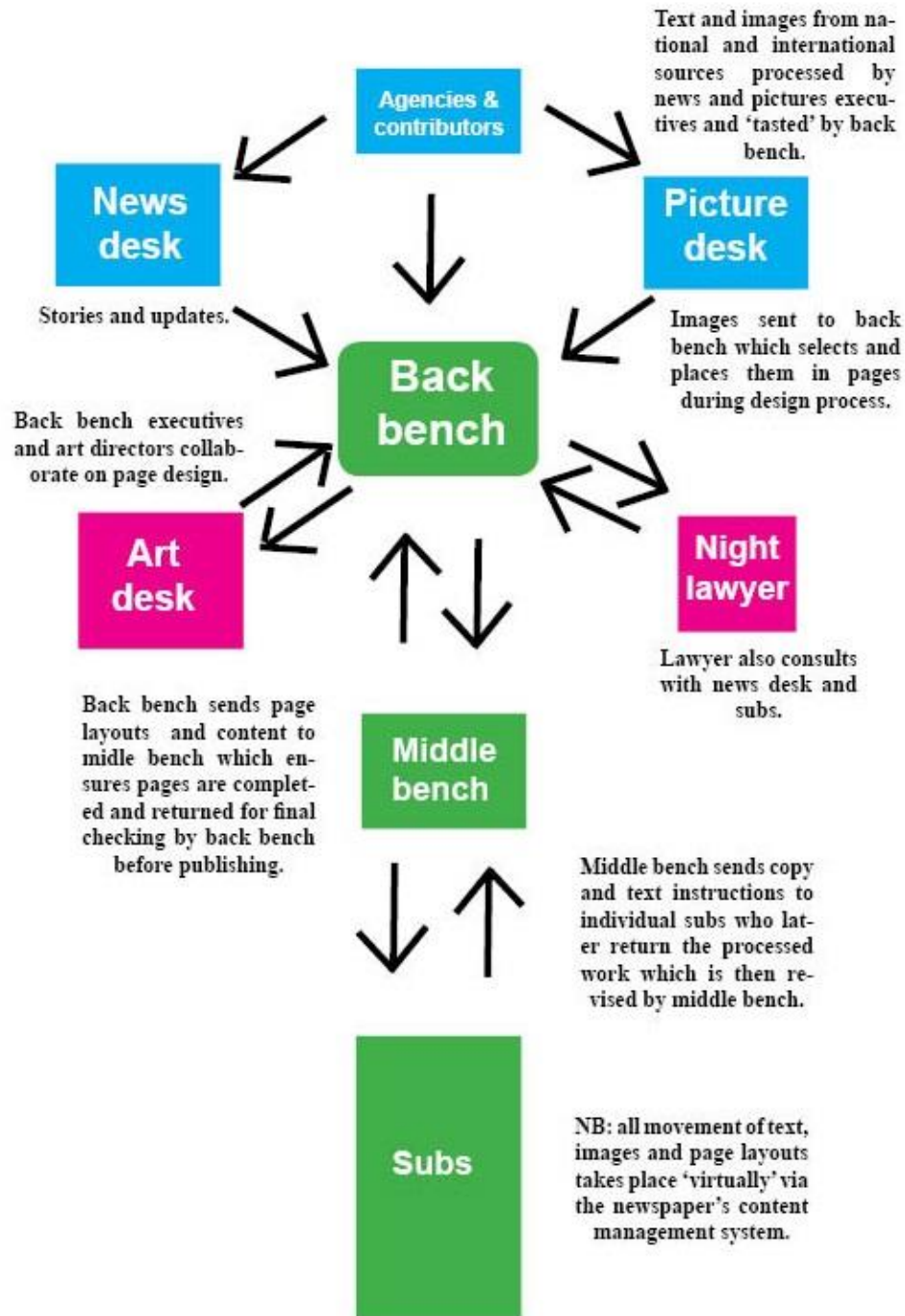## News production flow on The Sun's printed editions

Agencies & contributors

Text and images from national and international sources processed by news and pictures executives and 'tasted' by back bench.

News desk

Picture desk

Stories and updates.

Back bench

Images sent to back bench which selects and places them in pages during design process.

Back bench executives and art directors collaborate on page design.

Art desk

Night lawyer

Lawyer also consults with news desk and subs.

Back bench sends page layouts and content to midle bench which ensures pages are completed and returned for final checking by back bench before publishing.

Middle bench

Middle bench sends copy and text instructions to individual subs who later return the processed work which is then revised by middle bench.

Subs

NB: all movement of text, images and page layouts takes place 'virtually' via the newspaper's content management system.

Figure 5   Simplified flow chart of *The Sun*'s editorial news production in 2016

Jo Porter's obsession with the minutiae of text and its communicative nuances is, in my experience, typical of British tabloid sub-editors of the period being studied.

They delight in word play and assume, their readers share that delight. Porter says, 'A lot of people…[working on] tabloids in particular...[wrongly] think you can bang and crash through stuff…using words in the wrong context'. It is evident that they feel their readers collectively share the emotional content they invest in their tabloid content, whatever the technological platform. Roe puts it thus:

> (You) always want a reaction from the reader…especially now [they are armed with smart phones with instant interactive online access] because you want to engage them more…so they can contribute to the story.[77]

Affect is the raison d'etre of sensational content which Conboy lists as the leading feature of popular journalism 'down the years' (Conboy 2006: 12). Tabloid content is selected and presented to provoke emotion within the reader, be it anger, sympathy or empathy. It might be argued that such journalistic disruption has a purpose beyond affect per se, i.e. that of increasing circulation or helping a desired political leader into office. However, after contributing to the generation of such content for 30 years[78], I suggest that the drive to produce such affect is an embedded, integral part of tabloid journalism. Rae calls it 'a game' and Chris Hockley speaks of 'mythology'. Roger Wood says readers are 'shocked by what's happened – delighted by what's happened' either way their feelings are disrupted. Asked why stories about the murderer Myra Hindley were published by tabloid newspapers for so many years, Wood says simply, 'She was shocking.'[79]

The humour that suffuses UK tabloids, does so both internally and in the products it disseminates. Roe, who works in a newsroom in south London where memorable *Sun* headlines are imprinted in the glass walls of meeting rooms around him, explains, 'tabloids always should be fun…the dryness should be superseded [by]

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[77] Appendix B.
[78] Appendix A.
[79] Appendix B.

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humour…you take that away it just becomes another paper…it's so subtle how it's done.' Responding to a question about the need for humour in tabloids, he adds

> Absolutely…that's why Page Three's there [the usually offbeat or celebrity-based page lead story, not the pin-up image] …there's an order to that whole…you can't have too much death in the paper, you've got to be flipping from dark to light.[80]

Without that quality of 'fun' the British tabloid press would be something quite different: either a replica of the deadpan 'supermarket' tabloids that circulate in the USA and elsewhere, characterised by humourless headlines such as *Space Platform Circling Mars Living Creatures May Be Aboard* (Bird 1992: 26) or one of the abortive 'politically correct' titles such as the abortive *News on Sunday* examined earlier. I am perplexed that the vital element of humour is missing from Conboy's list of tabloid features (Conboy 2006: 12), but it is indicative of the indiscriminately disapproving tenor of his analysis, and of that of several other media sociologists reviewed in Chapter Two, including Conboy. Another glaring omission in the list is sport, which drives the production of all British tabloid newspapers. As Chief Production Editor on the *News of the World,* I was very aware that the needs of sports production almost always trumped those of news, particularly when selecting which editions of a newspaper to despatch to which areas of the UK at which times.[81]

That humour is a core trait of any British tabloid newspaper at the time of writing is evident from the humour that abounds in many headlines in the news, features and sport sections. Most of the memorable *Sun* headlines, for example, are famous for their humour: whether the absurdity of *Freddie Starr ate my hamster*, (Saxty 1986) or the myriad headlines whose humour is drawn from their word play. Two examples were among several emblazoned in the glass walls of meeting room's in *The Sun*'s headquarters in 2015, along with the *Freddie* headline (Fig. 6)[82], indicating how

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[80] Appendix B.
[81] Appendix A.
[82] Page 107.

important 'fun' and wordplay are to that newspaper's internal dynamic: *How Do You Solve A Problem Like Korea*? (Pascoe-Watson 2006: 1) alluding to the song *How Do You Solve A Problem Like Maria*?[83] from the musical play and film *Sound of Music* (Wise 1965) and relating to fears over North Korea's nuclear arms (Fig. 6)[84] and the *Scottish Sun*'s *Super Caley go ballistic Celtic are atrocious* (Baillie 2000: 60-61) referred to the 3-1 defeat of leading Scottish football club Celtic by a small club, Inverness Caledonian Thistle and, curiously, relates to another musical song: *Supercalifragilisticexpialidocious*[85] from the film *Mary Poppins* (Stevenson 1964).

Figure 6   Headlines embedded in meeting-room walls at *The Sun*'s London HQ, 2016   *(P.C.)*

Neil Roberts uses a bricklaying analogy with which to explain, partially, the tabloid sub-editor's ability, and instinct, to place together disparate references, words and images to convey emotions such as humour:

> [T]abloid sub-editors, we're like bricklayers…you build a good wall…and the fact is that your skills aren't required to build a good wall…if you work for a broadsheet, that is a job of checking and ticking and making sure that there are no grammatical howlers…whereas what we do is we rebuild from top to bottom…the craft is an architectural craft as much as anything.[86]

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[83] Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, 1959.
[84] Page 107.
[85] Robert B. and Richard M. Sherman, 1964.
[86] Appendix B.

The nature of this work, and the attitude of the practitioners echoes that of the bricoleur. The dictionary cited, by default, in this work does not include a definition of that term (O.E.D.). The *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, however, defines the term as 'a person who engages in bricolage', describing the latter as: '1. (in art or literature) construction or creation from a diverse range of available things. 2. a thing created from a diverse range of things.' It goes on to explain this second term is derived from a French word for 'handyman' (Stevenson and Waite 2011: 174).

The Sun is often described as a 'subs' paper'[87]; 'sub' is a diminutive of the term sub-editor, sometimes spelt without a hyphen (Hodgson 1987). This thesis can find no evidence that the term is not used exclusively in the UK and some Commonwealth, countries, including Australia (Looby 2011). Nominally, the word indicates a production journalist whose function is subbing. In practice, because of the unique integration of textual, graphical and typographical elements under the control of redtop subs, particularly at *The Sun*, the brevity of stories and typographical restrictions on headlines, usually require the sub to 'start again' from raw copy and fashion it anew, retaining, but editing, factual content.

 A frequent practice, my experience shows me[88], is to study two or three originating texts, typically from a staff reporter, a freelancer and news agency, incorporate an explicit briefing regarding emphasis from a senior, and/or an implicit one drawing on knowledge of the newspaper's social and political stances, and ensure the completed text agrees with any pre-chosen headlines and imagery. The typographical needs of the space the sub is given (precisely prescribed number of lines,

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[87] 'Subs' jobs go as Atex rollout comes to Edinburgh'. Comment by MikeC: 'The Sun is a subs' paper and represents the best of the best. I do not care for its political stance but it is without doubt a very good paper in many ways.' http://www.holdthefrontpage.co.uk/2010/news/subs-jobs-go-as-atex-roll-out-comes-to-edinburgh/ June 16, 2010. (Retrieved 17 June 2015.)

[88] Appendix A.

widths of columns, column 'line turns' and other factors) are also stringently met, and checked by at least two tranches of revise journalists. Underlying all this is a consistent 'story' which is often the construction of the sub-editor, who ensures that captioning of images associated with the article are consistent with her narrative.

The modus operandi of tabloid subs means that these journalists can accurately be seen as the creative engine of the finished product, and it is no coincidence that senior subs tend to 'run' the newspaper[89], even though, on some occasions (including the incumbent at the time of writing, Tony Gallagher) the Editor of *The Sun*, has not been from a subbing background[90]. As described, typographical considerations, including restricted space mean that the text printed usually has to comply with the nature of the images, headlines and the 'message' of the presentation. Very rarely can a writer know what that is beforehand because, paradoxically, that originator's content will be only one, of the factors that helps to generate its presentation, within the carefully orchestrated context of the entire product.

The acknowledged pre-eminence of subbing within *The Sun*, and other UK redtop tabloids, notably the *Daily Mirror*, has built a professional reputation for that cohort of journalists that spread beyond print journalism and led them to be 'widely regarded as some of the most skilled and creative wordsmiths in the newspaper business'[91]. Greenslade, although often a critic of *The Sun* (Greenslade 2016c, passim) substantiates the creative contribution of tabloid subs on that paper. He refers to Rosen's questioning of *Sun* subs including Chris Hockley, whose interview with me

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[89]Siddy Shivdasani interviewed at ideastap.com http://www.ideastap.com/ideasmag/Jotw/sub-editor-the-sun-Siddy-Shivdasani. (Retrieved 4 November 2014.)

[90]Stuart Higgins was another such exception from 1994-1998: Leveson Inquiry report at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140122145147/http://www.levesoninquiry.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Witness-Statement-of-Stuart-Higgins.pdf (Retrieved 4 November 2014.)

[91] BBC Radio 4 broadcast an episode of the *Word of Mouth* factual documentary series on 25 January 2011 in which 'Michael Rosen visits the newsroom of "*The Sun*" to meet the subeditors widely regarded as some of the most skilled and creative wordsmiths in the newspaper business. He investigates puns, euphemisms, splash-headlines, intros and page-three captions. He looks at the newsroom jargon from back-benches to sub-decks. And he discovers – among other things – that "romps" are the new "nookie".' http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00xpp66. (Retrieved 30 May 2016.)

utilised by this work[92], and is described by Greenslade, with justification, as 'the paper's best news sub':

> Whatever differences I have with The Sun over its choice of content, I continue to admire the men and women who sub the stories. Collectively, they are the best in the business…What sets The Sun apart is what Hockley said to Rosen - the freedom its subs enjoy to be creative, sometimes coming at things "from left field". I was taken also with his description of how he goes about his subbing duties, by drawing a picture in his head and then painting it on to the page.
>
> (Greenslade 2011)

Greenslade recounts Hockley describing to Rosen his emotions subbing the coverage of the July 7 terrorist bombings in London on 2007 and bursting into tears. Says Hockley, 'If you can try to imagine yourself in that terrible, terrible situation that helps [you] to write the story. And you can get quite emotional at times... it is not just a technical exercise'. Roberts describes his subbing practice in less emotional terms:

> [I]f you are preparing a story or rewriting a story that is about the latest…romantic interest of a character of a reality TV show…it's very difficult to see it…other than in terms of sentence construction…how do I make this amount of words fit into this amount of space to give at least some idea of what is allegedly going on?

Roberts concedes that he does not share an educational or socioeconomic background of most *Sun* readers and explains that he applies a craftsman-like attitude to this disconnect:

> For me…it is about…the art of what I do, the craft of what I do…much of the material I'm dealing with, personally I consider to be utterly uninteresting…and having, from my personal point of view, very little news value but then you have to understand that I am a reasonably well-educated middle-class person who…is not the demographic of the product.[93]

Exploring his motivation more deeply, he adds, 'There is of course the slightly puritan aspect that I know I bring to it [editing celebrity copy], and I know a lot of my colleagues do, in which you do take a perverse delight in taking out many of the more

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[92] Appendix B.
[93] Appendix B.

ridiculous aspects of…what is being said.' Roberts, who also writes leaders[94] for *The Sun*, adds, '*The Sun* has its own…slightly narrow world view which, after a number of years…it's like a process of osmosis…I could probably give you *The Sun*'s world view on almost any subject I'm likely to write on.' Despite his pride in his craft, Roberts' feelings about the tabloid press are pessimistic, and appear to hark back to some of the ideas of those behind the failed *News on Sunday* explored above:

> [I am] …horribly disillusioned with what popular newspapers are as opposed to what they could be…there's no reason for them to be…that to have a wide readership you have to somehow be tawdry…I think you can be edgy…you can walk the line and step over it occasionally and that is acceptable, but when you're deliberately walking on the other side of the line all the time for information that has little value.[95]

Porter echoes Roberts' craft analogies, adding

> I love the words…I think it's important not to use a single word without knowing its full...A lot of people…[wrongly] think you can bang and crash through stuff…using words in the wrong context…I like news first and foremost…I like…for the most part…that it's…projected through tabloid…I like the creativity of it…I love…being first to know anything…Twitter particularly [means]…we're not necessarily the first anymore. But I still love tabloids.[96]

The only woman in the *Sun*'s news 'middle-bench'[97] at the time of writing, Porter, like Hockley and other male colleagues, gets emotionally involved with her professional practice as a tabloid journalist. Here she explains the intensity of that feeling:

> [T]here's nothing as bad as that feeling when you screw up, when something has gone in the paper you don't have a good feeling about…there was a woman in the States who had won the biggest ever…payout for sexual harassment at work…it came down to the fact that her boss had performed a rather charming sex act over her…Our picture desk… found pictures of her on Facebook. There was one very nice headshot but they used the one of her in stockings at a fancy dress party…I just thought it was opportunistic and so I argued against it…and on that occasion I lost. I had a horrendous nosebleed all the way home. I was really, really angry.[98]

Responding to some feminist critiques of *The Sun*, Porter reports that

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[94] A column offering an opinion or comment on behalf of a newspaper or magazine, usually on an issue of topical concern. Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 157.)

[95] Appendix B.

[96] Appendix B.

[97] The team of senior sub-editors who operate between the back-bench executives and the subbing team, delegating tasks to them and revising the work they submit. (Known from my practice).

[98] Appendix B.

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> [a] lot of attitudes are changing too slowly for me but at least they are changing...attitudes towards women..across a lot of the press, certainly across a lot of the tabloids. …that's one of the reasons I've stayed at The Sun…to help drive things in the right direction.[99]

This generally positive attitude to her work and the product remains uppermost with Porter. What she like about *The Sun* is 'foremost the attitude…Telling you how bad things are, how good things are…We speak for our readers, we campaign for our readers, but we also take the lead in some ways…[*The Sun*] is there in a lot of people's lives.' She adds, 'A tabloid of ten years ago is very, very different from a tabloid of today…When the *News of the World* closed people were absolutely devastated…it was a real part of Sundays for a lot.'

Roe, who trained as a textual journalist, acquiring an undergraduate degree in journalism, gives the working perspective of a designer, or layout, artist, on *The Sun*:

> [explaining he needs to read at least the start of a story before designing the page]…just to get that gist…there maybe something in the picture that you've missed… when you're dealing with video grabs…you're talking maybe one frame where there's like a little knowing wink…you get that picture and you put that headline with it then all of a sudden you've got the whole story.[100]

Asked about the ethical issues swirling around *The Sun* and other UK tabloid at the time of the interview, he warns, 'Any deception of the reader is undesirable for all sort of reasons, not the least of which is…readers are much more savvy…you might say media savvy in general.' And he concludes tellingly, 'How can you do the story if you don't believe it?'[101]

3.3 The phenomenon: sociopolitical and cultural impact

The purpose of this subchapter is to explore aspects of the societal and cultural impact of the tradition under investigation. That impact is triggered as much by society's perception of that praxis as by the phenomenon itself. That perception is reflected in fictional, and semi-fictional, entertainment, art and literature, as well as through the reportage of other news organisations. For example, as described above, a former

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[99] Appendix B.
[100] Appendix B.
[101] Appendix B.

showbusiness editor of the *Daily Express* wrote a comic play about a tabloid newspaper whose editor, in the words on one of the characters, is 'a deeply weird, sexually malfunctioning headcase' (Jagasia 2015: 37). Another stage play, *Great Britain* (Bean 2015), provides fictional representations of recognisable tabloid actors and events, and a TV comedy *Red Top* (Wollaston 2016), names actual tabloid executives, portraying them in a grotesquely comic fashion. These representations, vis-à-vis News International Chief Executive Officer Rebekah Brooks (who is shown roller-skating through her office in the TV show), and others, are examined as case studies in Chapter Five.

Human emotionality is at the heart of UK popular newspapers' psychosocial impact. This observation is supported by my own experience working within the tradition, and examples from the products themselves: in 1969, the *News of the World* was proudly using the advertising slogan *All human life is here* and provocatively declaring, *It's your business*. Such emotional appeal helped create the biggest circulation of any English-speaking newspaper in the world (Griffiths 1992: 437). The enormity of its reach was calculated in 2011:

> At its peak in 1951, circulation was around 8.4m issues sold every week - up from 400,000 at the turn of the twentieth century. That's one issue of the News of the World for every six people in the UK's then 50.2m population.
>
> (Guardian Data BlogGuardian 2011)

What gives British popular newspaper journalism such extraordinary emotional impact? The *News of the World* did not adopt a redtop, tabloid format until 1984 (Griffiths 1992: 437). However, its successor, the *Sun on Sunday* (a semi-autonomous weekly edition of *The Sun*) projects the emotionality of its content in its print platform by employing very few words, accompanied by big headlines (often up to 5cm tall) and large images. A small story, or 'short', will have as few as 20 words, and the main story on a page often only 200. Sometimes the front page will have little more than 100 words

in all, including headlines[102]. Length of text is less rigorously restricted in the online forms.

'Emotion plays a key ethical and political role in all kinds of journalism' (Beckett 2014), and headlines and images from British tabloid newspapers, notably *The Sun*, are often burnt controversially into cultural memory: e. g. 'Gotcha' (Fig. 36)[103], used on its front page in 1982 (Sun 1982a) but for the first edition only (Greenslade 2002), to describe Britain's sinking of an Argentinian ship the Belgrano causing 323 deaths at the start of the Falklands War.[104] Provocative headlines such as this, penned by senior journalists on UK tabloid newspapers, have often left a lasting impact on British society. Some, including those cited above, are remembered for their humour, but others, such as *The Truth* which appeared on the front page of *The Sun*[105] after the Hillsborough football disaster in Sheffield of 1989 in which 96 people died (Arnold and Askill 1989)[106], sustained a far darker notoriety that has lasted 27 years at the time of writing (LiverpoolEcho 2016).

Despite, or perhaps partly because of, their notoriety, the tabloid news and entertainment model remains popular with UK audiences in the early 21st century, even as print readership declines and online readership increases:

> A poll of 36,000 British adults found that just under 13.5m people read The Sun or The Sun (Sunday) either in print or online every week. The paper is 1.5m readers ahead of its nearest challenger, the Mail, which attracts 12m readers across its daily and Sunday print titles and the MailOnline.
>
> (Hollander 2013)

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[102] Statistics extrapolated from the *Sun on Sunday* front page of 26 February 2014, and other front pages from that newspaper published between January and July, 2014. (See Appendix A)
[103] Page 230.
[104] This headline and the story associated with it are examined in 5.5.
[105] Fig. 35, page 228.
[106] This headline and the story associated with it are examined in 5.5.

The same poll shows that a total of almost 50 million (48,767,000) adults read a UK national tabloid product weekly; this figure includes print and online editions of the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Express* and *Daily Star* (NRS 2013).

Bingham describes well the opprobrium, justified or otherwise, that has been aimed at UK popular newspaper journalism since its inception at the turn of the 20th century: 'The British popular press is repeatedly accused of being untrustworthy and irresponsible; of poisoning political debate and undermining the democratic process…and of coarsening public life by promoting a sleazy and intrusive celebrity culture' (Bingham 2005). In this short passage, Bingham correctly categorises three of the most commonly cited failings of UK tabloids: their perceived irresponsibility, their 'poisoning' of democratic politics and their 'coarsening' of public culture. Conboy (2006: 12). *The Sun*, particularly, is chastised comprehensively and, in the judgement of this thesis, viscerally, for being 'populist in the worst sense' and 'symptomatic of and contributory to a political culture in which popular pleasure is routinely articulated through oppressive ideologies that operate in fertile chauvinistic ground' (McGuigan 1992: 184).

It is beyond the scope of this investigation to examine whether the tabloid practice and tradition being assessed is peculiarly British. A wide-ranging study of the practices, products and social impacts of popular newspapers throughout the world is a work yet to be undertaken, and one requiring time and resources on a scale not available to this exploration. However, my experiences of teaching journalism in several countries, including Jamaica, Australia, Latvia and China[107], have led me to conclude that no culture I have encountered fuses humour, hyperbole and images in quite the same proportions as Britain's national popular press. Examples of that fusion

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107 Appendix A.

were given in 3.2. On this point, it is informative to note that when *The Sun* published

its redesigned, free website in 2016, following *News UK*'s decision to scrap the

newspaper's paywall[108] (Ponsford 2015c), it remained firmly aimed at British

consumers, prompting Greenslade to observe, 'It is also very UK oriented, so I can't

imagine that it will attract too many international readers' (Greenslade 2016g).

Even for the purpose of presenting an historical perspective of the social and

cultural impact of the British popular press, it is not within the scope of this work to

construct a chronological account of that tradition's development from 1695 onwards,

that date marking the influential dropping of the Licensing Act[109] (Craven 1992: 12).

However, Brock provides a usefully concise introduction to tabloid newspapers'

entrance to the 20th century British working and middle class:

> Papers cheap enough to be afforded by millions had been published in Britain since the late
> 19th century. They were irreverent, snappy and noisy, drawing much of their inspiration and
> style both from working-class Sunday papers devoted to crime and sensation and from (then)
> brasher American papers.
>
> (Brock 2014)

'Newspapers for the few' began to extend their reach throughout Victorian society

following the demise of the 'taxes on knowledge', notably the stamp tax (Williams

2010: 99). This was where and when the tabloid paradigm under study here can fairly

be judged to have been born, and where its sociopolitical and cultural impacts began to

register.

Since the creation of UK popular newspapers, British journalists connected

with that tradition have been criticised on moral, ethical, cultural and political ground

as a consequence of their practice and product affecting the public sphere i.e. 'a realm

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108 'A business model, especially on the Internet, whereby basic services are provided free of charge while more advanced features must be paid for' Stevenson A. and Waite M. (2011) Concise Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. (Page 566.)

109 The Licensing of the Press Act 1662 was an Act of the Parliament of England in the reign of Charles II for 'preventing the frequent abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed books and pamphlets and for regulating of printing and printing presses.' The Act was republished in 1819 in Statutes of the Realm 1628-1680, edited by John Raithby and curated by British History Online at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=351. (Retrieved 4 November 2014.)

of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed…a sphere which mediates between society and the state' (Habermas 1962/1989: 73-74). Writing of the mid-nineteenth century, when newspaper production improved and cover prices dropped, Bingham notes:

> As the habit of newspaper reading spread throughout society, so anxiety about the impact of the press intensified. A wide range of politicians, religious leaders, cultural commentators and campaigning organisations argued that in the competition for profits newspapers were ignoring their social responsibilities and exploiting the basest instincts of their readers.
>
> (Bingham 2009b: 112)

On December 10th, 1926, MPs were told during an amendment debate about the publication of Parliamentary reports that there was

> a large section of the Press adverse to the interests of that moral standard…The reason for this Bill is that, instead of righteousness flowing through the land like a river, we have had nothing but a stream of pollution through every part of the country. There is no doubt it has led to a deterioration in the standards of public morality.[110]

Very often, in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, the most virulent condemnation was, and continues to be at the time of writing, internecine: newspapers criticising other newspapers, often up-market titles criticising redtops. This trend became publicly and virulently evident in 2009 with *The Guardian*'s investigation into phone-hacking at the *News of the World*, described later by the former's leading reporter Nick Davies (Davies 2014). Some 145 years earlier, in 1864, the *Saturday Review* lambasted the 'attractive and lucrative indecency' of *The Times,* then a relatively more populist organ which, in this respect, foreshadowed the tabloid paradigm. The *Review* railed against *The Times*' for reporting divorce court cases verbatim when to obtain a divorce 'it was almost always necessary to prove adultery, so cases usually had considerable potential to provide titillating copy' (Bingham 2009b: 116). The *Saturday Review* declared:

> We want a Moral Sewers Commission. To purify the Thames is something, but to purify The Times would be a greater boon to society... The unsavoury reports of the Divorce Courts, the disgusting details of harlotry and vice, the filthy and nauseous annals of the brothel, the prurient letters of adulterers and adulteresses, the modes in which intrigues may be carried out, the

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[110] From House of Commons Hansard record: http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1926/dec/10/new-clause-saving-for-proprietor-of (Retrieved 26 May 2016.)

> diaries and meditations of married sinners, these are now part of our domestic life.
>
> (Perkin 1972/2005: 558-559)

By 1902 the *Daily Mail*, helped by its coverage of the Boer War, boasted the biggest newspaper circulation in the world with daily sales in excess of a million (Griffiths 2006: 133). In 1931 its proprietor, Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe), and that of its rival the *Daily Express*, Lord Beaverbrook, received a stinging moral accusation from the Leader of the Opposition that has often been repeated. Stanley Baldwin, acting on a suggestion by his cousin Rudyard Kipling, called the methods of those popular newspapers

> direct falsehoods, misrepresentation, half-truths, the alteration of the speaker's meaning by publishing a sentence apart from the context...What the proprietorship of these papers is aiming at is power, and *power without responsibility – the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages.*
>
> (Curran and Seaton 1981/1997: Loc 906-907)

Such moral criticism, echoed in Parliament, continued into the 20th and 21st centuries with the 'No more Page 3' campaigned aimed at the topless models then portrayed by *The Sun* (Cecil 2016) and examined in more detail in 5.5. The social and political clamour reached its zenith in the *News of the World* phone-hacking scandal and the ensuing Leveson Inquiry, examined in detail in Chapter Six.

3.4 Technological transformations

The tabloid paradigm affects the lives of people who read the products, but claim not to believe them, and of those who claim not to read them at all. Kaufman, Stasson and Hart point to preconceptions affecting what people *think* are in tabloid newspapers that they do not actually read (an experience that many tabloid journalists, including this author, are used to); those that *do* read them 'may dismiss factual and accurate information when it is presented by a source perceived as low in credibility' (Kaufman et al. 1989: 1995). Johansson explains how workers in an office share the experience of a humorous story in the *Daily Mirror*, even cutting it out and putting it on their wall

(Johansson 2008: 404) and Bird relates how readers are entertained by, but are not necessarily captured by the 'Elvis Is Dead legend' (Bird 1992: 189).

Ornebring and Johnsson are even more vocal in their appreciation of the tabloid principle: they expose the elitist, prejudiced judgement made within and without journalism about this form of popular reportage. In the view of this review their analysis is as rare as it is accurate. They explain:

> This is potentially a source of problems for social scientists investigating tabloid journalism. The researcher might easily take on the perspective common in the profession and the media industry and adopt a perspective where tabloid journalism becomes everything which serious, responsible, good-quality journalism is not, sensationalist, over-simplified, populist etc., tabloid journalism means, simply, bad journalism. Tabloid journalism becomes a kind of journalist other, used as a warning example and symbol for all that is wrong with modern journalism.
>
> (Ornebring and Jonsson 2004/200: 172)

The authors suggest that the inevitable conclusion is that the question whether there can be any quality tabloid journalism 'becomes impossible to ask' (Ibid.). This study recognises the analysis that tabloid journalism is 'proper' journalism's 'other', and it identifies the phenomenon as a manifestation of the archetypal shadow described by Jung as 'repressed, for the most part inferior and guilt-laden' (Jung 1951b: par. 422). This work concurs wholeheartedly with Ornebring and Jonsson when they conclude that '…much of the criticism levelled at the journalistic other through history has been based on a set of values that to a large extent coincides with the values of cultural and political elite groups' (Ornebring and Jonsson 2004/200: 184). The authors identify a fear discussed at the conclusion of this work (Chapter Six), that the absence of effective tabloid journalism will rob non-elite, 'ordinary' individuals of a space within which to reflect and dispute political and societal decisions and events. Ornebring and Jonsson conclude, 'The populist nature of tabloid journalism may have many faults, but it can be seen as an alternative arena for public discourse' (Ibid. 185).

The technological transformation of the tabloid paradigm, through pervasive use of the internet and interactive social media, has prompted a leading journalism educator to declare that British tabloid newspapers 'have had their day'(Brock 2014). Confusingly, however, he predicts: 'Tabloid stories will be with us as long as there is human curiosity about other people's private lives (Ibid.). In these two seemingly conflicting statements Brock appears to be attempting to extract a 'tabloidness' from the newspaper vehicles with which its characteristics are usually associated, and implying that this essence can continue to exist independently of them. It is reasonable to speculate that, when Brock refers to 'tabloid stories', he has in mind a mode of storytelling that is close to gossip. After all, in common parlance, a 'story' can mean a fictional account. This thesis is mindful of the importance Jung places on word association (Jung 1904-1907, 1910: pars. 1-1388) and makes no apology for turning, yet again, to a lay dictionary for clues to the nature of 'tabloidness'. There, we are told that gossip, among other things, is 'easy, unrestrained talk or writing, esp. about persons or social incidents', and a gossip, among other descriptions, is a 'newsmonger' (O.E.D., vol. 6: 699-701). The *Daily Mirror* confirms the link between contemporary tabloid journalism and gossip by running the daily 'strap' or category label 'U.S. Gossip' (Mirror 2016), as does *The Sun*'s mobile app.[111]

The dissemination of gossip, along with other news content, was facilitated by multiple waves of media technology, from the telegraph to the internet, radically transforming in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries what Habermas identified as the 'pre-eminent institution' of the public sphere, the press. It evolved from 'a system of private correspondences' to a commercial business carrying news and views (Habermas 1962/1989: 182). This shared, or third, space, is a conceptual phenomenon identified

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[111] The app accessed on a smartphone through Android's PlayStore displayed the words 'For Breaking Global Stories and Showbiz Gossip plus Sport and Celeb News. (Accessed 9 June 2016.)

within multiple theories and disparate disciplines, notably psychoanalysis (Ogden 1994) and cultural anthropology (Turner 1982). The implications of its technological iterations were explored by McLuhan (McLuhan and Fiore 1967) in the 20th century and Shirky (Shirky 2008) and others in the 21st.

The technology and commerce driving UK tabloid newspapers, particularly *The Sun*, catapulted the entire UK tabloid project into the public sphere in 1986 when News International, led by Rupert Murdoch, moved its titles, including *The Sun* and the *News of the World*, from Fleet Street in central London to Wapping in the east of the city. A violent, year-long industrial battle ensued between 'locked-out' printers and Murdoch who had employed engineers from another union (the AUEW). The newspapers were produced by reporters and sub-editors who declined an instruction from the National Union of Journalists to go on strike, after taking votes among themselves. Those journalists had to learn desk-top publishing 'under fire' as the plant was besieged by up to 6,000 protesters every night. Footage of armoured 'battle buses' driving them through angry pickets, and police horses charging protesters outside 'Fortress Wapping' became commonplace on the TV news. I was one of *The Sun* journalists who took part in these events[112], which are well described by Greenslade (Greenslade 2004: 469-533). He notes accurately, 'Historians who talk of turning points often exaggerate, but 1986 undoubtedly ranks as a revolutionary moment in the history of Britain's national newspaper industry' (Ibid. 469). The visceral emotions portrayed on TV screens helped to project an image of an 'evil' Murdoch destroying people's lives; until then, he had mainly been seen as a political bete noire of the establishment and trade unions. The power of the emotions generated is evidenced in a note sent to me that year apparently by an anonymous picket (Fig. 7)[113].
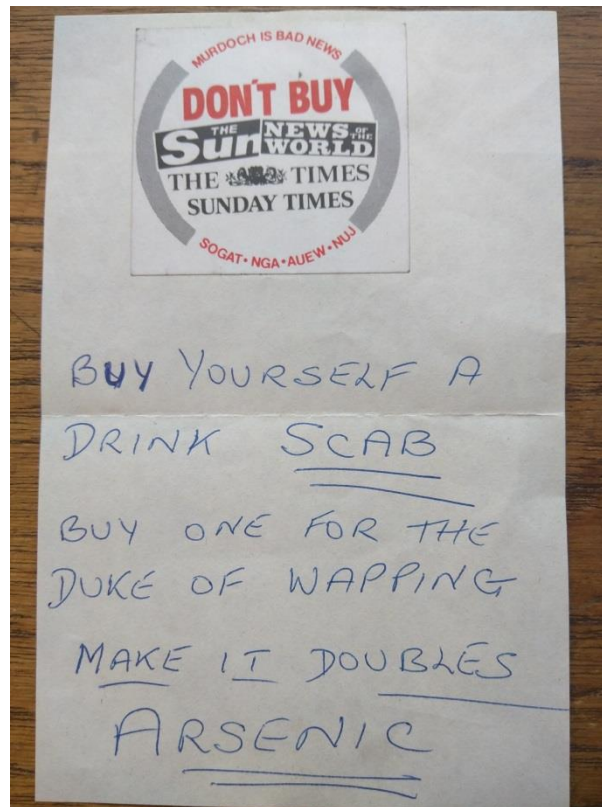
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[112] Appendix A.
[113] Page 122.

Figure 7 A 'hate' note sent to the author by an anonymous picket in 1986 *(P.C.)*

The second technological 'revolution' to transform *The Sun* and other UK tabloids, was that of internet publication and, as importantly, the growing technical and media-founded sophistication of readers. Roe engages with this when he explains why news images are no longer manipulated in tabloid newspapers:

> [when I started] there was [sic] very little outlets and all the pictures that would come through would be exclusive …now…it's saturation…A lot of people…are more tech savvy. They'll have their own computer…they'll be able to manipulate…[and be more likely to detect manipulations of images duplicated in other news outlets].[114]

Porter is confident that *The Sun* and other popular titles will survive the internet revolution: 'I think the tabloids will always be there…The entertaining way…we project news with attitude can work across smart phones, tablets, on the internet…and

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[114] Appendix B.

it's not just a vain hope; I know it works…we can see it works.'

Roberts, however, believes the tabloids will not survive in any recognisable form:

> My general feeling could be summed up in two words: they're doomed….our problem is we can't see beyond the medium…we cannot contemplate a world without that medium…presumably there were guys driving ox carts who felt like that…what we do now simply does not translate…the only thing you can have is information which other people don't have, some form of exclusivity and of course you're having to deal with that at a time in which the methods that have been used, many of them nefarious, to get that…have been closed down[115]

Concluding remarks

This chapter has examined popular British newspaper journalism in three separate but overlapping dimensions: product, practice and social phenomenon. In each of the sections the investigation has focused on *The Sun* newspaper and those who work for it. The first subchapter investigated the nature of the product itself, and some of the techniques used to project it. The second subchapter examined some of the motivation of journalists producing the work, and the reaction to it by observers and analysts. The third subchapter discussed some of the tradition's social impact. A fourth subchapter examined some of the issues affecting the UK tabloid press resulting from the technological changes engulfing all print media at the time of writing.

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[115] Appendix B.

CHAPTER FOUR: INVESTIGATION II

Re-examining the Trickster paradigm

This chapter investigates the archetypal Trickster principle described in Chapter Three as 'both a mythical figure and an inner psychic experience' (Samuels et al. 1986: 152). The 'mythical figure' is manifest in folk tales, mythologies, literature and visual arts in many cultures in parts of the world at many times. The figure is sometimes portrayed in animal, or part-animal, form such as Coyote who appears in many folk tales of Native North American communities (Fig. 10)[116], but who is not always a coyote in shape rather sometimes a hare or a raven (Lopez 1990: xv). In other cultures, Trickster is portrayed in human form, such as the Greek god Hermes, who interacts with humans and even procreates with them (Lopez-Pedraza 1977: Loc. 2678). These mythical figures typically initiate events that they intend will satisfy their desires for sex, food or pure mischief. However, they often trigger unintended, sometimes comical, outcomes, such as Coyote getting head stuck in the empty skull of an elk and blundering blindly through a wood (Hyde 1998: 39-41).

Chapter Two introduced the ambiguity at the core of Trickster figures: their apparently conflicted manifestation as both cultural hero and selfish buffoon (Carroll 1984). This work suggests that this dichotomy is at the heart of the 'inner psychic experience' of Trickster. (Samuels et al. 1986: 152). Radin describes it comprehensively while examining the principle's 'earliest and most archaic form' as a folk figure among native North Americans:

> Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and who is always duped himself. He wills 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.
> nnn   (Radin 1956, 1972: xxiii)

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[116] Page 133.

Subchapter 4.1 explores this ambiguity and other characteristics of the Trickster principle either reflected in folk tales and mythologies or enumerated by commentators and analysts. Babcock-Abrahams helpfully collates 16 such characteristics (Babcock-Abrahams 1975: 159-160). However, this investigation, suggests that a shorter, more compressed list would proves a more focused analytical tool and so it identifies 12 Trickster traits that can more effectively be measured against aspects of contemporaneous UK tabloids exemplified by that of *The Sun.*

Subchapters 4.2 and 4.3 identify and explore connections between Trickster and four Jungian concepts:

1. *Transcendent function*. 'The function which mediates OPPOSITES. Expressing itself by way of the SYMBOL. It facilitates a transition from one psychological attitude to another' (Samuels et al. 1986: 150). Jung describes it as '[t]he raw material shaped by thesis and antithesis, and in the shaping of which the opposites are united, is the living symbol. Its profundity of meaning is inherent in the raw material itself, the very stuff of the psyche…its configuration by the opposites ensures its sovereign power over all the psychic functions' (Jung 1921: par. 828).

2. *Individuation*. 'The process by which individual beings are formed and differentiated; in particular it is the development of the psychological *individual*… as a being distinct from the general, collective psychology' (Jung 1921: par. 757)

3. *Synchronicity*. 'A *meaningful coincidence* of two or more events, where something other than the probability of chance is involved' (Jung 1951: par. 969).

4. *Active imagination*. '[A] sequence of fantasies produced by deliberate concentration…I have drawn the conclusion that dreams often contain fantasies which "want" to become conscious' (Jung 1936: par. 101).

As described in 1.3, the explorations of this thesis take part within a theoretical framework that accepts Jung's premise of the archetypal within his 'teleological psyche' (Rowland 2005: 187). The 'potency' of the Trickster principle 'for the individual and the collective' (Ibid.) within a contemporary, post-modern culture is sometimes difficult to divine from Jung's characterisation of a 'psychologem' representing 'a memory-image of things as they were' dragged along 'like a senseless appendage'(Jung 1954: par. 466). However, this work agrees with Rowland's conclusion that Trickster is not 'just a quaint reminder of human evolution' (Rowland 2005: 187). Rather, it is a teleologically embedded 'trope of functional value' (Ibid.), driving seemingly impulsive behaviour whose outcomes are sometimes unintentionally creative but without which humankind cannot progress. This thesis concludes that Trickster is a psychodynamic 'wild card' often triggering craft and art, in a manner described by Beebe (1981: 54), and inextricably entwined with the activity and instinct of play and mischief 'in or out of ritual contexts' (Turner 1982: 32). This work remains agnostic on the matter of Trickster's biological, or non-biological, genesis, preferring to emulate Jung's '[c]ultural pivoting' (Rowland 2005: 187) by focusing on the principle's psychosocial impact on a postmodern world in which it frequently manifests itself in an anti-heroic form which is increasingly female as discussed in 4.4.

Thus, the Trickster model this thesis revisits comprises an archetypal principle whose collective affects, and external effects, are disruptive and transgressive, yet the consequence of a drive void of moral purpose. Pelton perfectly captures the spirit of its amorality in his account of the West African spider Trickster Ananse, which harbours an urge not for 'sex or food, really, but the very rub of life' (Pelton 1980: 225) . The 'Spinner of Ashanti Doubleness' (Ibid.: 25) shares the same 'project' of every Trickster, and exhibits it by impulsively launching himself 'for the sake of his trajectory

regardless of its target' (Ibid.: 225). This thesis suggests that Trickster's 'trajectory' exemplifies an inherent, teleological purpose imprinted in its principle and process—an unwitting intention, with paradoxical outcome, that can accurately be characterised as having meaning within the broader context of the human condition.

4.1 Twelve characteristics of an ambiguous archetype

This subchapter identifies '12 Trickster traits' (Fig. 8)[117] and supplies examples of their applications by Trickster figures, ancient, modern and post-modern, and/or of their previous observations by commentators and analysts. Firstly, the 12 traits are presented in five clusters (Fig. 9)[118], for ease of identification, then the traits and clusters are discussed and substantiated. All the categories, by their nature, have overlapping aspects. The purpose of the divisions is to provide accessible foci to facilitate the discussion; they make no claim to be exhaustive. The clusters and categories are, in part, drawn from examples of Trickster character and behaviour recorded in myth, literature, film and TV and, in part, distilled from analyses of earlier commentators and theorists, most of whom were introduced in Chapter Two.

Babcock-Abrahams lists 16 characteristics associated with Trickster to a 'greater or lesser degree': ignoring of boundaries, inhabiting of crossroads, 'scatological and coprophagous episodes', sharing of 'Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero' deeds and traits, abnormality that is notably sexual, enormous libido without procreation, ability to disperse and disguise, two-fold nature, 'motley' dress, indeterminate physical stature, human/animal dualism, amoral and asocial, mother or grandmother bond, 'ambiguously situated' between good and evil and life and death, assigned to roles with 'privileged freedom' from social codes, breakdown of distinction between reality and reflection (Babcock-Abrahams 1975: 159-160).

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[117] Page 129.
[118] Page 130.

Hynes cites five Trickster modes: 'fundamentally ambiguous and anomalous personality', deceiver, shape-shifter, 'situation-invertor', 'messenger/imitator of the gods' and 'sacred/lewd bricoleur' (Hynes 1993: 34). Pelton's incomplete 'theory of the Trickster' (Pelton 1980: 224) is less easily summarised, as he provides no definitive list of the principle's characteristics. However, his description of his work as a 'study of mythic irony' (Ibid.) signals a flavour of his investigation, and the titles he gives the chapters exploring his mythological case studies self-evidently reveal those aspects of their characters and behaviour he deems important: one is a 'spinner' of 'doubleness', two are 'writers of destiny' and the last a 'lord of the random' (Ibid.). Bassil-Morozow prefers to categorise Trickster by 'motifs', listing 'Being Trapped', 'Boundary-Crossing', 'The Problem of the Name', 'The Body', 'Loss of Control', 'The Trickster Must Die' (authors employ various methods of killing the figure off), 'The Trickster's Licentiousness', 'The Animal Connection' and 'Scatological References and Bodily Functions' (Bassil-Morozow 2012: 24-44). These motifs are repeated with amplification and amendments in her second book on the subject, and published as: 'Being trapped', 'Boundary-breaking', 'Shapeshifting', 'The problem of the name', 'Creationism', 'Loss of control', 'The trickster's dissolution', 'The trickster's licentiousness', 'Scatological references' and 'The animal connection' (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 10-29). Less comprehensively, Waddell draws attention to the Trickster characteristics of 'traversing boundaries', shape-shifting, male/female transmutations and 'transvestism' (Waddell 2006: 31-42). Clusters of Trickster characteristics are presented alphabetically by this thesis (Fig. 9)[119]. Each cluster is allotted traits judged to be appropriate to it. These traits intersect, interrelate, and seek

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[119] Page 130.

to subsume aspects of almost all previously identified tendencies of the figure, its symbols, its narratives and their outcomes.

12 TRICKSTER TRAITS

Amorality or animality, ambiguity [eg sex/gender], ambivalence, perceived selfishness

Articulateness particularly skill with language [spoken or written], puns, riddles

Commerciality sometimes criminal

Disruptiveness sometimes with [usually unintended] creative outcome

Humorousness jokes, particularly bawdiness, sometimes scatological

Hypersexuality body-focused, often including lewdness or other obscenity

Mendaciousness or perceived mendaciousness

Mischievousness sometimes childish, sometimes malevolent

Revelatoriness ta-da!

Transformability body-focused, shape-shifting, liminality, sometimes rebirth

Transgressiveness irreverence, line or border-crossing, escaping entrapment

Unpredictability spontaneity, randomness, chancing, inhabiting of crossroads

Figure 8 Twelve Trickster traits, with notes, distilled from previous identifications noted in 4.1
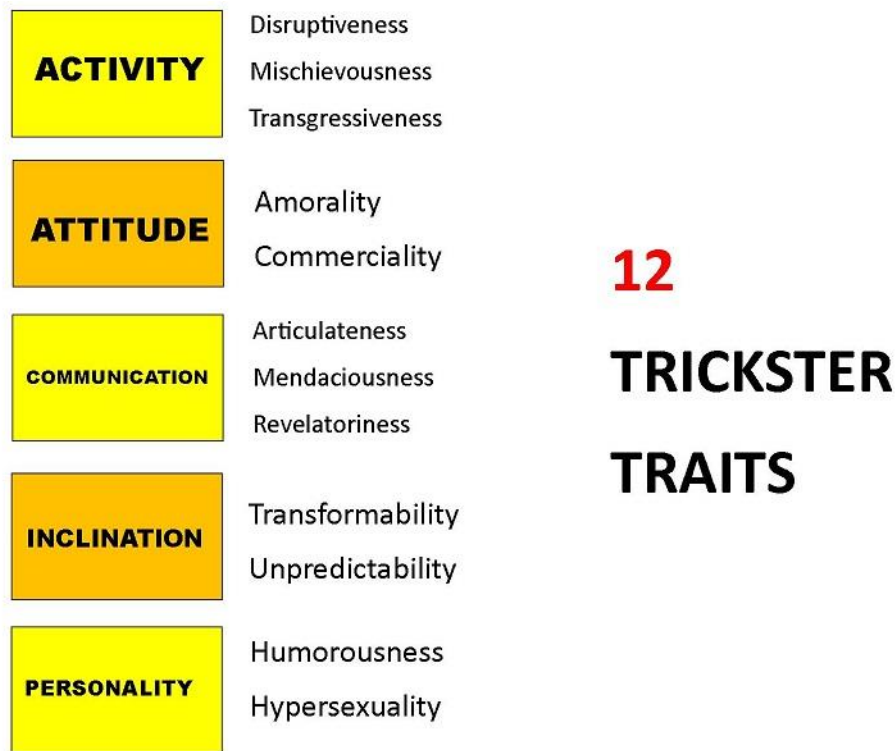
ACTIVITY	Disruptiveness Mischievousness Transgressiveness
ATTITUDE	Amorality Commerciality
COMMUNICATION	Articulateness Mendaciousness Revelatoriness
INCLINATION	Transformability Unpredictability
PERSONALITY	Humorousness Hypersexuality

12
TRICKSTER
TRAITS

Figure 9 The 12 Trickster traits, each allotted to one of five clusters

The Activity cluster distils aspects of Trickster behaviour identified in the previous lists, but seeks to isolate effects and perceived motivation. Transgressiveness embraces the ignoring of limits and boundaries, whether social (generating irreverence as a 'necessary breaker of taboos' (Makarius 1993: 66), geographical, sexual or other. Loki sleeps with Sif, the wife of his adoptive brother Thor, and cuts off her hair, which he knows will infuriate the powerful god of thunder (Colum 1920: 27). The Norse Trickster transgresses the bounds of family and matrimony primarily out of lust and mischief, not for the sake of some grand design, even though he is an arch schemer; rather he is prompted by what Pelton calls 'the very rub of life' (Pelton 1980: 225). Tricksters' transgressiveness can also be reflected in a will to move elsewhere from a state of 'being trapped', such as that endured by Prometheus, (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 13). It also frequently expresses itself in boundary-crossing, generating a figure at a crossroads (Hyde 1998: 108-127). The phenomenon is often liminoid in the sense,

defined above[120], and described by Turner during his exploration of the 'seriousness of play' (Turner 1982).

Mischief is at its core play, and playfulness is often behind Trickster activities, such as the Coyote of the Kutenai people of Canada's first nations: 'Coyote…saw Grizzly Bear eating….Coyote thought: "I will play with him"' (Erdoes and Ortiz 1998: 27). Thus mischief and transgressiveness are often, but not always, connected; transgressiveness can be born of other emotions, such as spite, anger, jealousy or resentment, like that suffered by 'the Prince of Thieves' Hermes towards his father Zeus and brother Apollo (Hyde 1998: 203). It can surely be no coincidence that one of the many film representations of, perhaps, England's most prolifically represented Trickster, Robin Hood, has 'Prince of Thieves' in its title (Reynolds 1991).

The third category in the Activity cluster, disruptiveness, is similarly worthy of discrimination. Disruption, simply for the sake of it, with no other motive, not even mischievousness nor transgressiveness, is displayed by many Tricksters, and has been identified, correctly, as 'an impulse that challenges the existing order of things, a progressive force that is a-structural and anti-structural in its nature' (Bassil-Morozow 2015: Loc: 4). Some analysts would dispute the term 'progressive', insisting that Trickster energy has no such directional impulse. This thesis, however, suggests that the very existence of such a principle within the human condition, acting within the human project, is self-defined as progressive, i.e. existentially moving forward. It is the perceived motivation of Trickster *figures* that ought not to be characterised as unambiguously progressive, for fear of diluting their other, distinctly non-heroic, qualities. This study judges that Trickster's drive to disrupt underpins both its 'creationism', identified by Bassil-Morozow (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 20) and,

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[120] Page 89, footnote 62.

seemingly paradoxically, the complementary destructiveness that typically precedes activity triggered by this 'madly, unstoppably creative' (Ibid.) principle.

The Attitude cluster has been assigned two Trickster traits: amorality and commerciality. The latter is a self-explanatory and epitomised by Hermes' adoption as the god of trade. However, commerce can be carried out illegally as well as legally, and he is also hailed as god of thieves, inspired by his notorious cattle-rustling at the expense of brother Apollo: 'crafty and full of trickery himself, Hermes is suitably the god of merchants and traders, tricksters and thieves' (March 2008: 97). Samuels, astutely, associates Machiavelli and his greed for profit with Trickster (Samuels 1993: 80).

The other category in the Attitude cluster is not as relatively transparent and requires more detailed exploration. The single word 'amorality' is intended to signal a broad attitudinal field embracing ambiguity, ambivalence, anomalousness and associations with the animal, because creatures are, by their nature, amoral and Trickster figures are often represented in animal form or with animal connections, e.g. the coyote of Native Americans (Fig. 10)[121] including the Apaches (Ortiz 1998: 66), the spider-man of the Zande (Evans-Pritchard 1967: 23) and the hares and hyenas of the Kaguru (Biedelman 1993/1997: 177). Selfishness, or the perception of it, is also intended to be part of this category, as it is often an external interpretation of amoral behaviour. The '"principle of motley" in dress' identified by Babcock-Abrahams (1975: 159) is a telling signifier of this category, reflected in the traditional self-contradicting, multi-faceted outfit of the Fool (Willeford 1969: 16, passim.) and in the dress of an 'eco warrior' popularly dubbed Swampy when he appeared in a UK court in 'green wellington boots, mud-spattered blue trousers and a grimy black and yellow

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[121] Page 133

jacket' (Independent 1997). Swampy is identified as a Green Man figure such as those described by William Anderson (1990) and linked to the Fool and, by association, Trickster (Anslow 2002). Ambiguity and ambivalence also illuminate the 'problem of the name' identified by Bassil-Morozow (2015: 19). When such characteristics are employed by a figure, they make it more difficult to identify definitively.

Figure 10   North American Trickster figure Coyote   *(Curtis 1915: 84)*

Thus, the category of 'amorality' represents the most distinctive Trickster trait of all: an inherent, apparent self-contradictoriness (neither moral nor immoral), described at length throughout 2.3, which triggered a century-long discussion about the bewildering 'selfish buffoon and culture hero' (Carroll 1984). The question of how the Trickster principle can represent both clever hero and selfish idiot perhaps lurks behind

Kernenyi's attempt (unsuccessful in the view of this thesis) to 'delimit the trickster hero, as known to the Winnebago, from the trickster god who contains him' (Kerenyi 1956/1972: 189).

Waddell concludes that Trickster's ambiguity equates with its 'unknowable nature', characterised by its transgressive 'penchant for loitering at crossroads, thresholds and boundaries' (Waddell 2006: 31). The contradictions embedded in the 'multi-dimensionality of the trickster paradigm' (Ibid.: 29) were earlier identified by Jung in 'the Mercurius duplex who on the one hand is Hermes the mystagogue and psychopomp and on the other hand is the poisonous dragon, the evil spirit and "trickster"' (Jung 1950: par. 689). Mercurius was also later described by one of Jung's closest collaborators von Franz as a 'trickster god' (von Franz 1995: 299). Jung acknowledges the complexity of Trickster's 'dual nature, half animal, half divine' and, most tantalisingly of all, briefly illuminates the principle's central conundrum by citing the example of Germanic folk buffoon Hanswurst, who 'manages to achieve through his stupidity what others fail to accomplish with their best (Jung 1954: par. 456).

The third cluster of characteristics, labelled Communication is elegantly signified by the figure and role of Hermes as the 'herald and messenger' of the gods (March 2008: 97). Words, not always truthful, are the key to this mythological spin-doctor. Such a role is more explicitly embedded in Pelton's nomenclature of Ananse: 'Spinner of Ashanti Doubleness' (Pelton 1980: 25). However, the three characteristics identified within this cluster need to be discriminated for fuller understanding: articulateness, mendaciousness and revelatoriness.

Expertise with words, particulary written ones, features in many traditional Trickster stories, and helps to identify manifestations of the principle in contemporary cultural products. We are told that Legba is a 'master' of the West African language

used by the Fon people (Pelton 1980: 71), and that he and Eshu are 'writers of destiny' (Ibid.: 113). Meanwhile, Ananse 'owns every story' (Sherman 1996: 15). Riddles are a device much used by Trickster figures in fairy tales and literature: consider Gollum's word tussle with Bilbo, in which he asks the Hobbit to identify time as '[T]his thing all things devours: [B]irds, beasts, trees, flowers' (Tolkein 1937/1995: 77). Puns, double entendres and other wordplay are used by the Fool (identified in 2.3 as a Trickster) to humiliate and entertain patrons, devices most famously, and painfully, used by King Lear's (Shakespeare 1993) and identified by Willeford (1969: 154).

Lying, or the perception of lying, runs through many, perhaps most, Trickster stories. Tellingly, Socrates calls Hermes 'the god who invented language and speech [who] could be called interpreter or messenger but also thief, liar or contriver' (Hoy 1982: 408), after the philosopher is invited by Hermogones (literally 'son of Hermes') to examine the name and its meaning (Plato 1997: 126). Mercurius, too, is 'deceitful' Jung tells us (Jung 1943/1948: par. 262), and Nixant, a Trickster of the Algonquian-speaking Gros Ventre people, adds to the many falsehoods told by the archetypal principle's manifestation all over the world often to obtain sexual graitification. In this case, the male figure claims to be a woman with hairy legs (Ortiz 1998: 162). Revelatoriness is most characteristically displayed by Tricksters in the 'ta-da' moment, either as a comic punchline, or as a boastful, self-serving announcement, such as that enjoyed by Cree Trickster Weakaychak, who fools hapless Ermine into defeating the monster Windigo, but then announces to the tribe, 'Friends, behold me! It is entirely due to my courage and wisdom that you no longer have to be afraid of the terrible Windingo'. His claim of bravery was a lie, but the rest of his revelation was true (Ibid: 201). I know from my own experience of popular culture that the 'ta-da' moment is

commonly known as 'the reveal' when discussing, or reviewing, the plots of TV dramas and films.

The fourth Trickster cluster, Inclination, contains two interconnected traits: transformability and unpredictability, brought into play in Trickster stories throughout the world, both ancient and contemporary. 'Shape-shifter' powers are part of 'a curious combination of typical trickster motifs' identified by Jung in the figure of Mercurius (Jung 1954: par. 456). Sometimes a metamorphosis incorporates gender transformation, such as that of Nixant; sometimes it manifests itself as the separation and dispersal of body parts, such as that employed by the Winnebago Trickster Wakdjunkaga (Radin 1956, 1972: 19).

Transformability necessarily embraces a focus on the body, and a drive to escape being trapped (in it) that Bassil-Morozow describes (Bassil-Morozow 2012: 24-32). Waddell characterises this Trickster trait as an exposure of the 'farce of fixity' which emphasises 'the multi-dimensionality of the trickster paradigm' (Waddell 2006: 29). She concludes:

> In this way the archetypal forces us to acknowledge the mutability of identity. By turning the signifiers of who we are topsy-turvy, it allows a respite, and a more knowing re-evaluation of, the self as distinct from an outward show presented to the world.
>
> (Ibid.)

For Goldman, children are 'kings' of the universe 'because, like tricksters, they control transformations between reality and make-believe' (Goldman 1998: 128).

Upon initial consideration, unpredictability may appear to be a superfluous trait already embodied in most, perhaps, all of the others. However, this investigation has concluded that it is worthy of discrimination in its own right, as a function of the principle that is not necessarily contingent on any of the others. In other words, unpredictability per se can be detected as an aspect of the Trickster principle which propels an inclination to be contrary 'just because', and not for the gratification of any

other drive, sexual or otherwise. As already noted, Pelton concludes that actions resulting from such impulse (and other intersecting traits) are prompted 'for the sake of [Trickster's] trajectory regardless of its target' (Pelton 1980: 225).

Such inherent unpredictability is clearly expressed in the actions and prominent characteristics of modern and postmodern Tricksters in literature, TV and film. For example, Alex, the antihero of the novel (Burgess 1962), and film, *A Clockwork Orange*, (Kubrick 1971), had an unpredictable love of Beethoven's music. Unpredictability is also a critical, self-evident, component of the 'trial and error' practice of the bricoleur, associated with Trickster by Hynes (Hynes 1993: 34) and others, and of the broader notion of creativity and creationism cited by Bassil-Morozow as a Trickster trait (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 20).

The final cluster of traits in this reconsideration of the Trickster principle is named Personality and comprises 'humorousness' and 'hypersexuality'. Humour, in the form of situational and verbal jokes, often of a sexual and/or scatological nature, is almost synonymous with Trickster. Jung points out Mercurious's 'fondness for sly jokes and malicious pranks' (Jung 1954: 456) and humour, whether perpetrated by him or aimed at him, might almost be described as the raison d'etre of the Fool as depicted by Willeford (1969: 9-29). Pedro Urdemales 'fools the gringo', as Latin American children read (Brusca 1995) and Hershele has 'a reputation for loving good jokes' (Sherman 1996: 46). Hypersexuality is often interlaced with the humour as in the case of hairy-legged Wakdjunkaga, hilariously cross-dressing to sate his lust already discussed (Ortiz 1998: 162). Sometimes overarching desire for sex, the 'Trickster's licentiousness' (Bassil-Morozow 2012: 39), requires no humorous associations, evidenced by the priapism of Iktomi, a Trickster of the Native American Lakota, who 'is always horny [and] only thinks about copulating' (Ortiz 1998: 123).

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This subchapter has drawn together and examined Trickster characteristics as identified by other theorists, and as observed in cultural examples, distilled them into 12 traits (Fig. 8)[122] and assigned each of those to one of five clusters (Fig. 9)[123]. This thesis contends that every substantive aspect of the previously observed Trickster traits cited, with reasonable interpretation, can rest appropriately in one of the clusters, with the exception of the 'mother or grandmother bond' identified by Babcock-Abrahams (1975: 160). This investigation has been unable to locate multiple examples of such a bond in Trickster manifestations, to its satisfaction, and so chooses to omit this characteristic from its analysis. This subchapter argues that the resulting 12 traits, necessarily interconnected and frequently overlapping, present a comprehensive description of the Trickster principle, without suggesting that every single one of them has to be identified in every single observation of Trickster energy or activity. The result is a theoretical instrument, robustly constructed, that can be applied to the subject of this work's investigation in Chapter Five.

4.2 Trickster as the Third: connections with the transcendent function

Jung observes that the Trickster 'mythologem'—an 'archetypal psychic structure of extreme antiquity' (Jung 1954: par. 465)—can be 'quite useful and sensible' (Jung 1943/1948: par. 477). However, despite the Hermetic insight he imparts at the Eranos Conference in Switzerland in 1942 (Jung 1943/1948), he gives no further indication of appreciating a more fundamental importance of the archetypal principle, a judgement made later by post-Jungians, led by Samuels, who deems it a representation of 'the psyche itself' (Samuels 1985: 270). As observed in 2.4, Jung declines to undertake a comprehensive, methodical, examination of the Trickster paradigm. This thesis has considerable sympathy with Pelton's criticism that Jung 'can only regard the trickster-

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[122] Page 129 .
[123] Page 130.

figure as a moment in an evolutionary process, never giving enough weight to his irreducible ambivalence' (Pelton 1980: 231).

In his substantive work on Trickster, Jung's interest in Trickster is inspired by Bandelier's *The Delight Makers*, (Jung 1954: par. 456), and he attempts to explore the principle's functionality. He concludes with characteristic insight that it transforms the 'meaningless into the meaningful' (Ibid.: par. 458). However, in the view of this investigation, that insight proves uncharacteristically limited in regard to Trickster. For, as this work hopes to make clear in Chapter Five, Jung is mistaken in his declaration that Trickster no longer plays the role of 'delight maker' (Ibid.: par. 469) in modern cultures. In the view of this study, he continued to undervalue the psychosocial relevance and vitality of the principle, incorrectly assessing Trickster to be a transient 'senseless appendage' of the 'memory-image of things as they were'(Ibid.: par.466).

Because Jung, typically, is so perceptive in his societal observations, this study is bewildered by his failure to perceive the contemporaneous cultural relevance of Trickster in the literature and popular media of his time, preferring instead to emphasise its manifestations in antique sub-cultures. At times his reluctance appears almost stubborn. Jung never revisits, revises or develops his initial thoughts about Trickster. Although this thesis can provide no explicit corroboration from his writings, it conjectures that such a disruptive and potentially post-structural principle posed teleological implications too radical even for him to address in more depth.

Trickster's 'primary purpose activity' (Samuels 1993: 81) is to make meaning for individuals, albeit inadvertently, and, by virtue of its 'psychic-social range' (Rowland 2005: 173), for communities of individuals. Jung points out that 'a collective personification like the trickster is the product of an aggregate of individuals and is welcomed by each individual as something known to him, which would not be the case

if it were just an individual outgrowth' (Jung 1954: par. 468). In short, Trickster transforms 'the meaningless into the meaningful' (Ibid.: par. 458).

What is the process through which this 'trickster-transformer-culture hero' or 'trickster-fixer' (Ricketts 1966: 327) equips individual, and collective, psyches with the 'meaning' that enables them not only to survive their struggle with the often overwhelming caprice of fate, 'gods', commerce and societal structure, but, in many cases, to carve life-affirming narratives out of that struggle? Jung observes, astutely, that 'seldom does a man understand with his head alone' and Trickster, as a myth, possesses numinosity which 'has a direct effect on the unconscious whether it is understood or not' (Jung 1954: par. 480). For Jung this archetypal principle reminds modern consciousness of its preconscious certainties by holding 'the earlier low intellectual and moral level before the eyes of the more highly developed individual, so that he shall not forget how things looked yesterday' (Ibid.).

This thesis concludes that connectivity unerringly points to Jung's concept of the transcendent function arising 'from the union of conscious and unconscious contents' (Jung 1916/1957: par. 131). He tells us this is 'a natural process' which is 'based on real and "imaginary", or rational and irrational, data, thus bridging the yawning gulf between conscious and unconscious' (Jung 1917/1926/1943: par. 121). This functions mediates opposites and often expresses itself symbolically (Samuels et al. 1986: 150). This work concludes that Trickster, by virtue of its inherent oppositional aspects enumerated in 4.1, perfectly represents this function, and so remains puzzled by Jung's apparent failure to make the same connection.

This thesis has noted, above, that the transcendent function expresses itself 'by way of the SYMBOL' (Samuels et al. 1986: 150), and suggests here that the symbolism of Trickster, and the seemingly conflicted ambiguity at the core of that principle,

explored in 4.1, closely reflects that function and the way in which it 'mediates OPPOSITES' (Samuels et al. 1986: 150), and which Jung describes as being 'shaped by thesis and antithesis'. In the view of this work, Trickster, like the transcendent function, is a 'living symbol' in 'the shaping of which the opposites are united' (Jung 1921: par. 828).

Unification is also at the core of Jung's concept of *individuation* '[t]he process by which individual beings are formed and differentiated' (Jung 1921: par. 757), and which reflects 'a CIRCUMAMBULATION of the self as the centre of the personality which thereby becomes *unified* [emphasis added]' (Samuels et al. 1986: 76). In this way, this work suggests that the principle of individuation is connected to Trickster via their mutual association with the transcendent function and, like the latter, embodies 'the very stuff of the psyche' (Jung 1921: par. 828).

The mediation, or unification, of opposites—the core function of the transcendent function—cannot be brought about 'rationally' (Jung 1916/1957: par. 131) because, by their nature and by definition, opposites are binary and irreconcilable, and so would be obstructed by the principle of *tertium not datur* (Jung 1921: par. 169) which logically excludes a third option. Therefore, any such unification would not be a 'logically foreseeable, characteristic of a resolution in a conflict situation when the tension between opposites has been held in consciousness' (Sharp 1991: 133-134). Paradoxically, any such 'co-operation' of opposing instincts, despite its apparently irrational basis, is a 'task of reason' (Jung 1921: par. 169). This work concludes that this third outcome, though not 'mysterious or metaphysical' (Jung 1916/1957: par. 131), can be detected embedded in the ambivalent yet 'useful' (Jung 1943/1948: par. 477), Trickster principle, the purpose of which 'is to add disorder to order and so a make a whole' (Radin 1956, 1972: 7).

The concept, and the term, 'third' has been used in other areas of depth psychology as an expression of an alternative psychic reality. For Lacan it is sometimes the Real (Lacan 1992: 1), or the Thing (Das Ding) which is the 'beyond-of-the-signified' (Ibid.: 54). However, who can fail to recognise the Trickster, with all its ambivalence, conflating the buffoon and the hero, in this description by Lacan of 'the terrible dumb brother of the four Marx brothers, Harpo'?

> Is there anything that poses a question which is more present, more pressing, more absorbing, more disruptive, more nauseating, more calculated to thrust everything that takes place before us into the abyss or void than the face of Harpo Marx, that face with its smile that leaves us unclear as to whether it signifies the most extreme perversity or complete simplicity? This dumb man alone is sufficient to sustain the atmosphere of doubt and of radical annihilation which is the stuff of the Marx Brothers' extraordinary farce and the uninterrupted play of jokes that makes their activity so valuable.
>
> (Ibid.)

This investigation posits that Trickster conforms with what Miller calls Jung's 'ultimate statement' about the transcendent function' (Miller 2004: 27):

> The shuttling to and fro of arguments and affects represents the transcendent function of opposites. The confrontation of the two positions generates a tension charged with energy and creates a living, third thing – not a logical rebirth in accordance with the principle tertium non datur but a movement out of the suspension between opposites, a living birth that leads to a new level of being, a new situation.
>
> (Jung 1916/1957: par. 189)

Jung's paragraph characterises a 'Trickster moment' with which most human beings are familiar, and which occurs notably when faced by a crisis, or challenge, to which neither rationality nor instinct provides a complete solution. It is perhaps appropriate that an ancient Greek goddess, co-opted by a modern, global corporation, encapsulates the often life-saving response to such a dilemma in three trademarked words, 'Just Do It' (Nike 2016). This thesis suggests this is a Trickster response, one fired from the borderland between the conscious and unconscious, one poised between panic and craft.

The association between Trickster and the transcendent function, uniquely posited by this thesis, will appear counter-intuitive to some: how can an amoral, seemingly selfish, principle engender a productive resolution of opposites? Is not Trickster in all its figurative manifestations, the very antithesis of such resolution? Is it not a fragmenting, destructive instinct rather than a unifying one? The traits enumerated in 4.1 show that the principle holds conflicting characteristics in tension. One might speculate, informed by a study of them, that Trickster's teleological mission is to break metaphorical eggs, sometimes fulfilling the undetected, ontological promise of a unified omelette, and reflecting the principle's creating/destroying function which this study allots to the 'disruptiveness' category in 4.1. The psychological impulse from which this action is launched is poised between the conscious and the unconscious, between trying and not-trying, and one with which many, perhaps most, artists and sports men and women are familiar. It was encapsulated in a line delivered by the martial artist and actor Bruce Lee as 'the art of fighting without fighting' (Clouse 1973) in a reference borrowed from Sun Tzu (Tzu 1981: 24), and by Zen student Eugen Herrigel when he asks his teacher, 'Is it I who draws the bow, or is it the bow that draws me into a state of highest tension?' (Herrigel 1953: 85-86).

As a 'collective shadow figure' (Jung 1954: par. 484), Trickster is bound to anima, a contrasexual 'personification of the unconscious' (Jung 1951c: par. 20n) and the archetypal figure 'closest behind' the shadow (Jung 1954: par. 485), and by extension bound to animus. He reinforces the connection by noting an etymological link between Tricksterish Mercurius and the Old German term for 'soul' (anima in Latin), describing it as 'quick-moving, changeful of hue, shifting.' He adds, 'It also has the meaning of 'wily' or 'shifty' and concludes, 'hence an air of probability attaches to the alchemical definition of anima as Mercurius' (Jung 1945/1948: par. 391n). Hillman

also helpfully points out that, from Jung, 'Mercurius receives various anima and soul names' (Hillman 1985: 77). The connectedness encourages this investigation to identify Trickster as a central aspect of the unconscious, along with shadow and animus/anima, and, because of its mediating function, with the Self.

The Mercurius 'duplex' displays the conflicted ambivalence of all true Trickster figures because 'on the one hand [it] is Hermes the mystagogue and psychopomp and on the other hand [is] the poisonous dragon, the evil spirit and 'trickster'' (Jung 1943/1948: par. 689). It is within the figure of Mercurius that Jung detects profound archetypal import, in a way that, typically, he fails to detect when examining explicit Trickster manifestations. For this reason, this investigation, like Mather, is disappointed that Mercurius is relatively rarely discussed in print by post-Jungians (Mather 2013: 2). In The Spirit Mercurius, Jung assesses that the figure can be considered a *principium individuationis* (Jung 1943/1948: par. 243) judging that it reflects 'highly important unconscious content' (Ibid.: par. 259). Mercurius, Jung tells us, is often designated the 'life spirit' and his dual, Trickster nature is again emphasized: 'Mercurius, following the tradition of Hermes, is many-sided changeable, and deceitful' (Ibid.: par. 262).

However, can Mercurius, or Hermes, convincingly be characterised as Trickster at all? Kerenyi claims the latter does not manifest the principle, because he lacks 'a spirit of disorder' (Kerenyi 1956/1972: 189). This investigation concludes that Hermes' pranks against his brother Apollo *do* bring disorder to Olympus, and asks what is it other than his spirit that instigates them. Compounding the question of identification, Mather, warns, '[T]here is a problem in equating Hermes with the alchemical Mercurius…the latter is a much more sophisticated figure that combines the ancient Egyptian Thoth with the Greek Hermes, as Hermes Trismegistus' (Mather 2013: 15).

This investigations judges that, even if the historico-cultural connecions between Hermes and Mercurius are challengeable, each figure displays abundant Trickster traits as identified in 4.1.

4.3 Lord of the Random: synchronicity and creativity

As posited in 4.1, this work identifies clear connections between Trickster and both the transcendent function and individuation. Similarly, in this subchapter, it indicates connections between the archetypal principle and both synchronicity, 'an acausal connecting principle' (Jung 1952b: pars. 816-968), and active imagination, 'a sequence of fantasies produced by deliberate concentration' (Jung 1936: par. 101).

Trickster's characteristic transformability, its inherent inclination to shift from one state to another and/or one realm to another, as explored in 4.1 and represented in figures 8 and 9[124], reflects, in the view of this investigation, the 'psychoid nature'[125] of the archetypal and, consequently, 'forms the bridge to matter in general' (Jung 1947/1954: par. 420). In other words, Trickster's inner contradictions and disruptive transgressiveness are connected in a wholly unpredictable and acausal manner with events in the world outside it. This thesis detects in that association a synchronistic activity taking place in a psychoid third space which is 'neither wholly psychological nor wholly physiological' (Samuels et al. 1986: 122). Jung speculates:

> Since psyche and matter are contained in one and the same world, and moreover are in continuous contact with one another and ultimately rest on irrepresentable, transcendent factors, it is not only possible but fairly probable, even, that psyche and matter are two different aspects of one and the same thing
>
> (Jung 1947/1954: par. 418)

He concludes that, what he describes as 'synchronicity phenomena' support his speculation; as he puts it, 'they show that the nonpsychic can behave like the psychic,

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[124] Pages 129 and 130

[125] 'When Jung applied the notion of the archetype to the psychoid unconscious, the psychic/organic link was expressed in the form of a mind/body connection.' Samuels A., Shorter B. and Plaut F. (1986) *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis,* London and New York: Routledge. (Page 122.)

and vice versa, without there being any causal connection between them.' He compares 'the relation of the psychic to the material world with two cones, whose apices, meeting in a point without extension—a real zero-point—touch and do not touch' (Ibid.).

Yet, in no publication reviewed by this work, does Jung comprehensively connect Trickster with synchronicity, 'his most radical challenge of all to mainstream cultural assumptions' (Main 2004: 1). Only in a letter to R.F.C. Hull postmarked 3 August 1953 does he appear to link the two publicly, and then solely in a light-hearted remark concerning his *Astrological Experiment* which provides the second chapter of his substantive work on synchronicity (Jung 1952b: pars. 872-915). He tells Hull, 'The whole experiment has indeed been bedevilled…The old trickster had a grand old time.' This is a reference to a 'number of miscalculations' occurring in 'evaluating statistically the results.' (Jung 1976: 119). Jung continues, referring to the tower he constructed at Bollingen and to Wolfgang Pauli with whom he consulted on synchronicity,

> Two years ago when I worked out the statistics he stared at me out of a stone in the wall of my tower at B. By carving him out I discovered his identity. I have thought I have laid him, but I was obviously wrong again. Latest news is that Synchronicity will appear with Pauli.
> Z   (Ibid.)

Jung's failure to investigate a theoretical connection between Trickster and synchronicity is as surprising to this investigation as his failure to link the former principle with the transcendent function. Post-Jungian analysts have sought to join up some of the theoretical dots regarding the former linkage, Stein for example remarks, 'With considerable justice, it can be said the Greeks names their experience of synchronicity after Hermes' (Stein 1983/2004: 19) and Mather asserts that 'synchronicity also strongly relates to Mercurius' (Mather 2013: 16). By contrast, Jung does connect his concept of the psychoid with synchronicity although that connectivity is inconsistent. The linkage is meticulously tracked by Main who notes Jung's

'ambiguity about whether (he) thinks synchronicity supports the notion of the psychoid unconscious or is supported by it. Most of the evidence suggests the former' (Main 2004: 51). Main notes:

> Jung writes that '[s]ynchronicity tells us something about the nature of what I call the psychoid factor, i.e., the unconscious archetype'…Elsewhere he comments that '[t]his remarkable effect [i.e. synchronicity] points to the "psychoid" and essentially transcendental nature of the archetype as an "arranger" of psychic forms inside and outside the psyche.
> c   (Ibid.)

Contrastingly, Main adds:

> At other times, however, Jung appeals to the notion of the psychoid unconscious as part of synchronicity. For example, in his 1952 essay, after stating that synchronicity 'consists essentially of 'chance' equivalences', he adds, 'Their tertium comparationis rests on the psychoid factors I call archetypes.
>
> (Ibid.)

This work suggests that the practice of active imagination reflects the Trickster principle through their shared, core activity of creativity. Trickster is 'madly, unstoppably creative' (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 20). Trickster is frequently encouraged to perform creatively, e.g. in it guise of The Fool (Willeford 1969: 3-66). Active imagination allows 'a chain of associated fantasies' to produce images 'with a life of their own' (Samuels et al. 1986: 9). Jung's 'confrontation with the unconscious' had dramatic and life-changing consequences (Jung 1963/1995: 194-225) involving exposure to 'real and actual' (Ibid.: 385) archetypal content.

Without naming active imagination, Jung associates it with Freud's 'free association' method and calls it 'the beginning of the transcendent function, i.e. of the collaboration of conscious and unconscious data' (Jung 1916/1957: par. 167). His method of concentrating 'on a specific point, mood, picture or event…allows a chain of associated fantasies to develop and gradually take on a dramatic character' (Samuels et al. 1986: 9) and provides 'a kind of enrichment and clarification of the affect' (Jung 1916/1957: par. 167). This appears to be a creative process, even if the outcome of that creativity remains unrealised in the external world, at least until after the exercise. Jung

describes it thus: 'Fantasy as imaginative activity is…simply the direct expression of psychic life, of psychic energy which cannot appear in consciousness *except in the form of images or contents* (Jung 1921: par. 721). However, this work wholeheartedly agrees with Hannah when she points out that active imagination as a practice was discovered by Jung not invented by him. She explains, 'I say, very carefully, *discovered*, not invented, for active imagination is a form of meditation which man has used, at least from the dawn of history, if not earlier, as a way of learning to know his God or gods' (Hannah 1981: 3).

As described in 4.1, Trickster, by its nature, embodies oppositional characteristics, none more contrasted than its 'creationism' and its attendant destructiveness (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 20). This tension between creativity and destructiveness is embodied dramatically in many mythological figures, notably representations of the Great Mother (Neumann 1963), and particularly those of the Indian goddess Kali, the cosmic creator who 'will have to annihilate again in order to reveal the truth of things, which is her mission' (Mookerjee 1988: 9). Typically, Great Mother figures are not comprehensively representative of Trickster; however this investigation detects Trickster energy in this aspects of the myth, and judges it contextually beneficial to point it out. Trickster's disruptiveness, identified in 4.1, is connected, then, with creativity, an activity which itself is paradoxical (Boden 1990: 18). This work's examination of the intersecting and interrelated Trickster traits and their clusters also suggests that unpredictability is a contributing factor, perhaps equally fundamental. Not for nothing, this investigation suggests, is the West African Trickster Ogo-Yururu called the Lord of the Random (Pelton 1980: 164). Furthermore, its paradoxical, archetypal purpose would also seem to be signalled by the additional epithet Servant of Wholeness (Ibid.). Boden observes that many religious theorists

consider creation *ex nihilo* (out of nothing) to be impossible 'even for God' (Boden 1990: 30). Such a stance suggests that the process, rather than one of illumination without precursors, is always rather one of reconfiguration, and therefore a function of disruption, of Trickster.

It is not hard to detect a Trickster process not unlike active imagination in the work of some artists. Jung himself addresses the output of Picasso and the painter's 'literary brother' James Joyce (Jung 1932: par. 204), who employed a 'stream of consciousness' writing technique in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake. However Rowland is wise to remind us that 'no art is, in Jungian terms, "pure" trickster, unless the trickster is taken to signify all types of plurality and otherness' (Rowland 2012: loc. 1375), and she notes that analyses and commentaries by Beebe (1981) and Waddell (2006) 'focus on art as disturbance' (Ibid.: loc. 4150). It is reasonable to detect an energy of mischief or even disruptiveness, both Trickster traits identified in 4.1, in some art, and therefore reasonable for Beebe and Waddell to address it in regard to the principle.

Trickster's potential for destructively-facilitated creationism, or creativity, co-opting the random in a manner than can be viewed as synchronistic—often through acts of transgression—sometimes produces a whole-some outcome symbolically suggestive of a reconciliation of opposites. However, that outcome is far from inevitable. Trickster is driven amorally and so individual outcomes triggered by its energy can equally be judged destructive and, in those instances, the antithesis of holism. These instances, however, do not undermine the teleological integrity of its function which the morally blind principle continues to exercise with vitality.

This these concurs with Jung's assertion that the creative process is 'a living thing implanted in the human psyche', however his additional characterisation of it as an 'autonomous complex' (Jung 1922: par. 115) requires investigation. Jung's theory

of complexes developed throughout his working life from when he first used the term while still working with Freud. In 1934 he called complexes 'the living units of the unconscious psyche' (Jung 1934: par. 210). However, there has 'always been confusion and disagreement about the nature of the terms *archetype* and *complex* in Jungian circles' (Saunders and Skar 2001: 305). It is the view of this study that MacLennan appropriately describes that relationship thus:

> [A]s an archetype is activated repeatedly, or especially in emotionally charged situations, over the course of an individual's life, a web of associations, created according to the laws of similarity and contiguity, grows up around the archetype. The resulting complex particularizes the archetype for each person, for better or worse
>
> (MacLennan 2006: 23)

So this thesis does not consider Trickster to be a complex but rather an archetypal drive embedded in personal, mostly autonomous complexes which reflect the archetypal Trickster principle. Human creativity's primordial genesis is echoed by Jung when he notes 'we discover the first instincts of art in animals used in the service of the impulse of creation, and limited to the breeding season' (Jung 1913: par. 279).

Despite this posited artistic connection, Samuels warns us not to seek in the archetypal process 'signs of individuation'(Samuels 1993: 86). However this study suggests that Trickster-triggered activities, some artistic and/or creative, can reinforce an individual's identification with 'a larger cultural whole' as a result of 'cultural complex dynamics (operating) at the group level of the psyche of the individual and within the dynamic field of group life' (Singer and Kimbles 2004: 99). This chapter agrees with van den Berk's description as 'beautiful' (Berk 2009: 30) Jung's statement that, 'The creative urge lives and grows in him [the artist] like a tree in the earth from which it draws its nourishment.' (Jung 1922: par. 115). Thus, art, as randomly manifested creativity, is an inevitable outcome of Trickster functionality, not in every single event energised by the principle, but as an underlying foundation of its project;

it is the way the internal Trickster energy of individuals, or groups of individuals, reaches out to the external and interacts with it, often in a manner that can interpreted as synchronistic because that interaction is not causally engendered.

4.4 Postmodern Trickster: anti-heroic and increasingly female

On occasions, a Trickster figure, usually male, bearing the same name, or a similar one, recurs over hundreds of years in a specific culture, sometimes developing from one manifestation to another. An example of this is Pedro de Urdemalas, a regular inhabitant of Spanish folk stories, made a literary figure by Cervantes (1960). Cervantes completes the transformation of Pedro from buffoon to culture-hero, one that in the 21st century we would, justifiably, re-describe as an anti-hero, i.e. one lacking 'conventional heroic attributes' (O.E.D., vol. 1: 525). As evidenced by the traits enumerated in 4.1, Trickster is characteristically non-heroic, despite the appropriately ambiguous epithet of 'culture-hero' (Ricketts 1966: 327). This thesis suggests that the term anti-heroic can fairly be applied to the principle in its cultural manifestations.

Surtz observes that 'Pedro de Urdemalas, although known in folklore as merely a trickster, becomes in the hands of Cervantes, a magician and creator' (Surtz 1980: 118). Either as the magician/creator described by Surtz, or as 'trickster-transformer-culture hero or 'trickster-fixer'' (Ricketts 1966: 327), Trickster transforms 'the meaningless into the meaningful' (Jung 1954: par. 458), as noted in 4.2. In the postmodern world of fragmentation and disenchantment, it fills the cultural and psychosocial gap left by 'the inadequacy of the hero myth as a basis for modern identity' (Rowland 2005: 174). As discussed in 2.3, Boas inadvertently describes perfectly the post-modern anti-hero when he writes

> The identification of trickster and transformer is a feature which deserves special notice. I have called attention to the fact – borne out by most of the mythologies in which trickster and culture-hero appear as one person – that the benefactions bestowed by the culture-hero are not given in an altruistic spirit, but that they are means by which he supplies his own needs. Even in his

heroic achievements he remains a trickster bent upon the satisfaction of his own desires.
(Boas 1940/1961: 474)

This is not the world Hero portrayed by Campbell who, '[w]ith the personification of his destiny to guide and aid him…goes forward in his adventure' (Campbell 1993: 77). Hero's 'call to adventure' is his or her mission, but Trickster has no such 'conscious' mission, whatever teleological 'mission' may underpin the principle. Is the postmodern anti-hero imbued with Trickster traits simply a lovable rogue who reluctantly slips into a heroic mode to save the day, such as Han Solo in the *Star Wars* films (Lucas 1977), for example? Han, played by Harrison Ford, starts off as a mercenary not interested in any heroic cause, just money or lust or whatever can satisfy him. However, as his 2015 appearance in Force Awakens shows, he did not settle down and reverted to his original roaming type. Trickster does not 'atone with the father' (Campbell 1993: 126), although, once again, as has been suggested here, such a reconciliation of opposites is embedded in the potential of the principle.

As this work's literature review indicates in 2.3 and 2.4, the majority of Trickster figures reported by Jungians, post-Jungians and western anthropologists in the 20th century are male. However, Jung characterises Mercurius as the 'hermaphrodite that was in the beginning' (Jung 1937: par. 404). This investigation concurs with Harper's conclusion that Jung uses the capitalised term Spirit 'to signify the androgynous Mercurius' (Harpur: 479). There is much about the mercurial that is characteristically female. As Mather reminds us, 'the alchemical Mercurius has numerous associations and even identifications with the feminine' (Mather 2014: 143). Jung says that '(b)ecause of his united double nature Mercurius is described as hermaphroditic. Sometimes his body is said to be masculine and his soul feminine, sometimes the reverse.' (Jung 1943/1948: par. 268).

The 'dual body' of Tricksterish carnival participants is observed by Bakhtin (Bakhtin 1965/1984: 256) and noted by Waddell (Waddell 2006: 41). However, many Trickster figures discussed in the 20th century, are grotesquely and conspicuously male, with masculine characteristics playing a large part in their motivation and the unfolding of their stories. Indeed, it is 'that very phallicism that signifies his essential creativity' (Leeming and Page 1996: 24). For example the Winnebago Trickster at one point has his penis in a box and sends it out to lodge itself 'squarely' in a chief's daughter. He even sends his detached penis swimming across a lake to penetrate her (Radin 1956, 1972: 19).

The union of male and female, as, this work suggests, a symbolic representation of the reconciliation of the masculine and the feminine, is both implicit and explicit in most of Trickster's reported sexual escapades. Ogu-Yurugu even fears 'he will lack a feminine half' (Pelton 1980: 186), and a profound conflation of such masculine yearning for the feminine is embedded in the title of Lopez's *Giving Birth to Thunder, Sleeping with his Daughter* (Lopez 1990). Thus the anima is usually associated with a male Trickster figure in some way, and not generally in opposition to it. For example, Coyote meets Whirlwind Woman on his travels and, falling in love and/or lust with her, he declares tellingly, 'You are just like me!...I am always traveling. I even have the same power you do.' Coyote begins 'to run and turn and spin around' in imitation of a whirlwind (Lopez 1990: 114-115), the whole exchange evoking 'spirit', 'anima' in its literal (Latin) sense of wind.

Figures evolving from fairy tales, myths and folk stories into literature retain their power in contemporary media vehicles, but few remain as potent as Robin Hood and his 'other half' the patrician, cultivated, beautiful Maid Marian, as evidenced in myriad films including *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (Reynolds 1991). It appears

that, portrayed through the filter of prevailing patriarchal cultures, Trickster is invariably male, with the feminine essence provided by an apparently separate figure. However, in a post-modern, feminist or post-feminist culture it becomes culturally acceptable, or increasingly desirable, for the feminine to be explicit in Trickster manifestations without the principle losing any of its potency and characteristic disruptive ability. This work suggests that this partly why postmodern, Trickster has regained more authentic representations of its archetypal bi-gender potential, in which its feminine is no longer split off as temptress or harlot, Mary Magdalene vs the Virgin Mary, as discussed by Warner (1976), Qualls-Corbett (1988) and others.

Since Tannen first comprehensively reviewed female Tricksters in postmodern culture (Tannen 2007), it appears from this investigation's exposure to British and American TV and films, that portrayals of such figures have increased, in those media. This work draws attention to four such cultural manifestations sharing common Trickster characteristics. Their fictional first names are Abby, Chloe, Felicity and Garcia in their respective US-made TV series, *NCIS* (Bellisario and McGill 2012), *24* (Surnow 2001), *Arrow* (Schechter et al. 2012) and *Criminal Minds* (Mantegna et al. 2005). The series each portray team of crime-fighters: *NCIS* is a group of Navy investigators, the first series of *24* portrays a team around an otherwise solitary agent, *Arrow* has a group of friends supporting the eponymous superhero created by DC comics as Green Arrow in 1941 (DC 2016) and *Criminal Minds* is an FBI team which tracks down serial killers.

Figure 11 Abby from NCIS displays her spider tattoo   *(Bellisario and McGill 2012)*

Abby, played by Pauley Perrette is a forensic scientist who works exclusively in her laboratory wearing 'goth' clothes and tattoos, including a spider's web (Fig. 11)[126], reminiscent of aforementioned Trickster figures[127], and listening to loud, thrash' rock music while her laboratory 'magic' solves baffling crimes for the 'Zeus' of her team, silver-haired Jethro Gibbs, played by Mark Harmon. He indulges her idiosyncrasies and allows her a near-impudent familiarity that he denies the rest of his team. Chloe O'Brian, played by Maty Lynn Rajskub is an expert analyst at the intelligence agency CTU in charge of telecoms and computers. Felicity Smoak, played by Emily Bett Rickards, is another communications and computer expert, who, intitially, wears black horn-rim glasses and her hair tied tightly back. She ends up

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[126] Page 155.
[127] Page 126.

wheelchair-bound and in a conflicted romantic relationship with the eponymous superhero. Penelope Garcia, played by Kirsten Vangsness, is another telecommunications and computer expert who wears garish clothes and distinctive large spectacles. However, she, too, used to be a 'goth' as part of an anti-capitalist phone-hacking gang to whom she was known as the Black Queen. She pursues a long-running, dialogue with a heroic member of the team called Derek Morgan. To outsiders their conversations appear flirtatious and cryptically sexual but, in fact, they have no desire for a romantic relationship, much like Abby and Gibbs. Garcia calls Derek, Morgan calls Garcia 'my god-given solace' and he asks her in a 2008 episode, 'Woman you promise me one thing…whatever happens don't you ever stop talking to me.' (Mantegna et al. 2005)

Chloe too appears to have a non-sexual, yet intimate, relationship with her shows' heroic character Jack Bauer, played by Kiefer Sutherland. The ambiguous relationship of all these four female characters with their male counterparts are just one of the traits that they share. To one extent or the other, they also appear, and dress, in a way that does not adhere to a glamorous screen stereotype. They are also all psychpomps, responsible for guiding their team to victory, generally by using computer science, that this investigation judges to be symbolic of the collective unconscious. In this regard, they are in control of communications and make meaning of clues for the heroes to follow.

In previous eras, this investigation judges that each of these four characters would almost certainly have been male, if only because women did not, in the public perception, have access to the dark secrets of technology. And each of them display common Trickster traits of ambivalence, communication skills, mischievousness, transgressiveness and unpredictability. Sexuality is there, too, but, usually in a way that

is complex and implied. In their different ways, they are all humorous, and Tannen draws particular attention to humour as a trait of postmodern female Trickster, noting, 'Women and humour are a dangerous combination because humour refuses to accept the givens and women are socialised to be a given' (Tannen 2007: 164). The *Marvel* stable had proved particularly fruitful in the provision of new, female, anti-heroic Trickster figures, notably Jessica Jones and Scarlet (Carissimo 2016).

Concluding remarks

This chapter has revisited the archetypal Trickster principle. As explained in 1.2, this thesis does not seek to investigate, nor make conclusions about, the genesis of archetypal content. This investigation judges such an ontological exploration to be beyond its scope and, ultimately, unhelpful to the assessment which it undertakes. Rather, it is content to recognise that such principles operate within the human condition, and to heed Jung's advice that such content 'expresses itself, first and foremost, in metaphors' (Jung 1940: par. 267). With that in mind, and as explained in 1.3, it seeks to glean knowledge hermeneutically from Jung's insights, and those of other thinkers. Thus it is informed by Jung's analysis that Trickster is 'a summation of all the inferior traits of character within individuals' and, like him, recognises that 'since the individual shadow is never absent as a component of personality, the collective figure can construct itself out of it continually' (Jung 1954: par. 484).

The chapter reviewed the identification of Trickster characteristics made hitherto, within the post-Jungian field, and a selection of other fields including that of social anthropology, and reconfigured them, with its own additional analysis, to provide a conveniently assimilated model of 12 Trickster traits contained within five clusters. It has acknowledged that neither the traits, nor their clusters are discrete nor comprehensive. Other concepts and characteristics associated with Trickster are

subsumed within them, explicitly or implicitly, and many associated characteristics are shared by clusters and traits; given the principle's archetypal holism, ultimately *all* those characteristics can be divined in all the categories described here. Following the discussion pursued throughout Chapter Four, by way of summary, these are portrayed, alphabetically, as a list of 12 traits (Fig. 8)[128] and in their five clusters (Fig. 9)[129].

The purpose of such categorisations is, through the language of terminology, to trigger useful interpretation by the reader. As described (passim) in this study, narrative themes associated with Trickster have been of interest to ethnologists and cultural anthropologists for over 100 years, however, it is appropriate to note at this juncture that, less obviously, they have also attracted the study of linguists. This was evidenced in 1975 at St Andrews University in Scotland when a colloquium was held by the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies under the simple title of *The Trickster*. Most of the fable and languages explored emanated from Native American cultures and sub-cultures including the Hopi and the Winnebego. Given this investigation's journalistic subject of inquiry, it is of particular interest to it that the Trickster principle's central perceived ambivalence should be examined by these scholars from a linguistic perspective. For example, Howard's paper on animal tricksters in folk tales notes, 'It is in the ambiguity of the trickster that we find the key to our understanding of him' (Howard 1975: 29). Also noteworthy is a presentation by Gifford, even if this study does not concur with its implied conclusion that Trickster manifests a self-conscious moral purpose. In his presentation of *Folly and the Trickster*, Gifford writes, 'Simple as this equation of Fool and Trickster may seem at first glance, some implications of it are worth considering further…he is grossly rude and unkind, he is

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[129] Page 129.

sexually disturbing and obscene, he mocks in the worst possible taste. Yet the end towards which he works are in the main justifiable and good.' (Gifford 1975: 45).

The purpose of Chapter Four has been to provide a tool with which to detect, in Chapter Five, Trickster energy within it subject, early 2th century popular British tabloid newspaper journalism as characterised by *The Sun* and *News of the World*. That tool is a model of the archetypal Trickster principle identified by Jung and others. That principle was found to have an ambiguously positive effect on the human condition in that, despite its inherent amorality and frequent destructiveness, unintended creativity is sometimes engendered by events its triggers or with which it interacts. Ultimately, its positive effect can be affirmed teleologically and axiomatically by its very continued phenomenological existence; i.e. if it had no meaningful function it would not be 'there' and therefore the subject of identification.

This chapter then went on to suggest hitherto largely unexplored connections between Trickster and some of Jung's other key theories and insights, including the transcendent function, individuation, active imagination and synchronicity. Finally, this chapter explored Trickster emergence in the postmodern 20th and 21st century as a manifestation of the ant-hero, and to investigate, by example, its adoption of explicitly female figures within popular TV and film culture.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS

Trickster energies infusing the tabloid psyche

This chapter assesses contemporary British tabloid journalism, as characterised by *The Sun*, newspaper, from a post-Jungian perspective. It does this by testing the hypothesis that *The Sun* and *News of the World* and, by extension, similar newspapers, manifest the archetypal Trickster principle, described by Jung and others, whose work is selectively reviewed in 2.2 and 2.3. The hypothesis is tested by applying the Trickster model reimagined in Chapter Four—comprising 12 traits within five clusters—to three aspects of UK tabloid journalism identified in Chapter Three: product, practice and socio-cultural impact. This thesis posits that such newspapers, and the paradigm (Barbour 1974: 9) they reflect, can be viewed as the shadow of 'respectable' upmarket, 'broadsheet' titles in a way that is commensurate with Jung's characterisation of Trickster as 'a collective shadow figure, a summation of all the inferior traits of character in individuals' out of which 'the collective figure can construct itself'. (Jung 1954: par. 489). Anecdotal evidence of 'City gents' in London reading *The Sun* hidden inside their copy of the *Financial Times* is supported by circulation statistics, explains Preston, extrapolating from National Readership Survey figures (Preston 2011) .

Tabloid journalism's many detractors might deem it appropriate to apply Pelton's description of Trickster—the opening words of his seminal book—to the target of their distaste: 'Loutish, lustful, puffed up with boasts and lies, ravenous for foolery', although this work suggests many would be less keen to attribute to redtops Pelton's corollary, that the principle manages 'always to draw order from ordure' (Pelton 1980: 1). However, this thesis predicts many probably would find a correlation in his description of Trickster as 'cocksure contradictor of contradiction' (Ibid.: 165), and the epithets, 'demon of deception' (Goldman 1995: 111) and 'capricious hoaxer'

(Babcock-Abrahams 1975: 162) would almost certainly have critics of *The Sun* and the *News of the World* rigorously nodding their heads in recognition, as an inspection of evidence to the Leveson Inquiry, Part I (2012) would attest. This investigation further suggests a critic of redtop journalism might judge that Ricketts' description of Trickster neatly summarises the tabloid tradition: 'a prankster who is grossly erotic, insatiably hungry, inordinately vain, deceitful, and cunning...a blunderer who is often the victim of his own tricks and follies' (Ricketts 1966: 327-328).

As emphasised in Chapter Three of this investigation, and elsewhere within, the subject being examined is not simply the product of the journalism described, it is the paradigm (Barbour 1974: 9) it represents. In Chapter Three, this work examined three aspects of tabloid: its practice, its product and its effect as a societal presence. This work concedes that, without the precise, contextual definition, provided in Chapter One, 'paradigm' is an unusual term to apply to such a subject. However, a word that overarches its disparate, but overlapping, dimensions is required. An alternative term considered by this investigation to convey the subject holistically was praxis , i.e. the 'habitual action, accepted practice [and] custom' associated with it (O.E.D., vol. 12: 291). After further examination, this work concluded that praxis was terminologically inadequate and so retained paradigm as defined by Barbour (1974: 9).

This chapter tests its primary hypothesis by taking its reimagined Trickster model (Figs. 8 and 9)[130] and comparing some, or all, of its 12 identified traits to case studies drawn from the tabloid paradigm's three dimensions: product, practice and (social) phenomenon. It subdivides product into *content* and *containers*, and practice into *actors* (journalists as they see themselves) and *figures* (tabloid leaders as they are publicly perceived). Four case studies are taken from each of the resultant sub-

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[130] Pages 129 and 130.

categories which, added to four in the 'phenomenon' category[131], total 20 case studies which are portrayed in Fig. 12[132].

This thesis posits that such textual analysis, underpinned by hermeneutical interpretation as outlined in 1.3, is sufficient to assess to what degree, if any, archetypal Trickster characteristics and energies can be detected within the tabloid paradigm under examination. A diagram summarising this method of analysis is reproduced in Fig. 12[133]. The colour-coded case studies are addressed and explained in the appropriate subchapters.

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[131] Phone-hacking, the pre-eminent example of tabloid impact on UK society, is explored additionally and separately in 6.1.
[132] Page 163.
[133] Page 163.
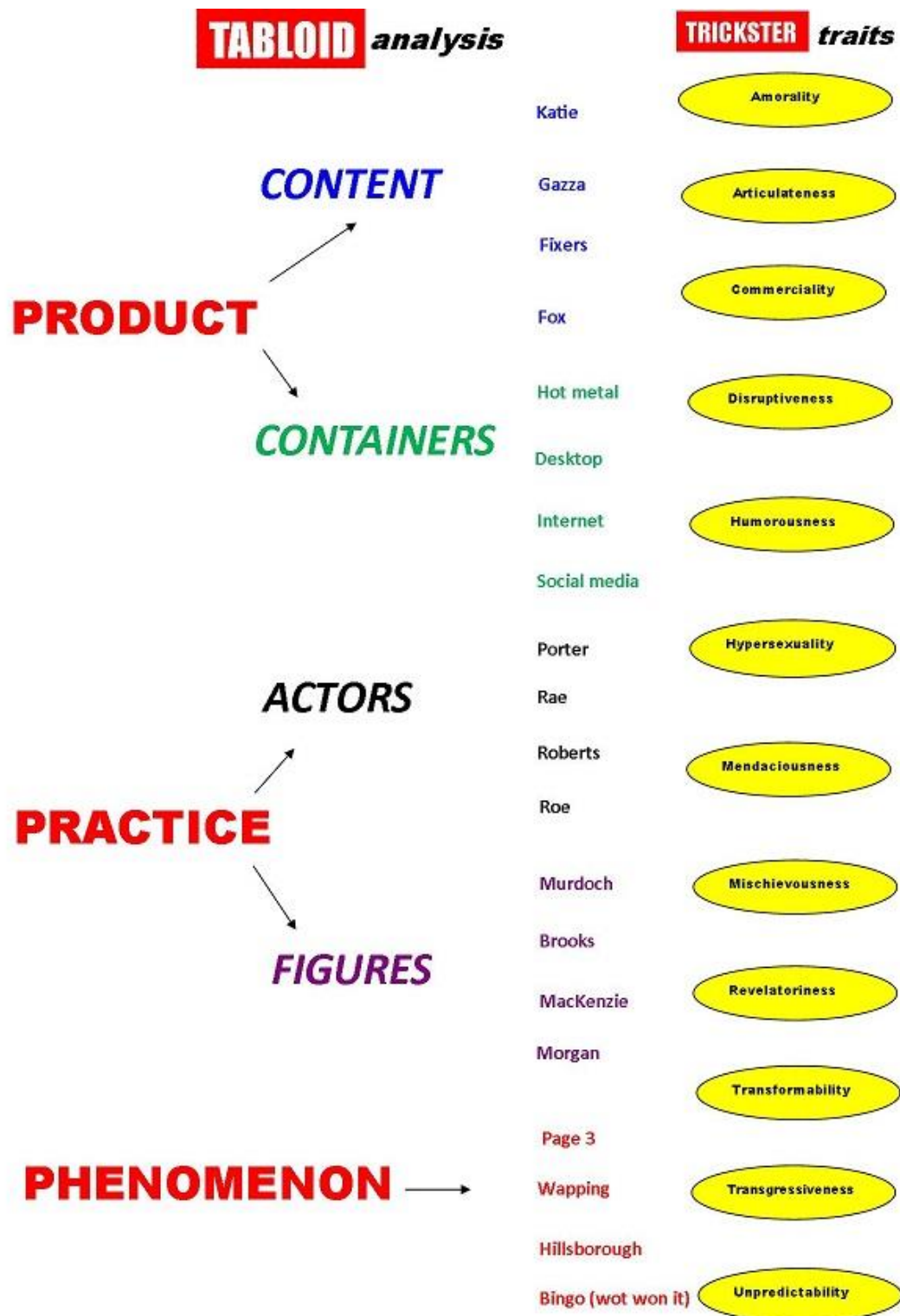
Figure 12 Diagram of case studies and categories analysed in this chapter, alongside 12 Trickster traits

5.1 The celebrities: stories of buffoons and culture heroes

Characteristic British tabloid newspaper content 'down the years' has always featured news and gossip about celebrities alongside 'any form of prurience which can be included under the general heading of human interest' (Conboy 2006: 12). A leading article in Britain's biggest-selling newspaper at the time, the redtopped *Daily Mirror*, insisted, 'We will not hesitate to expose the buffooneries of public personalities' (Mirror 1958). However, over half a century later, by 2013, that genre of reportage had burgeoned, as is evidenced by it providing the subject of 16 of the 52 *Sun on Sunday* splashes[134] published in 2014[135]. This large proportion (over one third) of celebrity content preferred and promoted by Britain's biggest-selling Sunday title at the time of writing (ABC) suggests the importance of the genre to tabloid products, an importance reinforced by the digital supremacy of celebrity-driven *Daily MailOnline*, the most-read English-language newspaper website in the world, with 55.8 million unique users in September 2014 (Sweney 2014).

I know from my 39 years of experience as a tabloid production journalist, most of it on *The Sun*,[136] how the process driving the product of that newspaper, and similar titles, can be divided into over two distinct categories: the gathering and selection of content, and the presenting of that content on various platforms, including print, which this thesis characterises as 'containers'.

The first four cases examined here, represent content characterised as celebrity. It is important to note that this thesis is not suggesting that those individuals *themselves* inherently, or noumenally, manifest the Trickster principle, rather they reflect, as Samuels puts it, 'a graduation of affect, something in the eye and heart of the beholder,

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[134] '**splash** A newspaper's main front-page story…' Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 286.)
[135] Appendix A.
[136] Appendix A.

not in what he or she beholds or experiences' (Samuels 1989: 25). In this case, the 'beholder' referred to is both the reader of the newspaper story (or viewer of the image), and, vicariously, the authoring journalist's expectation of that reader's affect. The four subjects are Katie Price, a model initially known to tabloid readers by her professional name of Jordan (Price 2007: passim), Paul Gascoigne, a professional association footballer who played for England but later descended into alcoholism (Davies 2007), Simon Cowell, creator and judge of the leading reality TV show *The X Factor* (Cowell 2001), whom this subchapter contrasts with a more darkly painted figure from the tabloid pages, disgraced publicity agent Max Clifford, and a fox named Romeo found at the top of London's tallest building (later to house the newspaper) *The Shard*, while the structure was still being constructed (Sun 2011). It was the subject of a 'splash' or leading front-page article in *The Sun* and several accompanying feature articles.

Price's **hypersexuality** was a prominent feature of her tabloid press coverage from when, at 18, using the celebrity name Jordan, she appeared as *The Sun*'s topless Page 3 girl throughout a whole week, as a striptease feature (Price 2005: 48). Her ensuing love life was covered in detail by all of Britain's popular newspapers, and the **sexual** aspects were emphasised, including, by the time she was 38, her multiple relationships, her failed marriages to singer Peter Andre, cage-fighter Alex Reid and Kieran Hayler, whom she accused on having an affair with her best friend (Smith 2015), and her five children, one of whom, Harvey, by footballer Dwight Yorke was severely disabled (Mapstone and Nattrass 2016). Readers of, what this thesis would judge to be a 'tabloid TV' show, were moved by Price's seemingly **unpredictable** switch from confident, money-making '**sex** goddess' to weeping mother as she described her feelings of guilt at 'letting down' Harvey when she considered putting him into respite care (Bernat 2016). Furthermore, she **transformed** her name from

Katie Price to Jordan and back, **transformed** her body with a succession of breast implants (Fig. 13)[137], to enlarge or reduce (McDermott 2014) and, by association, was connected to cross-dressing through second husband Alex Reid (Mirror 2015).

Figure 13 Words, sex and bawdy humour. Price launches book, left, and winks at implants
(From metro.co.uk 28 July 2010 and, right, MailOnline 1 April 2016)

Price's ambiguity has always been a key part of her public image. Often characterised as an 'airhead' (DorestEcho 2012: Comments), counterintuitively, she made £40million by the time she was 40 and has authored eight novels and three autobiographies at the time of writing (Price 2016). It is unclear how many of these were ghosted or co-written, but she admits, 'I don't sit there with a typewriter and write it…I say how I want the storyline to be…read through it, change it and then it goes away to be written' (Cable 2008). Reportage of Price's financial fortune, and her keenness to employ her reputation for **hypersexuality** in pursuit of **commerciality** (Standard 2010), was matched by her own reported ability to wink publicly, **mischievously**, and with **humou**r, at that reputation, as she did in an April Fool's joke employing breast implants (Giles 2016). Her willingness to **disruptively** expose secrets of her own relationships (Gritt 2016) show her as wedded to **revelatoriness** in the

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public eye as she was to **hypersexuality**. This review of the image of Katie Price, as observed through a tabloid eye, identifies Price's association with Trickster traits outlined in 4.1. This thesis suggests that the described ambiguousness over who writes her books falls broadly into the category of **mendaciousness**.

Paul Gascoigne was a working-class footballing hero from the north-east of England who, like Ulsterman George Best a generation before with whom he is often compared (Walker 2016), seemed destined to be the greatest footballer of his generation (Roos Undated), gaining England 57 caps for England between 1985 and 2004. However, again like Best, a liver transplant failed to end his dependence on alcohol (Davies 2007). From the beginning of his public exposure, mainly through tabloid newspapers, on both the sports and news pages, it was visual imagery of him, invariably displaying powerful, even childish, emotions, that caught the public's imagination, as the four photographs reproduced in Figs. 14a and 14b reflect.

Figure 14a Gazza's pain in 1989 genital attack and tears in 1990 defeat   *(Daily Mirror and Sky Sports)*

Figure 14b His whistle mime 'joke' in 1998 and distress in 2016   *(Daily Mirror and The Sun)*

One of the earliest images of 'Gazza', as Gascoigne was quickly labelled by tabloid headline writers, was of his genitals being squeezed by club opponent Vinnie Jones (Fig. 14a)[138], who, appropriately, later went on to make a living playing villains in Hollywood films. Gascoigne recalls his pain, 'I screamed in agony', but he concedes that what became 'one of football's best-known images…didn't in the end do me or Vinnie any harm' (Gascoigne 2004: Loc. 896). The zenith of Gazza's emotional on-pitch displays, and which came to define him among tabloid readers, was him bursting into tears at the end of England's defeat by West Germany in the semi-final of the 1990 World Cup. Looking every inch a schoolboy, he tugged his shirt up to partially cover his face (Fig. 14a)[139], knowing that, even if England had won, he would not play in the final because of a booking he had received (Forster).

Childlike political naivety was seen by some observers to mitigate his provocative miming of a flute player (Fig. 14b)[140], during a 1998 game for his club Glasgow Rangers, traditionally supported by Protestants in a city retaining fierce religious rivalries, against Celtic, a side with strong Catholic associations; flute-playing, in that context, was correctly perceived to be symbolic of Protestant Loyalist

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[138] Page 167.
[139] Page 167.
[140] Page 168.

sympathies in Northern Ireland, although the footballer later claimed to not realise that (Owens 2013). The themes that connect these images, and Gazza's story to drink-fuelled oblivion, are predominantly those of **mischievousness**, **disruptiveness** and **humorousness**. **Articulateness** is not a characteristic that is easily connected with Gascoigne. At the time of writing, five autobiographical books are attributed to him, although Hunter Davies has conceded ghost-writing at least some of his work (Davies 2008). From these works and his thousands[141] of newspaper and magazine interviews, Gazza can fairly be assessed to have communicated verbally a, if not in writing, a very great deal throughout his career. A key figure in his press 'running story' [142] was his glamorous blonde wife, later ex-wife, Sheryl, who herself won the tabloid nickname of Shazza. She had a long-running, passionate on-off love affair with Gascoigne, which recurred after their divorce. However, her husband's **mendaciousness**, and brutality, was described during her successful libel action against the *News of the World* over a published interview with him headlined 'you lying bitch' (BBC 2010).

As late as 2016, Gazza, now a shambling wreck of a man (Fig 14b)[143] was still making big headlines in tabloids, including *The Sun* (Wilkinson 2016: 11). Most of the Trickster traits identified in 4.1 can be applied to his press persona, including the ambivalence of this 'innocent's' provocative flute-playing and proven brutality to Sheryl, and his continuing pursuit of **commerciality**: he won £188,000 in phone-hacking damages from Mirror Group newspapers (Dawar 2015). His descent reflects that of many Trickster figures whose misdeeds and excesses finally lead to their 'comeuppance' (Jackson 2014: 163).

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[141] A web search of 'Gazza' in The Sun print editions only from January 1 1995 to July 14, 2016 via ClipShare (see Abbreviations, Page 294) executed 7 July 2016, produced 2,400 results.

[142] An event or item that continues to develop over a period of time Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 270.)

[143] Page 168.

Impresarios and publicists operating in the 21st century arena of celebrity are popular subjects for tabloid newspapers. This investigation suggests that such a media go-between is often a 'trickster-transformer-culture hero (or 'trickster fixer', for short)' (Ricketts 1966: 327). However, in the postmodern landscape, the term hero would more appropriately be altered to anti-hero. Two such examples, examined here as a single case, are Simon Cowell and Max Clifford. Cowell, born in London in 1959 was a showbusiness publicist who became famous for creating, and appearing as a judge on, the popular UK talent show X Factor which in 2010 had an audience of 14.51 million and was the fourth most watched TV show in Britain (BARB 2010). A search for his name on *ClipShare*[144] detecting only print appearances in *The Sun* from 2001 to 2015 showed 13,614 entries compared with just 775 for Max Clifford, a publicity agent born in Surrey in 1943 who became Cowell's PR adviser for ten years until Cowell ended the relationship over the elder's conviction and imprisonment for **sexual** offences against women and girls, one only 14. Clifford had said of Cowell: "This is a man who for 10 years I protected and always was desperately, desperately keen to have a private life and keep his private life very private…I think the world of the guy" (Joshi 2016).

Figure 15 Clifford with client before convictions and, right, Cowell's affair exposed   *(The Sun)*

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[144] Abbreviations, 295.

Clifford, was a go-between between celebrities (Fig. 15)[145] and the tabloids. As such, he appeared relatively rarely in the tabloids (Ibid.) until he was charged and jailed for eight years in 2014. Greenslade recalls that, as editor of the *Daily Mirror* in 190-1991 he had dealings with him and recalls how Ted Francis contacted the *News of The World* and was paid £150,000 to facilitate the exposure of his former friend's **sexual** encounter with a prostitute. Greenslade described Clifford as 'tricky'(Greenslade 2004: 653). The pairing of these two fixers starkly illustrates the 'dark' Trickster, the point at which the **sexual transgressiveness** of Cowell, epitomised by his four-year affair with a friend's wife (Fig. 15)[146] who became pregnant by him (Pryer 2013) shifts into the dark abuse of Clifford, whose tricking of female victims is reminiscent of many traditional Trickster stories, particularly those of Native American cultures, such as the Gros Ventre (Ortiz 1998: 162) .

Cowell was estimated to be worth £165million in 2010 and Clifford was also wealthy. He boasted that photographs of Princess Diana he brokered "with my contacts…will sell for at least a million pounds worldwide" (Horrie 2003: 205). **Commerciality**, **transgressiveness** and a firm grasp of the language of tabloids was at the heart of their successes. **Humour** also played its part as Clifford displayed when claiming that one of his clients, actor Antonia de Sancha, had worn a Chelsea football shirt while sleeping with married politician David Mellor. He later admitted the claim had been fabricated, in one of many expressions of his **mendaciousness** (Sky 2016a). These two men, as portrayed in the tabloid press, and the Hermetic function they fulfilled, conveying, with their own 'spin' the activities of the gods of celebrity to the ordinary reader, are Tricksters to their fingertips.

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[145] Page 170.
[146] Page 170.

Focusing on an animal in a news story was common in many British tabloid titles, notably *The Daily Sketch* which ceased publication in 1971. As a junior reporter shortly before its closure, I was advised by an experienced freelancer to 'pitch' any animal stories to the *Sketch* in preference to any other newspaper. 'The battle for Blackie the donkey' (Rae 2013: Loc. 2023) concerning the tussle between *The Sun* and the *Daily Star* to procure an animal allegedly abused during a Spanish festival became a well-known Fleet Street 'legend' and is amusingly recounted by participant Charles Rae. However, a more unusual animal story, perhaps a unique one, featured on the front page (Fig. 16)[147] of *The Sun* on February 25, 2011 (Sun 2011). It reported the discovery of an urban fox at the top of the 'world's tallest building', *The Shard* in south-east London. The story generated the 'splash' headlined *How the fox he got up there?*, a full-page story on Page 5 and a cartoon on Page 8, plus a feature story the following day.

In applying Trickster characteristics to this exemplar of content, the animalism of the 'leading character' is clear: it is a fox. The **articulateness** of the report, as with almost all stories in *The Sun*, employs careful use of words to build up an air of mystery. Matching consonants in the report, i.e. death-defying fox-club or, vertigo-free vermin, is enhanced by the originality and freedom from clichés (A Google search for 'vertigo-free vermin' on July 7, 2014, returned only one other result. **Commerciality** stares back at us in the sheer size and value of the building which cost £1.2billion to construct (Hillel 2014). The newspaper journalists producing the story did not know at the time that three years later, in 2014, *The Sun* and its owner company, which became *News UK*, would relocate to a new 20-storey building directly next to the undeniably phallic

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[147] Page 174.

Shard, and even colloquially named the 'mini-Shard', as I know from working in the building myself at the time of writing.

Disruptiveness and **transgressiveness** are emphasised in the story: the 945ft high nest is said to be an 'unlikely home' for him. The urban fox is a liminal figure moving from a historically countryside environment to a city. A reporter who went up to his 'lair' reports, 'My heart was pounding for the 40 minutes I was up there.' **Humour** also abounds in the coverage with punning headlines including 'A head fur heights' and 'What's the storey?', and the story carries a picture of the animal with a balloon-style caption declaring, 'I'm in the mile high club.' The cartoon on page 8 fills almost a quarter of the page and depicts a fox in a suite reflecting the film *The Fantastic Mr Fox* (Anderson 2009). Signifiers of **hypersexuality** are not overt, however it is noteworthy that the fox, without reported explanation, is named Romeo by the builder who found him, and a 'wildlife expert' is quoted by the newspaper as saying 'after two weeks he will be pretty desperate to get back to [his mate]'(Sun 2011: 5) .

Figure 16 The Sun's front page story about a fox's mysterious ascent in 2011

Although **mendaciousness** per se, is not in evidence, the whole story reflects

an air of incredulity, even magic. The splash headline *How the fox he got up there?*

epitomises that incredulity punning on the word fox/fuck, and thus introducing more

humour which, if not scatological, is bawdy. The fox, or fox-like creatures, appear

throughout many cultures as Trickster figures. Samuels invokes Machiavelli's advice

'one must be a fox in order to recognise traps' in his analysis of the political (Samuels

1993: 79). One of the most striking more modern representations of Trickster is simply

called fox in Spanish: Zorro was created by Johnston McCulley in the pulp magazine

All-Story Weekly in 1919 and became the subject of many films and TV shows. The

character is **mendacious** and crosses and recrosses the line between aristocracy and

outlawhood in the manner of Robin Hood and *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (Orczy 1905). The **mischief** of the fox in *The Sun* story is implicit and the **revelation** of the fox's presence overt. A Trickster image par excellence it is noteworthy that such a quirky story should be elevated by the journalists on *The Sun*. I asked a non-*Sun* journalist of many years if she admired the journalism displayed in the story and she replied with a smile, 'I admire the fox'. She added that the wonder radiating in the story reminded her of 'a child getting a rabbit pulled out of a hat'. An indication of the value given to the story by the Sun 'back bench' and editor is that its position on Page 1 takes precedence over 170 British 'shell-shocked' oil workers returning home from a 'Libyan bloodbath' and even a photographic 'spread' and lead story on page 9 of Kate Middleton, then Prince William's fiancée, carrying out her first royal engagement. The Trickster was deemed of more value to the Trickster tabloid that is *The Sun*.

Other media successes for the 'fox' name include that of Sam Fox, one of *The Sun*'s first and most successful Page 3 'girls', often described as 'iconic' (Portman 2016), and FleetStreetFox, the Twitter 'handle' of *Mirror* journalist Susie Boniface, who created mystery by not revealing her real name when originally tweeting and who, at the time of writing, having 'outed' herself online has 76,000 *Twitter* followers (Boniface 2009). However, by far the biggest and most successful media application of the Trickster brand is that of *21st Century Fox*, whose executive co-chairs are Rupert Murdoch and his son Lachlan and is 'the world's premier portfolio of cable, broadcast, film, pay TV and satellite assets spanning six continents across the globe. Reaching more than 1.8 billion subscribers in approximately 50 local languages every day'[148] The company emerged from a reconfiguration of Murdoch's giant New Corporation in

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[148] https://impact.21cf.com/contact/ (Retrieved 25 July 2016.)

the wake of the *News of the World* phone-hacking scandal (Neate et al. 2015) which is explored in 6.1.

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, this subchapter reviews four case studies (one as a pair of individuals), reflecting the category of 'content', which is one half of an aspect of the tabloid paradigm categorised as 'product'. All four studies reflect that genre of content, popular with tabloid newspapers, described as 'celebrity'. The studies are examined with reference to the 12 Trickster traits defined in 4.1 of this investigation. They are all shown to reflect, both in their choice as content, and in the choice of words and imagery used to relate them, strong associations with the Trickster traits.

5.2 The containers: reconfiguring Hermes

This subchapter investigates the second category in the aspect of the British tabloid paradigm this work classifies as 'product': that category is 'containers'. Because this thesis is undertaken within the field of depth psychology, or psychoanalytic studies, it is useful to clarify, at this point, that the term container is not used in the sense that Bion popularised it, as a development of Klein's concept of projective identification 'the prototype of an aggressive object-relation' (Klein 1975: 8). For Bion, to become a psychic object, a projected element has to encounter a container or thinking function; he expresses this as 'a dynamic relationship between container and contained' (Bion 1963: 3). This work considered applying a Bionic framework to the area of inquiry addressed in this subchapter, i.e. to imagine archetypally driven Trickster characteristics achieving manifest form in a physical media container, or technological platform, and to express that event analogously through a Bionic, or more broadly object-relational, perspective. However, after investigating that proposal, it concluded that such an analogy would prove to be more of a digression than an amplification, and

therefore decided to continue its exploration, broadly, from the perspective of analytical psychology, not from ideological motives, but for the sake of linguistic and theoretical consistency.

The word containers here describes a category of technological platform, and dependent design format and strategy, employed by British tabloid newspapers from the zenith of their **commerciality**, exemplified by the 'incredible sales peak of 8.44 million in 1950 of the *News of the World'* (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 227), and often described as 'yellow pages' (Cudlipp 1962: 359), to the time of writing in 2016. British tabloid journalism underwent profound changes in the 20th and 21st centuries. Some of those changes reflected technologically and/or culturally driven developments common to other newspaper products in Britain and abroad, and others exclusively related to British popular titles such as the *News of the World*'s conversion from broadsheet to tabloid form in 1984 (Greenslade 2004: 425). The four container shifts reviewed here are, firstly, that dependent upon the 'hot metal' production mode I encountered when I joined the *News of the World* in 1977, secondly the transition to a computer-enabled 'cut and paste' system triggered by an industrial fracture centred on east London in 1986, popularly known as the Wapping revolution, or the 'escape to Wapping' (Bainbridge and Stockdill 1993: 283), and leading several years later to 'desktop publication', thirdly, the initial response to the introduction of the internet, broadly speaking, at the turn of the 21st Century and exemplified by *The Sun* newspaper, and, finally, again exemplified by that product, its position in the media landscape of 2016 in which it co-exists with globally employed social media.

With each technologically driven shift, British tabloid newspapers, exemplified by *The Sun*, have adapted their outward-facing product and internal human and mechanistic processes to accommodate the change and retain what this thesis posits is its Trickster

energy. This work considers it no coincidence that, even at the time of writing, so many newspapers title themselves Mercury, the Roman iteration of Hermes the herald, bringer of entertainment and information from the gods to ordinary mortals, often spun for the messenger's own **mischievous** merriment as he 'loves his jokes' (Doty 1993a: 60). Hermes is associated with 'connections between humans or between humans and deities' (Ibid.: 51). UK newspapers incorporating Mercury's name exist in Leicester, which includes an image of Mercury/Hermes in its logo, and Kent, and Tasmania in Australia (Fig. 17)[149]. Tellingly, mercurist is an obsolete term for a writer of 'news-letters', (O.E.D., vol. 9: 624), in effect, a journalist.

Figure 17   From left, *Leicester Mercury* (2010), *East Kent Mercury* (2016) and in Tasmania (2013)

The four containers cited in this subchapter reflect evidence of a continuation of that energy and are examined as a continuum of it, rather than discrete examples. While executing designs, writing headlines, choosing images and producing text, the journalists can be judged to be subject to a *participation mystique* 'a peculiar kind of psychological connection with object' leading to the subject sharing 'a partial identity' (Jung 1921: par. 781).

This work suggests that the archetypal energy psychically enthusing even the most critical of the participants is a 'real force charged with a specific energy' (Jung 1963/1995: 385). Characteristics of that energy can be traced through the continuing

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metamorphosis of the subject, outlined here. Popular newspapers in Britain, and elsewhere, were not synonymous with a tabloid format until many decades into their evolution. *The Sun* as conceived by Rupert Murdoch and editor Larry Lamb was born as a fully-formed, red-topped tabloid in 1969. However, its newly acquired stable mate, the *News of the World,* launched in 1843, did not adopt the format until 1984, when I was working for it in addition to my duties as a *Sun* sub-editor. The very existence of Murdoch's *Sun* was evidence of its **commerciality**, founded as it was on the financial ashes of the trades-union inspired *Daily Herald* (Greenslade 2004: 214). Murdoch bought the title for the 'bargain price of £50,000, payable in instalments, and within one hundred days of the launch of the new *Sun* he had boosted its readership to 1.5 million, compared with the figure of 650,000 for the last edition of the old Sun' (Bailey and Williams 1997: 373). **Hypersexuality** shone throughout the first edition on Monday November 17, 1969, from the prototype Page 3 (clothed) pin-up of 'just the sort of gorgeous blonde you hope will smile at you' to a back view of a naked young woman spending 'Sunday afternoon at [Mick] Jagger's place' in a spread carrying the subdeck (subsidiary headline) *and all Mick said was 'Get your dress off and get into the picture*. That edition also promised, on Page 3, more **sex** in the following day's edition under the headline *adultery*.

The Sun, like all its contemporaneous peers, was restricted to monochrome 'on the day' pages (colour could be pre-printed several days in advance). However, as the examples cited display, an interdependent use of imagery, text and headlines, already pioneered by the *Daily Mirror* helped to convey to the reader, and to an interested society beyond that reader, a holistic impression of the material, intended to engender strong feeling. This conflation, or 'jigsaw design' (Bingham and Conboy 2015:13), continues to encourage the emphasis of the genre's identifying characteristics including

'dramatization, exaggeration and hyperbole' (Conboy 2006:16). Murdoch's *Sun* displayed its ambivalence about the rival it was soon to overtake by adopting under its front page titlepiece the slogan the *Mirror* had made famous but dropped in 1959, 'Forward with the people', and admitting in its leader column 'It is not original. But we make no apology for it' (November 17, 1969: Page 2). *The Sun* went on to unapologetically 'borrow' from *Mirror* ideas such as calling its letters page 'Liveliest letters' to contrast with its rivals 'Lively Letters' and, in 1970, run a strip cartoon called Scarth, portraying a futuristic 'bare-breasted spacewoman' whose name was a clear reference to the *Mirror*'s muscular male cartoon equivalent Garth. (Engel 1997: 255). It was dropped and followed later by a long-running cartoon strip, *George and Lynne*, featuring a married couple who were often naked and usually cracking jokes (The Sun: 1976-2010: passim) *The Sun*'s claim to be a 'new newspaper' with a 'new shape' (November 17 1969: Page 2) and yet unapologetically 'borrowing' from its main rival exemplifies Trickster ambivalence, coupled with its **commerciality** and **amorality**, and the cartoon strips, along with choices of images and news stories, reflected **humorousness**, **mischievousness** and **hypersexuality**.

The nature of the 'jigsaw' layout of *The Sun*, itself reflecting the pied imagery of traditional Trickster figures, such as the multi-coloured, Harlequinesque Fool (Willeford 1969: 16, passim.) was throughout the 1970s and early 1980s restricted by the technological limitations of 'hot-metal' production and its enforcement by powerful, well-organised print trades unions. For example, in 1977 when I first walked on to the 'stone', the production area, of *The Sun* and *News of the World* in Bouverie Street off London's Fleet Street[150], as a member of the National Union of Journalists I was not allowed to make any physical contact, even a finger-tip, with the metal type on

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which the stories were set, line by line, and then placed in a 'chase', the metal frame that contains the page. To get an integrated 'jigsaw' page made involved briefing journeyman printers from at least two different trades union, some of whom would make and mount the photographic images, in metal, and others, known as compositors, who would set and arrange the type in lead, which had to be read by me, and other production journalists upside down and mirror inverted, because of the nature of the typesetting process.

The internal production process, itself a 'jigsaw', was invisible to the public, until it exploded in overt industrial strife, as it did, **disruptivel**y, during the bitter miners' strike of 1984, when *The Sun* was about to publish a large photograph of the strike leader Arthur Scargill raising his arm in a gesture which, taken out of context, could look like a Hitlerian salute. The editor of the time, Kelvin MacKenzie came up with the headline Mine Fuhrer (Chippindale and Horrie 2013: Loc. 3200), thus employing a characteristically Tricksterish and tabloidesque conflation of image and words, **mischief**, **mendaciousnes**s, **humorousness** (albeit dark) and **commerciality**. A 'rough' of the proposed page, on which a copy of the photograph had been pasted, alongside type was prepared by the designers on the art desk. In white type on a black background (known by its acronym of WOB), a headline with decks almost 5cm high declared 'Mine Fuhrer' thus using Trickster-like wordplay to make a scathing political point, enraging the trades union movement and the left in general (*The Sun* supported the Conservative government in its battle with the strikers). The production unions at the plant refused to print the newspaper with that image and headline. So the edition was published with a space where it would have been, bearing the headline, 'Members of all The Sun production chapels[151] refused to handle the Arthur Scargill picture and

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[151] 'A workplace branch of the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in the UK and Ireland, whose members will elect a shop steward (known within journalism as a Mother or Father of Chapel) to negotiate with management on their behalf. Print trades

major headline on our lead story. The Sun has decided, reluctantly, to print the paper without either.' While working at *The Sun* at that time, and also being a member of the NUJ chapel, I saw the rough that was prepared, and a mocked-up version included here 25 years later reflects my memory of it (Anon 2009). Both front pages are reproduced here (Fig. 18)[152], and it is noteworthy that the importance of the splash story did not stop the newspaper from 'carving out' a secondary story in the first column, highlighting its then famous Page Three 'girl' Sam Fox. **Hypersexuality**, as the cropping of Fox's image displays, remained part of *The Sun*'s 'jigsaw'.

Figure 18   Front page of *The Sun* 15 May 1984 and, right, version editor is reported to have wanted
(Anon 2009)

This 'jigsaw' combination, and sometimes conflation, of text, imagery and headline, once supremely exemplified, by the *Daily Mirror*, and often borrowing from comic book techniques, as the example in Fig. 19[153] shows (Mirror 1945), became the Tricksterish playground of *The Sun* in the 1980s and beyond. This investigation suggests, after the *Daily Mirror* lost much of its Trickster energy, no longer appearing to 'revel in the changes happening in society' (Greenslade 2004: 168), but preferring to follow the advice, two decades earlier, of its pre-eminent editor and editorial director

unions used similar terminology'   Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 51.)
[152] Page 182.
[153] Page 183.

Hugh Cudlipp. It was composed with Cecil King (then Chairman of Mirror Newspapers) and 'joint managing directors of Odhams Press, the chairman of Newnes, and our own specialist directors from the Mirror group' and presented to the second Royal Commission on the press of 1961-62) (Cudlipp 1962: 351). It stated that 'the intelligent grammar schoolboy' was now 'seeking something more helpful to his career than the bosoms of film stars', adding that no editor 'except at his peril' will 'ignore the significance of the growth in seriousness of interest among readers' (Ibid.: 369).

Critics in the 1960s found the *Mirror*'s perceived intellectualising patronising (Greenslade 2004: 251), and this investigation agrees with Greenslade's contention that it led to the newspaper losing its 'impetus' (Ibid.). This work further suggests that this 'energy' or 'driving force' as the dictionary defines 'impetus' (O.E.D., vol. 7: 718) reflects the Trickster traits categorised in 4.1, and that its diminution manifests a weakening of the principle's influence in that product, the processes driving it and its effect, and affect, on society and individuals.

Figure 19   Daily Mirror front page of 5 July 1945 after Allied victory in Europe

I know from my personal observation that, in 1986, Murdoch and editor MacKenzie needed to know if *The Sun*'s dynamic 'jigsaw' mode of design and

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construction would survive the **transformation** from 'hot metal', unionised production to a computerised system run by journalists and operatives with no traditional print training?[154] This investigation suggests that the essence of what those two personified Tricksters, whose public images are explored in 4.4, wanted to preserve is contained in the 12 categories defined and discussed in 4.1.

The 1992 front page of Neil Kinnock in a light bulb (Fig. 4)[155] indicates that Murdoch and MacKenzie had no need to worry on that score at least; the interaction of image and text worked as well as it did in Fleet Street itself. Once desktop publishing was introduced to *The Sun* in the 1990s, all intermediaries between the journalists and/or designers and the product[156] were eliminated, thus reducing the potential for typographical error. In 1977, if the image of Kinnock had been deemed too small, or inappropriate in some way, a new one would have needed to be located in the huge library of physical images housed in the building, then etched in metal by a machine operated exclusively by members of the Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process workers (SLADE) and put in position in the page only by compositors, members of the National Graphical Association (Marsh and Smethurst 2006). Members of yet other unions were responsible for moving the material and proofreading it. In reality 1992 covered a period in which *The Sun* and *News of the World* were transitioning from the 'cut and paste' technology to full-blown 'desktop' production. Therefore, the Kinnock picture could have been changed by toggling through a digital library, resizing, and placing within the light bulb at the touch of the artist's finger.

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[154] *The Sun*'s move to Wapping, East London, and its internal and external impact is examined in more detail in 5.5.

[155] Page 102.

[156] Through discussions with contemporaries, I have been able to ascertain with near, but undocumented, certainty that the front page in question was almost certainly produced as a whole piece by an artist on a Mac computer, using QuarkXPress software, at a time when some text was still be 'cut and pasted' by operatives in the composing room, and carefully inserted where required on the graphic. I estimate, from memory validated by colleagues, that this process ended within a year of this page being produced.

Many *Sun* front pages thereafter exemplified the same complex combination of **mischievousness** and **humorousness** underlined by an atmosphere of **sexual** frisson to one extent or another. Its representation of the appointment of Theresa May as Tory leader and Prime Minister in 2016 is an example. She had been teased about her 'kitten heel' shoes since wearing a pair to a conference in 2002 (Teeman 2016). The page (Fig. 20)[157] at once signals a dominant female figure in Downing Street 24 years after Margaret Thatcher left, and followed a chaotic fortnight in which male Conservative politicians failed to present a prime ministerial candidate after Britain's referendum decision to leave the European Union. The inset picture of May herself was observed by me to be added very late in the process. In my expert view the page does not need it. Readers know what the image means, and how it feels.

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Figure 20   Front page of *The Sun* 12 July 2016

The biggest challenge to face all traditionally printed newspapers in the developed world and, by extrapolation the remainder of the world at some point in the

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[157] Page 185.

future, has been the arrival and growing usage of the internet and digital technology.

Shirky concludes, 'The problems newspapers face isn't that they didn't see the internet

coming. They not only saw it miles off, they figured out early on that they needed a

plan to deal with it, and during the early 90s they came up with not just one plan but

several' (Shirky 2008b). Those 'several' plans were to emerge over the early years of

the 21st century.

Existing UK national newspaper titles, at the time of writing, have evolved

very different models of publication: *The Guardian*, uniquely run by a trust[158], presents

its online content free to the reader, although it has paid advertising and urges readers

to pay to become a 'member' and thereby support its liberal brand of journalism. It runs

separate USA and Australian edition serviced by staff based in those countries.

Different forms of paywalls and/or freemium[159] online models are employed by the

Financial Times (FT) and *Telegraph.* The former displays summaries of a few worlds

on each story, but readers must choose from a tariff of paid subscriptions to read more.

The latter allows readers to view 20 stories free before they must choose one of their

subscription offers. Some newspapers, such as the FT choose to keep their online and

print offerings very much in the same style under a consistently recognisable brand.

Others, notably the *Daily Mail* elected to run a conspicuously different product online

than its print brand; in this case the online offering is far more celebrity-driven than the

former, as described in 5.1. The introduction, later in the century, of mobile technology,

applications (or 'apps') and smartphones increased the complexity of choice available

to newspaper companies, and the sharing of textual and video content (thanks to the

hugely successful *YouTube* platform) on burgeoning *international* social media

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[158] The Scott Trust: https://www.theguardian.com/the-scott-trust. (Retrieved 22 July 2016.)

[159] 'A business model, especially on the Internet, whereby basic services are provided free of charge while more advanced features must be paid for' Stevenson A. and Waite M. (2011) *Concise Oxford English Dictionary,* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. (Page 566.)

platforms such as Twitter and Facebook amplified the commercial, and legal, conundrums.

Tabloid newspapers faced even more complex decisions as the new media landscape shift tectonically and new 'start-ups' aimed squarely at voracious readers of celebrity gossip gained global traction; these included *Huffington Post*, *The Daily Beast, TMZ and Gawker*. However, in the 1990s, despite Shirky's admonitions, these outcomes were foreseen by no one at *The Sun* and its competitors, already concerned by their relentless falling print circulations, which were about to get even worse (Greenslade 2009). *The Sun* launched a website called *currentbun.co.uk* at some point in the 1980s. I remember the announcement made at an internal meeting which I attended. The name is a reference to faux cockney rhyming slang (beloved of former editor MacKenzie) for the name of the newspaper. I could find no published reference to the launch, but the url[160] of *currentbun.co.uk* diverts to the generic website of *News UK* (*The Sun*'s British corporate proprietor) at the time of writing.[161] The website was never effectively developed, and journalists at the time that I spoke to were amused and sceptical. Yet, even at the first, abortive, explicit acknowledgement that things had changes, the **mischievous** spirit of the tabloid forced itself into the project in the form of its **humorously** provocative name.

After the abortive *currentbun.co.uk* sunk without a trace, *The Sun* launched a free online presence at *thesun.co.uk* which it **transformed** into a paywall in 2013 (Greenslade 2013) and removed that wall two years later (Greenslade 2015b). As a media educator and analyst, and as a long-standing tabloid practitioner, I conclude that, whatever the seeming **commercial** imperatives, *The Sun* was compelled to open its paywall in order to share its major news offering: celebrity gossip. As a compendial

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[160] Uniform Resource Locator.
[161] https://www.news.co.uk. (Retrieved 7 July 2015.)

package, it was proven not to have a so-called unique selling proposition, such as that of the *FT*. The always contentious popularity of its Page 3 'girls' had waned as online access to free pornography grew, search engines flagged up and blocked 'unsuitable' family content and a new generation of feminists made their objections heard on social, and mainstream, media; Page Three echoed a bygone century (Parkinson 2015). News information and sports results became widely available on freely accessible *BBC* websites and there was little point it boasting controversial columnists like ex-editot MacKenzie and right-wing political journalist Trevor Kavanagh if they were hidden behind a paywall and unable to join the 'conversation' as the social media arena came to be known.

This thesis arges that, in dismantling the paywall, or 'walled garden' as it is sometimes known (Shirky 2008b), the tabloid Trickster that is *The Sun*, made a characteristic escape driven, predominently, by **commerciality**. Its skills of **articulateness** were challenged by shared exchanges on social media and the use of audiovideo content. Its **transgressiveness**, **mischievousness**, **humorousness** and **hypersexuality** were, at the time of writing, finding new techniques of expression in the social media environment. A search for Page 3 on *thesun.co.uk* reveals only a bikini-dressed 'Sabina' (O'Connor 2016) and while, at the time of writing, a Page Three online site exists and includes topless women, it appears to have no public link to *The Sun* website[162]. Instead, the redtop appears to be expressing Trickster's **hypersexuality** in a more erotic, less explicit, fashion (Ferrett 2016). **Humour** abounds in many stories (thesun.co.uk: passim) as does **transgressiveness**, exemplified by a tweet about an item in a column by MacKenzie being deleted by the newspaper after a furious public outcry (Sweney 2016b).

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[162] http://www.page3.com/sol/homepage/page3/ (Retrieved 7 July 2016.)

And so the most recent container for the tabloid Trickster is facing a once 'unthinkable' media landscape which appears particularly hostile to its journalistic tradition, although not, this thesis argues in 7.1, to its driving principle and archetypal energy:

> The unthinkable scenario unfolded something like this: The ability to share content wouldn't shrink, it would grow. Walled gardens would prove unpopular. Digital advertising would reduce inefficiencies, and therefore profits. Dislike of micropayments would prevent widespread use. People would resist being educated to act against their own desires. Old habits of advertisers and readers would not transfer online. Even ferocious litigation would be inadequate to constrain massive, sustained law-breaking
>
> (Shirky 2008b)

Once again, as they were in the tabloids' 1960s heyday, the redtops are chasing readership, this time online. The *Daily Mirror* sold five million copies on 9 June, 1964 (Greenslade 2004: 199), which, as more than one person reads each copy and, by examining comparable statistics (ABC), can be reasonably estimated as the equivalent of about 15 million readers. Exactly 52 years later the *Daily MailOnline* reached that figure with 'unique daily browsers'(Jackson 2016) and, when readers of its print edition selling 1,548,349 copies per day (ABC) are included, exceeded it by more than four million reads, although the comparison makes no allowance for differences in population and literacy over that period. It is noteworthy that *The Sun*'s unique daily online traffic in June 2016 was 2,730,920 (Jackson 2016) and its daily print circulation for the month 1,755,331 (ABC).

Figure 21   Screenshot of *The Sun*'s *Twitter* page made on 8 August 2016

The tabloid Trickster's escape from its 'walled garden' at *The Sun* has given it the freedom to roam virtually in the expanding, mainly online, field of celebrity and gossip which is amplified by social media and exemplified by the success of the *MailOnline*. *The Sun*, for example, at the time of writing, runs a *Twitter* account (Fig. 21),[163] with 1.17million followers (Sun 2016b), *a Facebook* Page and has presences *on Instagram*, *Snapchat* and other interconnected, and interactive, social media platforms. How much the tabloid Trickster's archetypal energy can continue to be communicated through individual newspaper brands has, at the time of writing, yet to be proved. In the British new environment, **commerciality** will be the decisive factor. Individual aspects of tabloid brands look likely to develop their own momentum and success online. *The Sun*'s Dream Team feature is an example of this; it is competition which, although run by the newspaper, exists independently and allows participants to select a football team and win part of a £1million prize fund if the combination of players scores high enough at the end of the season. It was described by a senior *New UK* executive as 'an important part of our business' which 'continues to innovate' with a

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[163] Page 190.

'brand new app'[164]. Sport is an area, like celebrity, where the new media landscape has the potential to reinforce and amplify tabloids' traditionally strong line of communication with its readers. Karlsson observes

> [T]abloids have increased their sport coverage…marked by more predictable and longer news-cycle than some other news. There can be a talk-up before the match, live-coverage during it and a post-match analysis afterwards allowing the news site to feed off other media coverage, make the audience do a large chunk of the conversations and plan and conserve their own resources accordingly.
>
> (Karlsson 2013)

This and other developments may yet confound Brock's prediction that British tabloid newspapers 'have had their day' (Brock 2014). However, as noted in 3.4, he also predicts, paradoxically, that 'Tabloid stories will be with us as long as there is human curiosity about other people's private lives (Ibid.). Brock's confidence in 'curiosity', and this subchapter's identification of sport and celebrity as potentially fruitful areas for tabloids navigating the new media landscape, suggests the Trickster and tabloid paradigms may remain connected within this latest, unfolding container. The suggestion is examined further in 7.1

This subchapter has explored four examples of the tabloid category described by this thesis as 'containers' which, in turn, is half of that aspect of the subject delineated by this work as 'product'. It has investigated tabloid evolution from hot-metal production, to computer-setting, and then to its early engagement with the internet and, finally, its navigation of the new media landscape extant at the time of writing in 2016, which is driven by social media and handheld mobile devices. Through these developments, this subchapter has identified, and examined, manifestation of Trickster, as characterised by the traits enumerated in 4.1. Having, now examined eight exemplars of tabloid product, four reflecting celebrity content, and four reflecting **transformational** containers, it proceeds, in 5.3 and 5.4, to explore a similar number

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[164] From an internal communication in *News UK* in the author's private collection (P.C.).

of exemplars within the aspect of the tabloid paradigm described by this thesis as 'practice'.

5.3 The journalists: delight makers and spinners of doubleness

This subchapter is the first of a pair that examines the aspect of UK tabloid journalism delineated by this work as 'practice'. The pair (5.3 and 5.4) explores the professional practice, thoughts, feelings and motivations, of variously-functioned redtop journalists and the public perception of them and their craft. These explorations seek to test this work's central hypothesis that the UK tabloid paradigm manifests the Trickster principle. In pursuit of this task, the 12 Trickster traits identified and clustered in 4.1, are compared with four exemplars in each of the two subchapters. In this subchapter, the comparison is made by enumerating the 12 traits and assessing the four exemplars, collectively, against each of them. In 5.4, a slightly different method is used whereby the four exemplars are enumerated and the principle's 12 characteristics are tested against each of those.

The title of this subchapter conflates two Trickster references. The 'Delight Makers' were a secret society among the Pueblo communities of New Mexico called the Koshare, described in the eponymous book (1890/1971) by Bandelier—'the great excavator of Indian [sic] sites' (Ellis 1998: 649)—which Jung cited as an inspiration for his commentary on Trickster (Jung 1954: par. 456). Bandalier's 'classic' (Ibid.) drew Jung's attention to the Trickster figure as manifested in diverse Native American folklore. The other element of the conflation in this section's title refers to the Spinner of Ashanti Doubleness, the name of a chapter by Pelton describing Ananse, the spider Trickster in some West African folklore (Pelton 1980: 25-71). The term 'spin' has a distinctive meaning when applied to communications and public relations. It is the 'practice of pushing a particular angle or interpretation on events with a view to

influencing journalistic coverage and therefore, it is hoped, public opinion'. By the end of the 20th century the activity was being commonly applied to press officers working for politicians and known as 'spin doctors' (Harcup 2014: 285-286). Journalists, as well as other people in their normal daily lives, are sometimes accused of 'spinning a yarn' if recounting an implausible story (O.E.D., vol. 20: 699).

Informing this subchapter are the thoughts and feelings of tabloid journalists about their jobs emerging from interviews this work carried out in 2014 with four journalists working at that time or previously at *The Sun*. They have been selected for the diversity of their functions, ages and gender. Those interviews are augmented by my own experiences and recollections as a tabloid journalists, and also by a pair of further interviews with two other former senior *Sun* journalists carried out for an associated project (Anslow 2002). Further details about all the participants, including me, along with edited transcripts from the interviews are given in Appendices A. and B.

Jo Porter was born in 1971 and was appointed Deputy Chief Sub (News) at *The Sun* in 2014. She was a news sub-editor on the newspaper from 1999 to 2005, assistant chief sub until 2010 and associate chief sub-editor until 2014. Before joining national newspapers she was a reporter, news editor and chief sub-editor on UK weekly local titles. Charles Rae was born in 1948 and joined *The Sun* in 1981 from the *Daily Star*. He transferred to *Today* in 1988 covering the royal family, returning to *The Sun* in 1995 when *Today* closed (B.L.) where he continued to cover the royals, including the dramatic death of Diana, Princess of Wales, and the public outpouring of grief it triggered, examined by post-Jungians including Samuels (1998) and Papadopoulos (1998). In 2005 he became a consumer correspondent. Neil Roberts was born in 1960 and joined *The Sun* as a sub-editor from the Brighton *Evening Argus* in 1988. He also

worked at the *Daily Mirror* for five years from 2005 to 2010 before returning to *The Sun* to sub-edit and write leader columns. He also co-wrote two books aimed primarily at young people and incorporating educational adaptions of *Sun* headlines, including the splash, *LOVERS Picture that proves Antony is carrying on with Cleo*. The story (Fig. 22)[165] carries the **humorous** byline 'From Yves Dropper' (Perry and Roberts 2000: 119).

Figure 22   Historical 'kiss and tell'   *(Perry and Roberts 2000: 119)*

Jonathan Roe was born in 1975 and was appointed *The Sun*'s Head of Design (News) in 2016. Before that he was assistant art director and designed on *Live Magazine* at the *Mail on Sunday* after the closure of the *News of the World*   where he had been part of the design team since 2002. He gained a BA in journalism in 1999.

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[165] Page 194.

Chris Hockley was a senior sub-editor at the *Daily Mirror*, *Today* and 'splash sub' of the *The Sun* for the final 16 years of his career and Roger Wood was chief sub-editor, and associate night editor at *The Sun* and held senior positions at *the Daily Mirror*. I spent seven years as a reporter, feature writer and sub-editor on regional UK newspapers before spending 28 years on, variously, *The Sun* and the *News of the World,* where I became Chief Production Editor. I went on to lecture in journalism on the staff of City, University of London and the University of Bedfordshire, where I led the inaugural undergraduate journalism programme[166].

The selected group of tabloid interviewees are an idiosyncratic collection, all presenting distinctive personae. Neil Roberts plays guitar in a rock band when he is not writing leaders and subbing splashes for *The Sun*. He usually attends work in jeans and a T-shirt and has a shock of silver hair. Porter, at the time of writing, is the only female news sub in a revising role. She is additionally distinctive by her habitual wearing, while working, of fingerless gloves of different kinds and 'trademark' designer shoes. Roe is quietly spoken, but it is noteworthy that his rise to his pre-eminent position in the world of tabloid graphic design was triggered by a traditional degree in, primarily, textual journalism, where one of his (visiting) lecturers was Vic Mayhew, who had been a senior production executive on both the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun*, and himself was recognised as a highly idiosyncratic Fleet Street character[167]. Rae, possibly because of his age, is a figure who more easily fits the perceived image of a Fleet Street reporter: Scottish, short, stout, tough, fleet-wise and sharp-brained. His appropriately named book *Fleet Street Frolics* (Rae 2013) contain several anecdotes from his journalistic career that appear to validate that image, notably 'The battle for Blackie the donkey' (Ibid.). Hockley's passion is motorsport, and he was creator and main

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[166] Appendix A.
[167] I know this having worked for, and alongside Mayhew, from 1979-2009, on several titles.

contributor to *Sun Motorsport* online (Hockley 2012). He also published two books of fiction, one about Stalin (Hockley 1989). Wood is a portly, passionate sportsman (cricket and rugby) who loved recounting stories of his native, rural, Gloucestershire and finally retired to Spain with the last of a succession of female partners. I am judged by many tabloid peers to be idiosyncratic, with a lifelong interest in Buddhism and Jungian psychology[168].

Turning, alphabetically, to the first cluster of Trickster traits delineated in 4.1, activity, this work considers that term most accurately describes what journalism is (Anslow 2013). Tabloid journalists, particularly the 'subs' who write so much of what appears in the final product, are always defying the natural chronology of a story. They seek an angle, an 'intro', to extract from the narrative and place at the start of it, thus **transgressing** its natural order and often **disrupting** the reader's expectation, intending to trigger affect which might be sympathy, disgust or desire. Often the writer's intent is **mischievous**, designed to evoke first puzzlement, then **humorous** appreciation, usually in the same sentence, e.g.: 'I'M A DUMBERJACK Helicopter cops swooped on a "mad axeman" to find a man trying to chop down a tree with a cleaver in Bedford.' (Fig. 23)[169] (Sun 2014b: 28).
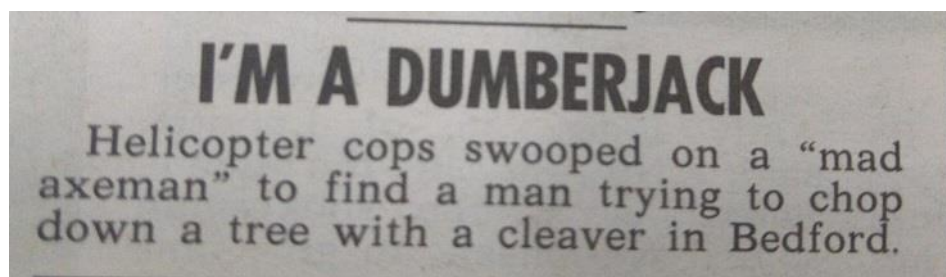
Figure 23 From *The Sun on Sunday* 19 June 2014, Page 28

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[168] Appendix A.
[169] Page 196.

Thus, the narrative arc of a news story is quite different from most other writing forms: except in special cases, there is no scene-setting, nor a protracted addition of facts seeking to induce anticipation, while a series of events is explained; the most important fact is presented to the reader in the very first words (McKane 2006: 46).

The attention that goes into this narratively **transgressive**, and often **mischievous**, activity is described, critically, by Roberts, who feels that modern British tabloids, characterised by *The Sun*, continuously **transgress** by 'walking on the other side of the line all the time'[170]. However, he complains that, despite their Trickerish border-crossing, they are not subversive *enough*, implying that social, perhaps psychosocial, **disruptiveness** is an integral part of their traditional mission, and that, expressed through the news paradigm's contemporaneous iteration, this energy is waning: 'I think you can be edgy…you can walk the line and step over it occasionally and that is acceptable but when you're deliberately walking on the other side of the line all the time for information that has little value.'[171] This work notes the imbalance of Trickster traits identified by Roberts, and his implication that the **mischief** of celebrity coverage is demoting tabloids' traditional powers of social **disruption**, and it reconsiders his observation in the recommendations it makes in 6.3.

Roe identifies the emotionality that tabloid journalists seek to trigger in their readers, and this work suggests that such emotion is, by its nature, internally **disruptive**: 'What we do is an art form…by the end of it [a copy of *The Sun*] the reader has felt that they've gone through a lot of emotions…they've felt like they've engaged with those stories'. As Hockley says of popular news coverage of 'Moors Murderer' Myra Hindley, '[T]he whole thing is mystical…like a horror film.'[172] My own

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[170] Appendix B.
[171] Appendix B.
[172] Appendix B.

experience shows that a tabloid writer pressed for space is always trading off items of 'fact' for items of 'emotion' likely to excite the reader by **disrupting** the narrative order. The chief sub-editor of the day tells me a rewrite I have done on a story about Hollywood star Woody Allen is 'too straight' and I should get 'festering anger' in higher (090214). On three other occasions I am fighting to inject emotive 'colour' at the expense of 'facts' (020314, 100814, 281214).[173]

The **commerciality** of Trickster's 'attitude' cluster rings out clearly from Rae's analysis: 'We [tabloid newspapers] face a general election every night of the week. We go out and we canvas our readers…and they return us by a huge majority by paying the money to read the paper...' Much of Roberts' reflection projects an ambiguity, critics might contend an **amorality**, which is characteristically Trickster. Wood understands that ambiguity is a powerful feature of what makes a 'good' news story; as he puts it, 'Somebody wins the Lottery every week, but it's always a story.'[174] For a sub, the naked **commerciality** of the tabloid product is always an underlying 'given'. Every word chosen, ultimately, is chosen to improve circulation, and therefore **commercia**l viability. But very rarely does such a consideration rise to consciousness. Such a rare occasion is noted by me (091114)[175] when subbing a story about the BBC. I note that 'Beeb[176] is a house enemy, can't sub it without knowing that'. *The Sun*, along with many UK national newspapers, considers the BBC a competitor for online readers and therefore income. Furthermore, BSkyB, of which Murdoch's *News Corp* owns 39 per cent at the time of writing, is the broadcaster's direct competitor. I am only too aware that a choice of words made by a sub-editor can have far-reaching **commercial** consequences, and, in my autoethnographic note, I recall a 'bollocking' I

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[173] Appendix A.
[174] Appendix B.
[175] Appendix A.
[176] Common slang term for BBC.

received in the early 1980s from the then *Sun* editor Kelvin MacKenzie while revise-subbing a story about a successful fire brigade strike. He was angry that I had left the word 'victory' in the headline when *The Sun* was editorially opposed to such strikes.

Turning to the 'communication' characterising cluster this work assigned to Trickster in 4.1, **articulateness**, **mendaciousness** (or the perception of it) and **revelatoriness** permeate the tabloid paradigm. This thesis posits that the last trait is the raison d'etre of the tradition: the 'scoop' or the 'exclusive' is the pre-eminent boast of any redtop newspaper because 'tabloids are built on "human interest", the basic curiosity we have about other people' (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 97). Porter expresses it thus, 'I love…being first to know anything', and Rae has no time for critics of **revelatory** 'kiss and tell'[177] stories, railing at '[p]eople in public lives who…make their money by publicity to boost their careers one way and another [and then] cry 'private lives' whenever they want to do something naughty'. Readers must agree that the exposure has salience for it to resonate; as Wood observes of divorced Princess Diana's affair with Dodi Fayed, with whom she died in a 1997 car crash, 'even when she went out with Dodi she got a fairly good press…nobody really pissed on her, did they?'[178]. **Mendaciousness** is often associated with tabloid newspapers in general, and *The Sun* in particular, even when such an association is undeserved. The most notorious example of that connection was the newspaper's use of the splash headline The Truth following the Hillsborough football disaster in which 96 people died (Arnold and Askill 1989) and which is examined more fully in 5.5.

Attention to words preoccupies every good tabloid writer, perhaps more than most journalists, because they have so few of them to use, both in number and choice,

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[177] A salacious story about the sex life of a public figure typically based on an account by a former lover, ex-spouse, estranged partner, fellow participant in a one-night stand, or prostitute. Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 154.)

[178] Appendix B.

i.e. they need to be sure every reader, whatever their level of education, will understand their vocabulary. Porter makes it clear that she and her colleagues cannot 'bang and crash' through their sentences, adding, 'Obviously I love the words…I think it's important not to use a single word without knowing its full…[connotations]'. She is clear about the redtop mission of her and her team: '[P]eople need and want…an edit, someone telling them what's important, what's of interest'[179]. Like every *Sun* news sub my working day is spent looking for the right word, and knowing what facts to omit in order to retain emotional content, as my autoethnographic notes attest: 'hard to balance good emotive quotes with the facts of the development in such a tight space' (020313), 'keep bar brawl colour…squeeze court stuff' (100814), 'cut swathes out of background...keep quotes...they make it...but leave in 2nd par...it's the emotion that matters' (281214), and 'how much punning? Not too much' (240814)[180]. *The Sun*'s restrictive typographic 'counts' for headline writers is notorious and unforgiving. No 'squeezing' is allowed to 'crowbar' in the appropriate word. Yet rarely do you see sub-editors using a thesaurus or similar reference book.

Regarding 'inclination' **unpredictability**, by its nature, is hard to detect in newspaper practice. However, headlines such as *Stick it up your Junta* (Sun 1982b), a repost to Argentinian leaders over the Falklands islands, reflect a characteristically Tricksterish joy in wordplay, which critics have described as a 'commercially astute attempt' (Conboy 2006: 12) by journalists self-consciously adopting their readers' argot, or to share what Bourdieu calls their habitus (Bourdieu 1990: 52-65). This work disputes the implication that *Sun* journalists self-consciously imitate their readers' world; rather they step into it, they seek to inhabit it (even the ambivalent Roberts).

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[179] Appendix B.
[180] Appendix A.

The notion of redtops seeking to embody the habitus they and their readers inhabit is reflected in front pages from the *Daily Mirror* in 1964 and *The Sun* in 2013 (Fig. 24)[181].

Figure 24   Front page of *Daily Mirror* of 30 December 1964 and of *The Sun* 31 July 2013

The Sun seeks to encourage its journalists to choose words which might be deemed as **unpredictable** by those outside its language and that of it readers: its philosophy is explicit: 'our language is constantly evolving. Don't be afraid to play your part in creating it' (Perry and Moorhead 2014: 27).

Transformability is an integral part of the working lives of British tabloid journalists, particularly those still working primarily in the print arm of that medium. I know from my own experience that a shout of 'hold up with that story, your shape is changing' was still a common expression for a chief sub-editor of *The Sun* to use to address a sub-editor in 2015. The 'shape' to which she refers is the typographical space left on a redesigned page which will accommodate the story being handled by the sub. The typographical and design context of the story may also change. Tabloid journalists

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[181] Page 201.

are also used to moving from one technological platform to another, as described in 5.2. As I note to myself, 'gotta do iPad version for the first time' (20/10/14)[182]. One of the practice-based **transformations** that have taken place, in my experience, within UK tabloid journalism over the past 40 years is a slight increase in the number of women taking on news (and sport) production functions. From when I started in Fleet Street, there have always been many women journalists on redtops (I can find no quantitative data); and I have worked for three female editors at the *News of the World*: Wendy Henry (1987-1988), Patsy Chapman (1988-1993) and Rebekah Wade, later Brooks (2000-2003). The last was also my editor at *The Sun* from 2003-2009 and is Chief Executive officer of its owning company *News UK* at the time of writing. However, with notable exceptions, women on the news subs' desk were rarer, and now only slightly less so. For example, Porter is the only female news revise sub on *The Sun* as I write.

Turning to the final Trickster cluster, 'personality', it is noteworthy that the most successful popular UK newspapers of the 20th century, the *Daily Express* of the 1950s, the *Daily Mirror* of the 1960s and *The Sun* of the 1980s were all personified by, and publicly associated with, powerful editors, respectively Arthur Christiansen, Hugh Cudlipp and Kelvin MacKenzie. In my experience, a tabloid is effective when it looks and feels as though a single person could have produced it. Without doubt an intrinsic part of the public image of a tabloid is its **humorousness** and **hypersexuality**, both discussed in 3.1. Punning headlines, often of an irreverent, even crude, nature, but intended to cause laughter, is one of the characteristics for which *The Sun* is most famous, or infamous. For example, *Zip Me Up Before You Go* (Sun 1998), published after pop star George Michael was arrested for **sexually** importuning in a public

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[182] Appendix A.

lavatory (He had a hit record with the duo Wham! In 1984 called *Wake Me Up Before You Go Go*[183]). Evidence of how much **humour** is a part of *Sun* culture is that in its last two HQs the newspaper had portrayed the page on its wall, in the latter case in lettering on a glass office partition, along with other examples shown in Fig. 6[184]. **Humour** is emphasised in *The Sun*'s stylebook which includes the unique example of when it punningly changed the name of its titlepiece in honour of the birth of the birth of Prince William and the Princess of Cambridge's son George on July 22, 2013 (Fig. 25)[185]. Characteristically, the entry even makes a joke of the joke! Thus **humorousness** has been shown to be embedded within the tabloid paradigm exemplified by *The Sun*.

Figure 25   From *The Sun*'s stylebook   *(Perry and Moorhead 2014: 30)*

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[183] From *Make It Big* by Wham!, Epic, 1984.
[184] Page 107.
[185] Page 203.

Hypersexuality in tabloid newspapers is another of their most prominent characteristics, exemplified in *The Sun* by coverage of Katie Price, examined in 5.1, and its controversial topless Page 3 'girls', discussed in 5.5. Throughout the 20th century, popular newspapers felt both men and women were interested in pictures of 'attractive ladies' (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 131). However, with the turn of the century, attitudes to objectification in society were reflected in the redtops. Porter's warning to her subs not to 'go down the titillation route because if you do that you'll get very short shrift from me'[186] is evidence of that, as is the anger she felt when she thought a gratuitous image of a woman was being used[187]. *The Sun*'s subbing guide is explicit:

> Too often we describe women as beauty, stunner babe, or similar. There's a case for it only of looks are specifically relevant. Similarly there is no reason to say blonde Sally or brunette Sally for the sake of it, unless her hair colour is relevant. Roughly half our readership is women – so avoid blokeishness.
>
> (Perry and Moorhead 2014: 28)

Porter's view that *The Sun*'s coverage of **sexual** and gender issues had improved since she joined the newspaper[188] fails to expunge **hypersexuality** from its Trickster characteristics. For **sex** itself and all matters pertaining to—celebrity affairs and the relationship 'misdemeanours' of the great and the good—remains central to the tabloid project and paradigm. Of the 52 editions of the *Sun on Sunday* printed in 2014, over half (29) had implicit or explicit content portrayed in their front page splash headlines. These included the terms and phrases 'sex arrest', 'night with model', '3-in-a-bed', 'romps', 'sex for sale', 'sex tape' and 'secret tryst'[189]. As ever, Trickster keeps up with the times and adjusts to its environment, but however much the tabloid writing style changes, **hypersexuality** appears to remain at the heart of its content.

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[186] Appendix B.
[187] Appendix B.
[188] Appendix B.
[189] Appendix A.

As described in 3.2, Roberts likens his tabloid sub-editorial role, and skill set, to that of a bricklayer's:

> [T]abloid sub-editors, we're like bricklayers…you build a good wall…and the fact is that your skills aren't required to build a good wall…if you work for a broadsheet, that is a job of checking and ticking and making sure that there are no grammatical howlers…whereas what we do is we rebuild from top to bottom…the craft is an architectural craft as much as anything[190]

I agree with him, and I know from my professional experience that the nature of this work, and the attitude of the practitioners echo that of the bricoleur. The dictionary cited, by default, in this work does not include a definition of that term. This thesis judges it appropriate to repeat here the explanation given in 3.2 that the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* defines it 'a person who engages in bricolage', describing the latter as: '1. (in art or literature) construction or creation from a diverse range of available things. 2. a thing created from a diverse range of things.' It explains this second term is derived from a French word for 'handyman' (Stevenson and Waite 2011: 174).

The word was analogously invoked by Levi-Strauss in his description of the way in which some prehistoric humans engaged with, and created representations of the natural world. His unnamed translator makes it clear that no English word reflects the skill set and demeaned social status of this operative:

> He is a man who undertakes odd jobs and is a Jack of all trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself man, but, as the text makes clear, he is of a different standing from, for instance, the English 'odd job man' or handyman…The bricoleur is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks; but unlike the engineer, he does not subordinate each of them to the availability of raw materials and tools conceived and procured for the purpose of the project. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with 'whatever is at hand'.
>
> (Levi-Strauss 1962: 17)

This work suggests that the activity Levi-Strauss describes manifests aspects of Trickster energy and its occasional, unsought, creative outcomes. Furthermore, bricoleur activity, this thesis posits, reflects that of British tabloid journalist. Hynes

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[190] Appendix B.

explicitly labels Trickster a bricoleur and, unwittingly, conjures up an appropriate metaphor for the function of a tabloid journalist 'transforming shit into sacred objects by the use of writing' (Hynes 1993: 44). The activity of bricoleurs, their liminal social status, and the resources they employ (bricolage) describe what Marr calls the 'trade' of journalism (Marr 2005) and what, most appropriately of all, can be applied to the activity of the British tabloid journalist, most accurately to the production journalists, or sub-editors, in that field. This work suggests that bricolage as described by Levi-Strauss, employing random combinations of tools to achieve an end reflects aspects both of Trickster energy and the creative 'jigsaw' multi-media skills of tabloid journalists. I have been unable to find an example of Levi-Strauss directly connecting Trickster with bricoleur activity, although this work concludes that most, if not all, of the Trickster traits identified in 4.1 plays a part in the process of tabloid news presentation.

The connection between Levi-Strauss' 'bricoleur', *Sun* tabloid journalists and Trickster has emerged in this subchapter by examining interviews with six journalists, and autoethnographically corroborated notes, and comparing them with the 12 Trickster traits defined in 4.1.

5.4 Public images: Trickster in the boardroom and the editor's chair

This subchapter addresses the second sub-category in the second aspects of the British tabloid journalism paradigm under investigation: conspicuous leading tabloid practitioners, as they are perceived by the public. To recapitulate, in this work's substantive analysis (Chapter Five), the UK tabloid paradigm is examined with reference to each of the three aspects of it identified in Chapter Three: product, practice and phenomenon (psychosocial impact). The aspect labelled 'product' is further split into two sub-categories explored in 5.1 (content) and 5.2 (containers). The aspect

labelled 'practice' is also further split into two sub-categories explored in 5.3 (journalists, as they see themselves) and the current subchapter, 5.4 (images of leading tabloid figures as they are perceived publicly). The psychosocial impact of UK tabloids is examined in 5.5. As previously explained, each sub-category is explored using four central case studies augmented by other material. In the case of this subchapter, those exemplars are Rupert Murdoch, founder and proprietor of the redtop *Sun,* Rebekah Brooks, CEO of its holding company *News UK* at the time of writing, Kelvin MacKenzie and Piers Morgan, both former editors of *The Sun* (along with Brooks).

It should be noted that under examination here is the perceived images of these four examples that are each measured against the 12 Trickster traits, gathered into five clusters, defined by this work, not the 'actuality' of the subjects themselves; sometimes the two will intersect, sometimes not. It should also be noted that I have worked as a newspaper production journalist for all four subjects at various times in various roles, and therefore have direct experience of them. However, in the case of Murdoch, that experience is limited to two brief encounters. My experience of them, and an account of my UK newspaper employment, is listed in Appendix A.

Figure 26   Rupert Murdoch and Jerry Hall at a rugby match   *(Guardian News and Media)*

Since his acquisition of *The Sun* and *News of the World* and his collateral entry into British public life in 1969 (Page 2003: 130), amplified by his acquisition of the loss-making *Times* and *Sunday Times* in 1981 (Fletcher 2003), Rupert Murdoch, has been perceived as a blur of Tricksterish activity by the readers of hundreds of media outlets in Britain, the United States of America and Australia, over which he wields considerable power. At the time of writing, he is executive chairman of *The Sun*'s owner *News Corp* and founder of *21st Century Fox*, separated from the original *News Corporation* in the wake of the phone-hacking scandal in 2013 (James 2013). His social **disruptiveness** is manifested by his switching of *The Sun*'s political allegiances from Labour to Conservative in 1979, back to labour in 1997, and again to Conservative in 2009 (Brook and Wintour 2009). That newspaper's introduction of Page Three 'girls' in 1970 **transgressed** a long-held convention that British newspapers did not publish topless images of women. Murdoch's perceived **amorality**, judged by critics as immorality, was focused in the public eye on his political associations and **commercial** dealings. Many observers judged that he closed the *News of the World* in 2011 in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to salvage a plan to acquire 100 per cent of Sky TV (Watson and Pesce 2011). Pickets during the Wapping dispute of 1986 (examined in 5.5) focused on Murdoch's financial wealth and sent to journalists working behind the plant's barbed wire (including me) mock pound notes (Fig. 27)[191].

Figure 27   Two sides of mock 'Murdoch's millions' banknote allegedly sent by pickets, 1986 (P.C.)

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[191] Page 208.

Once again, **articulateness** is at the heart of this figure: **revelatory** scoops featured prominently in his two popular UK titles, particularly those written by the *News of the World*'s investigative journalist Mazher Mahmood, also known as the Fake Sheikh (Burden 2009: passim) and identified by the BBC as a 'Fleet Street legend' (Fletcher 2003). Mahmood's investigations led to court cases, ongoing at the time of writing (Press PA 2016), and *The Sun*'s alleged **mendaciousness** over the Hillsborough football disaster (LiverpoolEcho 2016) is examined in 5.5. The **unpredictability** of the 'Dirty Digger' as the Australian who **transformed** into a US citizen was dubbed in a satirical magazine (Eye 2016) conflates with the unexpected **hypersexuality** attached to his four marriages, the most recent, in 2016 aged 84, to Jerry Hall, then aged 59, the former partner of *Rolling Stones* singer Mick Jagger (O'Carroll 2016) (Fig. 26)[192]. His penultimate wife at the time of writing, Wendi Deng, came to public attention when she confronted a man who launched a foam pie attack at her then husband during a Parliamentary committee hearing held by the Commons' Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee on 19 July, 2011 (Chapman 2011). Deng's stereotypically inferred martial prowess was comically portrayed in a TV comedy (Wollaston 2016). The perceived **mendaciousness** of Murdoch's emotions was discussed nationally after his appearance at that meeting when he told the panel. 'This is the most humble day of my career' (BBC 2011b).

Rebekah Brooks (formerly Wade) became a conspicuous public figure before and during the phone-hacking scandal resulting in the closure of the *News of the World* in 2011. At that time she was Chief Executive Officer of the newspaper's holding company *News International* and had been editor of both its redtop titles. The phone-

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[192] Page 207.

hacking scandal led her to be tried in court, cleared and reinstated as Chief Executive Officer of a restructured *News UK*. The only female Trickster figure in the quartet under examination in this subchapter, her natural red hair and pale complexion has always made her a magnetic subject for cartoonists who have portrayed her as Medusa and as a witch (Fig. 29)[193]. Tulloch notes that '[t]he process of 'witchifying' Brooks was given an elegant start signal on BBC2's *Newsnight* by Charlotte Harris, a prominent lawyer representing alleged victims of phone-hacking. The occasion was the appearance of Brooks in front of the Leveson Inquiry on 12 May 2012' (Tulloch 2013: 58). A press report stated that Harris told the show's presenter Gavin Esler that Brooks' appearance 'was interesting because she appeared to be dressed [in a 'plain black dress with a white Peter Pan collar'] quite innocently. But with the contrasting collar, it did look a little bit Salem.' Esler checked that the lawyer was referring to the Salem witch trials in Massachusetts in the 1690s and Harris replied, 'A little bit. She is a very dramatic and iconic figure and there was that drama with the inquiry' (MailOnline 2012).

Even after she was cleared of all phone-hacking charges, the Tricksterish 'witch' associations continued, as did descriptions of her hair:

> With her cascading shock of flame-red hair, Rebekah Brooks was probably the country's best-known newspaper journalist even before the hacking scandal at News International added notoriety to a stellar career.
>
> (Johnston 2014)

The later reviled Max Clifford says of her, 'She is red hot, not just her hair', and another UK tabloid journalist Bridget Rowe speaks in awe of her presence: 'She's got the capacity to make you feel that everything's great in the world, that everything's going to be fine.'

The rise to prominence of Brooks, who 'moves in the world of celebrities' (Ibid.), was **disruptive**, **mischievous** and **transgressive** from the start. Her 'named and

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[193] Page 213.

shamed' campaign to list 110,000 identified paedophiles while Editor of the *News of the World* triggered outrage in Parliament and government and the unfair persecution of a paediatrician (Allison 2000). Journalist Nick Cohen puts it thus: 'Thickos in south Wales [drove] a paediatrician out of their home because they didn't know the difference between a paedophile and a paediatrician'. Although Brooks halted the campaign after the adverse publicity, she later, in 2001, renewed it in an altered form (Fig. 28)[194], with the support of the then Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, who praised its 'public spirit', and the police who wanted newspaper readers to alert them to the whereabouts of convicted paedophiles who had not signed the Sex Offenders' Register (Fletcher 2003).
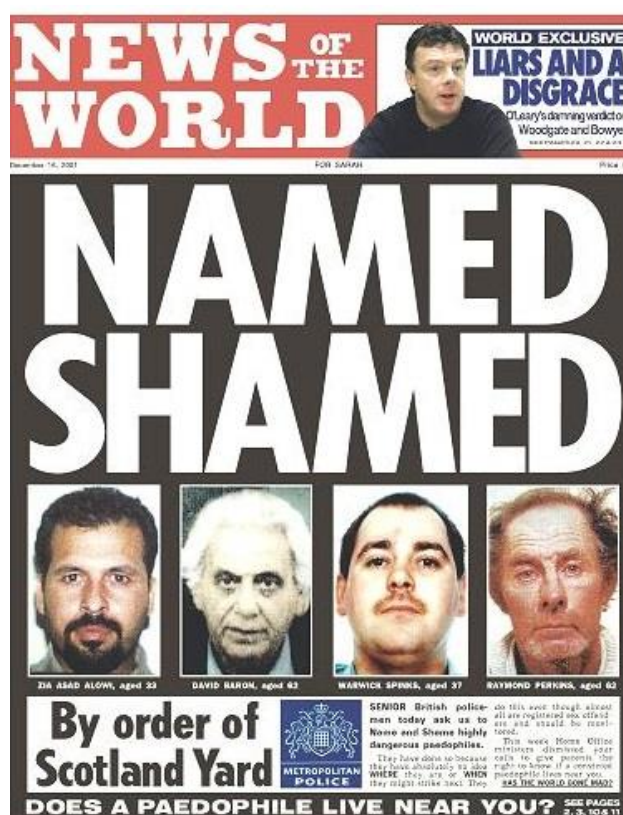
Figure 28   Front page of the *News of the World*, 13 December 2001

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[194] Page 211.

Brooks was believed, by me (who had interacted with her during her time as a relatively junior writer on the *News of the World*'s *Sunday* magazine) and others, to have disliked *The Sun*'s topless Page Three 'girls'. This view was reinforced by the knowledge that she was a founder member of 'one of Britain's most powerful feminist networks, Women In Journalism' (Fletcher 2003). However, when she became *The Sun*'s first female editor in 2003, the Page 3 model chosen to appear in her inaugural edition was labelled 'Rebekah from Wapping' (Sun 2003). Some observers saw this as Brooks putting 'two fingers up' to the establishment (Fletcher 2003).

Brooks' close association with Murdoch, who initially refused to dismiss her during the phone-hacking scandal[195], fuelled much innuendo and more cartoons (e.g. Fig. 29)[196]. **Commerciality** and **hypersexuality** surrounded infused her public image, often supported by real events: she spent a night in a police cell after allegedly hitting her first husband, burly TV soap star Ross Kemp (Grove 2011), she married a multimillionaire after Kemp and was publicly known to be a member of a network of influential figures living in the village of Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, which included the then Prime Minister David Cameron (Dewar 2012). The Leveson Inquiry heard on 11 May, 2012, that she had exchanged phone texts with Cameron explaining to him that the letters LOL meant 'laughing out loud' and not 'lots of love'[197]. The following year, when Brooks and her successor as *News of the World* editor Andy Coulson, were on trial at London's Old Bailey accused of phone-hacking, it emerged that the pair had been carrying out a clandestine **sexual** affair (Davies 2013). While editor of *The Sun*, that newspaper celebrated her being cleared of phone-hacking by

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[195] The scandal is examined in 6.1
[196] Page 213.
[197] leveson.sayit.mysociety.org/search/?q=LOL (Retrieved 24 September 2016.)

carrying her picture with a front-page splash including the **humorous**, if thoroughly partisan, double entendre *Great day for red tops* (Sun 2014a), reproduced in Fig. 29[198].
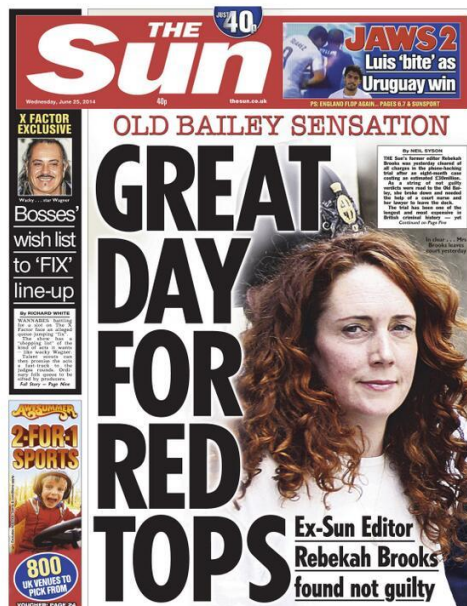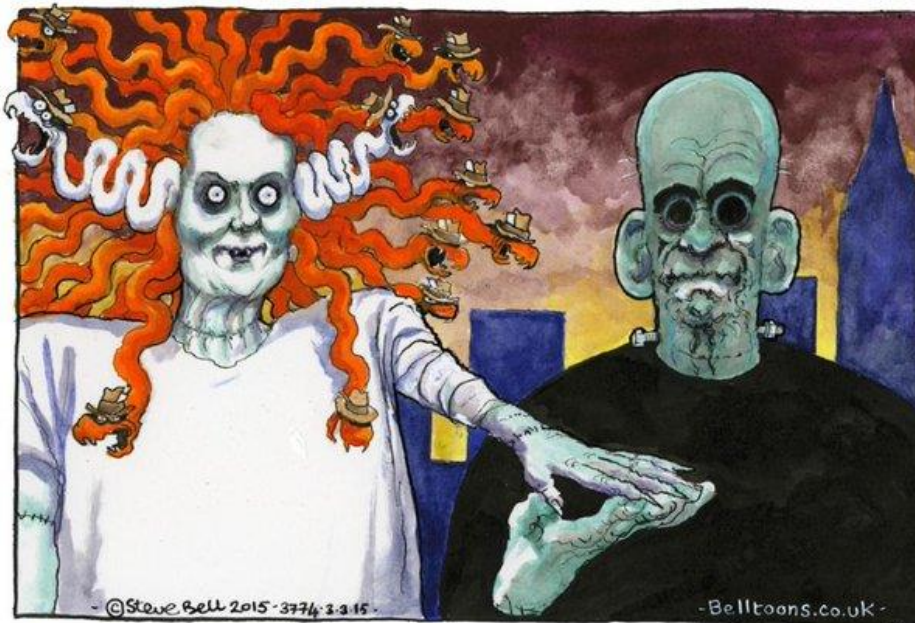

Figure 29 Brooks portrayed, top, by *Guardian*'s Steve Bell, bottom left, by *The Sun* and *Private Eye*

[198] Page 213,

A stage play, *Great Britain* provides fictional representations of Brooks' Trickster image. When I watched it in London in 2015 there were roars of laughter at lines delivered to or by the leading character, a young female tabloid reporter called Paige Britain, which had cleared, but grotesque connections with Brooks and evidence given to the Leveson Inquiry. For example, whenever horse-riding was mentioned (Bean 2015: Loc. 1092), the audience (I checked with some of those around me) referenced the fact that the Metropolitan police leant Brooks a horse to ride (Dodd 2012).

A far more explicit characterisation of Brooks was presented in a TV comedy, which used the same double entre as *The Sun* for its title *Red Top* (Wollaston 2016) in which she is portrayed, as a grotesque caricature, roller-skating through her office. References within the 'fictional' work (although the main character is listed as 'Rebekah' and her lover as 'Andy Coulson' and the themes are clearly but loosely based on real events) include views of two real *Sun* front page splash headlines, *The Truth* (Arnold and Askill 1989) and *Gotcha* (Sun 1982a) (Fig. 36)[199], acknowledgement of the fictional Rebekah hitting her husband, and a line in which she says to Andy, 'I worry about you' (Wollaston 2016), which is a copy of a sentence in an email the 'real' Rebekah sent the 'real' Andy and which was reported during their phone-hacking trial (Davies 2013). It is telling that this film is anachronistically set in the 1970s when *The Sun* and its content were unmitigated by the cultural conventions that followed in the 1990s and the following century. As Porter remarks, 'A tabloid of ten years ago was very different'[200]. A more appropriate image of a postmodern female Trickster is difficult to conjure, and one which fits all five clusters represented in 4.1.

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[199] Page 230.
[200] Appendix B.

Kelvin MacKenzie was, before Brooks, *The Sun* editor (1981-1994) with probably the highest public profile[201]. He was a 'ruthless' editor who would 'stop at nothing' to win readers (Sandiford 2002). At the time of writing, he remains a controversial columnist for the newspaper involved in a dispute over a piece he wrote in his column about a female TV journalist wearing a hijab covering the massacre by lorry in Nice, France, in 2016 (Rawlinson and Johnston 2016). It immediately triggered 500 complaints, rising to more than 800 (IndependentSweney 2016a). **Disruptiveness**, **transgressiveness** and **mischievous** marked MacKenzie's tenure at the newspaper, along with crude scatological language, much of which found its way into fictional representations of Britain's popular press. *The Sun* overtook the circulation of the *Daily Mirror* in 1978, under the leadership of launch editor Larry Lamb and three years before MacKenzie became editor in 1981. However, the latter quickly stamped his character on the tabloid, which 'in many ways becomes a direct projection of the extraordinary personality of MacKenzie' as Horrie informed TV viewers (Sandiford 2002). MacKenzie's **disruptiveness** was evidenced by his notorious choice of the *Gotcha* headline marking the death of at the start of the Falklands War (Sun 1982a) and being overruled by a senior executive (Chippindale and Horrie 2013: Loc. 2232), his newspaper's controversial claim to have won the 1992 general election for the Conservative party (Sun 1992b), and MacKenzie's unprecedented leaking of the Queen's speech (BBC 1992).

His foul language, **sexual** and scatological, was heard regularly by me and many other *Sun* journalists and he employed it during his address to journalists in 1986, persuading them to cross printers' picket lines at the start of the Wapping dispute (see 5.5). It was witnessed by me and recorded: 'If I bend over any further I'll be in Gay

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[201] A search on Google (UK) on 2 August 2016 gave the following results: "Rebekah Brooks" 369,000, "Kelvin MacKenzie" 262,000, David Dinsmore 29,700, Dominic Mohan 12,500.

News' he crudely complained about concessions he claimed to be giving his reluctant journalistic staff (Melvern 1986)…what the NUJ [National Union of Journalists] has done for you could safely fit up a gnat's arse' (Melvern 1986: 67-68). His most famous, scatological attack, evoking all the linguistic bile of a postmodern Trickster, came during a conversation with the then Conservative Prime Minister John Major during the exchange mechanism crisis of 1992: 'Well John, let me put it this way. I've got a large bucket of shit lying on my desk and tomorrow morning I'm going to pour it all over your head.' (Plunkett 2008). For many months afterwards, witnessed by me, a bucket was left in a newsroom office purporting to signify that conversation.

Ironically, the 'liar' label attached to MacKenzie in the North-West of England resulted from a splash headline under his editorship which stated The Truth and was based on the alleged, and later disproved, misbehaviour of Liverpool football supporters at the Hillsborough disaster in Sheffield in 1989 in which 96 people died and which is examined in 5.5. **Hypersexuality** is not a characteristic attached personally to MacKenzie, but to the **sexual** content his newspaper continued to carry throughout his tenure. His central ambiguity is that, despite presenting himself as a an editor for, and of, the people, he was the son of journalists who went to a private school, Alleyn's in south London (Robinson 2008).

John Major later denied the 'bucket of shit story' (Easton 2012) but by then MacKenzie had become the mythic template for the loud-mouthed tabloid editor reflecting all its crude Trickster **humorousness**, an extreme version of a journalistic type described as 'the loveable rogue' (Lonsdale 2016: 31). Wilson Tikkel, the tabloid editor in *Great Britain* yells 'Fuck! Reverse Ferret' (Bean 2015: Loc. 962), a phrase I know from my own experience that MacKenzie invented to describe having to quickly and radically change the angle of a story. He is the spirit of another fictional editor,

Morris Honeyspoon who dons a centurion's helmet and screams lines such as, 'Sales are up by seventeen thousand. Those wankers who've mocked me, "Oh you can't splash on immigration". Well fuck them. They'll have to make me Editor of the Year now' (Jagasia 2015: 31). Morris is described by another character as 'a deeply weird, sexually malfunctioning headcase' (Ibid.: 37). MacKenzie's Trickster-like reputation for **humour** is perhaps best summed up by a T-shirt (Fig. 30)[202] that was made to mark his departure from *The Sun*'s editorship which recalled another crude phrase he coined when he did not like something: 'If that's a headline, my prick's a bloater'. When news sub-editors, including me, complained about having no natural light after our sole window was blocked up in the late 1980s he sent to each of our homes a hand-crafted miniature window in a wooden frame with a letter saying, 'Roger Wood[203] was complaining the other day about the lack of windows at Wapping. I think I have found the answer: - the portable window. Feel free to bring it with you and put it by your desk!!'[204] (Fig.30)[205]

Figure 30   MacKenzie's farewell T-shirt and the miniature window he sent to subs   *(P.C.)*

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[202] Page 217.
[203] Appendix B.
[204] From letter dated 30 January 1987 in personal collection (P.C.)
[205] Page 217.

Piers Morgan became editor of the News of the World in 1994 at the age of 28, having been a showbusiness writer on The Sun (Morgan 2005). His whole career, some of which I witnessed first-hand, was a succession of **disruption**, **mischief** and **transgressiveness**. He was publicly castigated at the *News of the World* by proprietor Murdoch for publishing photographs of the sister in law of Diana, Princess of Wales recovering in a bulimia clinic (Williams 1995), and left later to become editor of the *Daily Mirror* where he was publicly castigated by the proprietor and forced to apologise for publishing a front page with the heading 'Achtung surrender' and

Figure 31 Morgan's offending *Mirror* front page (1991) and second autobiographical book *(Morgan 2007)*

launching and associated publicity campaign during an international football tournament (Fig. 31)[206]. He became caught up in, but cleared of a **commercial** share-tipping scandal which led to two financial writers on the *Mirror* known as the City Slickers being convicted (BBC 2005b), however he was finally sacked after hoax photos appeared in the *Mirror* which were reported to misrepresent British soldiers abusing prisoners in Iraq (BBC 2004). From there his career went to America and *CNN*

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[206] Page 218.

where he confronted the pro-gun lobby (Vale 2013) and then, at the time of writing, to *ITV*'s morning new programme (ITV 2015).

The title of Morgan's second autobiographical book *Don't You Know Who I am?* (Morgan 2007) sums up the air of youthful **humour** that has surrounded his many utterly **unpredictable** metamorphoses from celebrity writer to newspaper editor to news anchorman. Each of the Trickster clusters sit comfortably with his public persona except, perhaps, that of **hypersexuality**. Like MacKenzie that has mainly been the function of the product with which he has been associated and, in his case, the **hypersexed** milieu of celebrity stardom in which he has always moved with such ease.

This subchapter has examined the public projections of four public figures intimately connected with the British tabloid press and cited examples of how, overwhelmingly, the 12 Trickster traits identified by this work, and the clusters into which it has gathered them, infuse the quartet's imagery and narrative.

5.5 The controversies: kill the Trickster!

This subchapter examines four exemplars of psychosocial impact connected with the contemporary UK tabloid paradigm, as characterised by *The Sun* and *News of the World*. The nature of such impact was categorised in Chapter Three as 'phenomenon' to distinguish it from the other two trisections identified within the paradigm: content and practice.

The examples of impact selected, and measured against the 12 Trickster traits identified in 4.1, are Page Three 'girls' published by *The Sun* from 1970 to 2015, the Wapping dispute of 1986 (introduced in 5.2), *The Sun*'s coverage of the Hillsborough football disaster (introduced in 3.3), and an overview of the newspaper's social impact, including its political and cultural influence, inextricably integrated with its

commercial imperative, and signified on the diagram (Fig. 12)[207] by a considered conflation of its introduction of an unprecedented £1million bingo prize in 1981 (Greenslade 2004: 406) and its unproven claim to have won the 1992 general election for the Conservative party (Sun 1992b). A fifth phenomenon, the phone-hacking scandal that led to the Leveson Inquiry and the closure of the *News of the World* in 2011, is examined separately in 6.1.

This work judges *The Sun*'s long-running Page 3 feature to be the most prolonged individual 'trick' that the tabloid Trickster has played on UK society. The term 'Page 3 girl' or 'page three girl' slid into the language in the 1970s to mean 'a model whose nude or semi-nude photograph appears as part of a regular series in a tabloid newspaper' (Siefring 1992: 211). The feature was introduced exactly one year after the tabloid *Sun* launched on 17 November 1969. Page 3 photographer Beverley Goodman implies that the feature's launch date of 17 November 1970 was no coincidence as the redtop's first birthday was intended to be celebrated by topless German Stephanie Rahn in her 'birthday suit' (Sandiford 2002), a term repeated in the caption that appears alongside the photograph, printed in black and white like the rest of the paper, apart from the white on red titlepiece:

> From time to time some self-appointed critic stamps his tiny feet and declares that The Sun is obsessed with sex. It is not The Sun, but the critics, who are obsessed. The Sun like most of its readers likes pretty girls and if they're as pretty as today's Birthday Suit girl 20-year-old Stephanie Rahn of Munich, who cares whether they're obsessed or not? Perfectly natural we reckon.[208]

The libertine message did not appear out of culturally thin air: it came two years after actors performed naked for the first time in London's West End in *Hair* (Brown 2010) and a year before *Oz* magazine's *School Kids* issue 28 was charged with obscenity for 'debauching and corrupting morals' (B.L.). However, the naked Ms Rahn began a

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[207] Page 163.
[208] These are the words of the caption published next to the picture of Rahn on Page 3 of *The Sun* on 17 November 1970.

fierce public debate that continued for almost half a century until the final appearance of a topless Page 3 'girl' in *The Sun*'s printed editions on 22 January 2015.

The first organised complaint against Page 3 was a ban by Sowerby Bridge public library in West Yorkshire that lasted 18 months, but was ended after a campaign organised by *The Sun* (Sandiford 2002). From the beginning the **mischievous disruption** caused by the **hypersexual** phenomenon was recognised by the product as helping to drive circulation, and therefore advertising and the brand's **commercial** return. As Greenslade told TV viewers of *The Sun and Me* documentary, 'When *The Sun* caused controversy, when *The Sun* made the story, it tended to add to its publicity value" (Sandiford 2002).

Over 45 years, the premise of Page 3 changed little. A 'Page 7 fella' was published for period in a vain attempt at gender balance, but it did not prove popular (Sky 2016b). *The Sun* attempted, temporarily, to connect the feature with its characteristic **humorousness** by running a 'news in briefs' caption that comprised a comment about a serious issue of the day attributed, critics claimed **mendaciously**, to the model in question, e.g. 'Zoe is certain Tony Blair was right to take Britain into the war with Iraq' (Ireland 2013). There were several organised complaints against Page 3, the most effective of which was *No More Page 3*, run by feminist activist Lucy-Anne Holmes from 2012-2016. She was supported by Green MP for Brighton Pavilio Caroline Lucas who was admonished for wearing an anti-Page 3 T-shirt in Parliament during a media sexism debate 2013 (BBC 2013). Demonstrations followed at the newspaper's headquarters in South London (Fig. 32)[209].

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[209] Page 222.

Figure 32   Lucas wearing her anti-Page 3 T-shirt in Parliament and a demonstration in London in 2015
(Rex Features)

The Sun finally appeared to surrender and publish its last Page Three 'girl' on 16 January 2015. Its sister newspaper *The Times* reported there would be no more, although it was proved incorrect (Greenslade 2015d) when, with characteristic **mischievousness**, *The Sun* published another on 22 January 2015 with the heading *Clarifications and corrections* and the humorous caption:

> Further to recent reports in all other media outlets, we would like to clarify that this is Page 3 and this is a picture of Nicole, 22, from Bournemouth. We would like to apologise on behalf of the print and broadcast journalists who have spent the last two days talking and writing about us.
>
> (Sun 2015a: 3)

The front page of the edition carried a 'teaser' cross-reference to Page 3 punning, 'We've had a mammary lapse'. After consideration, this thesis reproduces an unexpurgated image of that Page 3 (Fig. 33[210]) in order to convey the full context of its Trickster energy. Model Lissy Cunningham from Manchester can clearly be seen winking, this work suggests, in a Tricksterish fashion. For, if there is one human gesture that epitomises that archetypal principle, this thesis suggests it is a sly wink. Cunningham's image is placed next to an unconnected page lead which relates in a lighthearted fashion a story of mice infestation at Manchester United football club's

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[210] Page 224.

ground. I know from my experience that *The Sun* always selects a 'funny' story for its Page 3 lead in order to retain the 'mood' of the page.

At the time of writing, there has been no topless Page 3 in *The Sun* since and no 'linking out' from *The Sun*'s online platform, *thesun.co.uk*, to *Page3.com* which is owned by *News Group Newspapers*, a subsidiary of the newspaper's owners *News UK*, and which carries images of topless Page 3 models, and which does[211] 'link back' to *The Sun* site. The students' union of the university where this work is being produced, was still banning the newspaper from its outlets in 2016 because of the Page 3 controversy (Finnis 2013). The **unpredictability** of the demise of Page 3 and the 'will they, won't they' trick played by *The Sun* on its rivals and commentators fulfils the last of the 12 Trickster traits.

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[211] Retrieved and tested 1 August 2016.

Figure 33 The final Page 3 'girl'? From *The Sun*, 22 January 2015

If Page 3 is a **hypersexualised**, **mischievous**, yet socially and culturally **transgressive**, example of psychosocial Trickster impact, then the Wapping 'revolution', introduced in 5.2 is a more explicitly violent explosion of the Trickster spectrum manifest in the UK tabloid paradigm exemplified by *The Sun*. Samuels reminds us that an archetype 'cannot be a person (or vice versa) and that the trickster motif has meaning only within the specific narratives in which it appears' (IAJS 2016: July 1). Hence, as explained in 4.4, the cases of Murdoch, Brooks et al, examined above, relate to the narratives of their imagery, not their actuality. The case of Wapping, investigated here, and of Hillsborough, examined afterwards, concern narrative imagery not focused on a single personification, although individuals, or rather the

perceived images of them, have a reinforcing part to play, e.g. MacKenzie's foul-mouthed speech to reluctant journalists described in 5.4.

Bassil-Morozow astutely describes how Trickster energy can get 'darker towards the end of the "oppressed" spectrum, when rebellious feelings that have been repressed for a long time seep out and make themselves heard…[t]hat's rotting trickster energy' (Ibid.: June 26). And this subchapter suggests that this 'repressed energy' both on the side of UK newspaper owners, led by Murdoch, and on the side of the printers who belonged to 'undoubtedly the strongest unions in Britain' (Sandiford 2002) had been 'seeping out' throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, as evidenced by the dispute over the thwarted Mine Fuhrer front page described in 5.4. A former editor of *The Sun* and *News of the World* Bernard Shrimsley told TV viewers of the 'non-stop warfare' between Fleet Street management and unions, adding, 'We regarded the print unions as saboteurs and enemies. They were a bigger problem than rival newspapers.' (Ibid.)

The dispute lasted a year and led to nightly pickets of between five and six thousand people each side of the barbed wire that protected 'Fortress Wapping' as the East London printing plant setup in secret by Murdoch came to be known. Its construction was wreathed in lies, with Murdoch claiming, falsely, that it would only print a new newspaper, and key executives mysteriously leaving *The Sun* and the other three Murdoch titles to take on unlikely, and in fact mythical, jobs elsewhere, or were said to have been taken sick by what sceptical journalists dubbed 'Wapping flu'. They were actually being trained to use new computerised equipment. A fleet of trucks was hired to distribute the newspapers which, until then, had been transported by trains operated by unionised workers. In the TV programme describing these events of 1986 and the ultimate defeat of the print unions who did not get their jobs back, I explained to viewers how journalists working behind 'the wire' had to call a secret phone number

to be given that day's location of the armoured 'battle bus' that would drive us through the pickets and into work. The industrial decisions that led to that point are beyond the scope of this inquiry, but as a trades union representative, I was part of, and helped organise, many workplace votes regarding the move (Ibid.)

Figure 34 Police and pickets at Wapping plant *(Andrew Wiard from 2011 exhibition at TUC's Congress House)*

The impact of the 'War at Wapping' (Buckley 2016) was internal, both for individuals and their collective endeavours as journalists, printers and trades unionists. This subchapter concludes that 'rotting' Trickster energy soaks the events which had **disruption** and **transgression** of the industrial order at its centre. It was driven by **commerciality** and was utterly **unpredictable** which, as an actor, I can attest (Sandiford 2002).As has been shown, **mendaciousness** drove the whole project and

although, this part of the Trickster spectrum, lacked explicit **hypersexuality**, that quality was still embedded in the product that was driven out in huge trucks through impotently screaming pickets nightly and struggling with police (Fig. 34)[212]. **Humorousness** also took a back seat in this dark chapter in the tabloid Trickster's journey, apart from brief episodes, such as the 'Wapping flu' described above. I also recall an inducement of a staff swimming pool, never fulfilled, from Murdoch to journalists choosing to cross the printers' picket line. I watched the next day as laughing pickets made breast stroke motions at the 'battle buses' bringing journalists into work. Even amid such fury, perhaps especially amid such fury, Trickster can never resist a joke.

Far darker than the Wapping dispute and the phone-hacking scandal that was later to close its sister title the *News of the World*[213]. *The Sun*'s public nadir came in 1989 when it covered the death of 96 people at a semi-final FA Cup game between Liverpool Football Club and Nottingham Forest at Hillsborough football ground in Sheffield on 15 April 1989, described in 3.3. Most of those who died in a giant crush were Liverpool supporters. The 'follow-up' story that *The Sun* published on its front page four days later was headlined *The Truth* (Fig. 35)[214] and began, 'Drunken Liverpool fans viciously attacked rescue workers as they tried to revive victims of the Hillsborough soccer disaster, it was revealed last night' (Arnold and Askill 1989). The Merseyside region and most of the north-west turned against *The Sun* because the story was widely perceived to be a lie, and was proved to be over the decades that followed, culminating in the verdict of an inquest jury in 2016 (Conn 2016). *The Sun* immediately lost 200,000 of its circulation as a result (Sandiford 2002) and never recovered in that

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[212] Page 226.
[213] Explored in 6.1.
[214] Page 228.

region despite delivering apologies on several occasions, including running *The Real Truth* (Fig. 35)[215] admitting that Liverpool supporters were not to blame (Moriarty 2012). As recently as September 2016 municipal councillors in Liverpool were still urging a ban on *The Sun* (Perraudin 2016).

Figure 35 Sun's original Hillsborough front page (19 April 1989), left, and apology (13 September 2012)

The newspaper had always blamed misinformation given to news agencies by senior police officers and fed to the paper's journalists, including political editor Trevor Kavanagh, by highly placed government contacts (Sandiford 2002). **Mendaciousness** was clearly the overwhelming Trickster trait identifiable in this dark Trickster manifestation, from which **humorousness** and **hypersexuality** are absent. However, despite being at the extreme 'rotting' end of the Trickster spectrum, **revelatoriness** drove the original story and **commerciality** was a repeatedly reported outcome in coverage of the region's boycott of the newspaper (BBC 2012a). Although, in many ways, an atypical example of the manifestation of Trickster energy in the redtop field, this investigation judges that the archetypal motif is still evident.

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[215] Page 228.

The Sun's claim to have been the force 'wot won' the 1992 general election for John Major's Conservative party (Fig. 36)[216], accompanied by its derision of the Labour opposition (Sun 1992a), is a matter of psephological dispute: Linton suggests there is a case (Linton 1995), others argue the opposite (Norris et al. 1999). This thesis concludes from its analysis that what is beyond dispute is the affect that the brand, as an exemplar of the UK tabloid paradigm under investigation, has had on the country and its culture in general. After its launch in 1969 *The Sun* was destined to 'change Britain forever' and see the nation's popular culture 'seduced by scandal, sauciness and sex' before 'our feelings turned to anger and disgust'. Former editor Shrimsley compared its effect to an atom bomb: 'The arrival of *The Sun* in Fleet Street was Hiroshima in a way'. Former sports editor Jack Nicklin said Murdoch had told him at the start of the launch that the key to the brand: 'sex, sport and contests' (Sandiford 2002).

Politically, the newspaper was endlessly shape-shifting, Trickster-like, switching (Brook and Wintour 2009) from Labour to Conservative in 1979, back to Labour in 1997 (Sun 1997: 1), and again to Conservative in 2009 (Sun 2009: 1) (Fig. 36)[217]. It aimed to reflect the perceived views of the majority of its readers, although the direction of that causality has not been satisfactorily proven by any study seen by this work. This investigation calculates that *The Sun*'s declared party political allegiance from its launch in 1969 to the time of writing in 2016 is approximately evenly balanced between Conservatives (25 years) and Labour (22 years), a finding that many in Britain will find counter-intuitive. Its periods of explicit party support, not always made in a General Election years, were Labour 10 years (1969-1979),

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[216] Page 230.
[217] Page 230.

Conservatives 18 years (1979-1997). Labour 12 years (1997-2009) and Conservatives 7 years (2009-2016).[218]

Figure 36 Four *Sun* front pages, from top left, Sinking of Belgrano (4 May 1982), Tory election victory (11 April 1992), switch to Tony Blair's Labour (18 March 1997) and switch back (30 September 2009)

The confusion regarding *The Sun*'s political allegiance and the inattention to it paid by many of its readers is illustrated by a focus group discussion in 2004, which included two male shop-fitters, Ronald, 27, and Adam, 28. At the time of discussion both *The Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* were critical supporters of the |Labour party:

> Ronald: I think the Sun is, like, a left-wing paper or something, innit? Or it's
> Labour? One of them is Labour and one of them is Conservative…

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[218] These statistics were calculated by examining a full archive of *The Sun* and identifying its declared switches of party support.

Adam: Conservative or something…
Ronald: So, there's politics involved.
Adam: The Sun's a Labour paper, yeah. And the Mirror is Conservative.
Ronald: Yeah.   (Johansson 2007: 130)

When rival newspaper proprietor Robert Maxwell launched a £1million bingo game for *Daily Mirror* readers in 1984 *The Sun* matched the pledge and was the first to pay out this enormous sum to Bristol businessman David Parsons decades before the UK launched a national Lottery. *The Sun* had overtaken the circulation of Britain's former pre-eminent tabloid in 1979 but needed a new tactic to raise flagging readership. Before long every newspaper in Britain, including 'respectable' broadsheets, ran some kind of big-money competition. Former *News of the World* editor Derek Jameson told TV viewers:

Bingo put on more readers than anything else in the world…you could have the greatest story…[but it] quite faded into insignificance against the march of bingo…that's what sold newspapers, the gimmicks, the offers, the competitions.

(Sandiford 2002)

The 1980s also saw *The Sun* produce perhaps its most iconic headline *Gotcha* (Sun 1982a) recording Britain's sinking of an Argentinian ship the Belgrano causing 323 deaths, mainly of young conscripts, at the start of the Falklands War. It appeared in the first edition of the newspaper only after the intervention of a more senior executive saw it changed to *Did 1500 Argies drown?* (Chippindale and Horrie 2013: Loc. 2232). This headline, along with *Sun* Bingo, the newspaper's various political stances and its Page 3 'girls' meant that the brand became known even to people who do not read newspapers. Although this investigation has been unable to find reliable, supporting evidence, it suggests that only *The Sun*, *The Times,* the *News of the World* (despite its demise) and possibly the *Financial Times*, from all Britain's national newspapers, have titles that resonate with disinterested non newspaper readers. The power of that brand, its Trickster personality, was reinforced internally with slogans on

the walls of its successive headquarters such as 'shock and amaze on every page' at its second Wapping building, and key words on mugs in its staff kitchens at the *News* building it occupies in 2016, announcing its editorial mission (Fig. 37)[219].

Figure 37   Poster from *Sun*'s former Wapping HQ and mug in its 2016 staff kitchen area *(P.C.)*

Such examples, along with its monthly internal search to detect and reward the 'best headline'[220] project the internal culture attached to wordplay which is as collectively powerful among journalistic staff as it still is to society, as evidenced by examples of memorable headlines cited throughout this work. As Porter declares, 'I love the words'[221]. This last of the four examples cited in this subchapter, a conflation of *The Sun*'s political coverage, **commercial** imperative and cultural impact (externally and internally) reflects, this work concludes, Trickster personality, **transformability**, **disruptiveness**, communication, **commerciality** and much more. The examples reflect so many Trickster folk stories in which the scoundrel who once amused, even delighted a populace, finally infuriates them to the point of calling for him (or her) to be punished, 'like the gods who would bind Loki' (Hyde 1998: 172) or even killed, such as the fate

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[219] Page 232.
[220] Personal email archive (P.C.)
[221] Appendix B.

of 'instant dismemberment' that nearly befalls the Yoruba Trickster Ajapa at the hands of a crowd (Owomoyela 1997: 163).

Concluding remarks

The importance of images and the imaginal to Jung's insights and theories pervade his work from Tarot cards (Jung 1934/1954), mandalas (Jung 1950: pars. 627-712) to other visual expressions of the bridge between the collective unconscious and the ego, such as those vividly expressed in his *Red Book* (Jung 2009: 154, 155, 169, passim). As this thesis explains in Chapter Three, the collaboration of text and pictorial content is a crucial aspect of British tabloid products, and this work suggests that *The Sun*'s appreciation of 'flipping from dark to light' (Appendix B.)[222] reflects Jung's view that the symbolic process usually 'presents a rhythm of negative and positive, loss and gain, dark and light' (Jung 1934/1954: par. 82). This investigation has borne in mind the importance of the imaginal to both Jung and *The Sun* in its selection and exploration of pages to employ as exemplars in this, its substantive analytical chapter. It has endeavoured to co-opt the principles of Jung's active imagination and the method of close reading explained in 1.5 in its investigation of those pages and its attempt to gain 'more awareness of what's going on' by reading with 'full attention' (Federico 2016: 18).

Here, this thesis considers one page from each of Chapter Five's five subchapters, emphasising its imaginal content and keeping in mind the practice of active imagination when applying close reading to headlines and text. This investigation can report that 'seeing' a page holistically, thinking 'analytically about what we've read without losing hold of the emotional part of the whole experience' and seeking to achieve an 'interplay of the active and reflective aspects of reading'

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[222] Appendix B.

(Ibid.: 19) is made more difficult when the reader is steeped in decades of analytical expertise relating to tabloid page production (Appendix A).

My experience was that bringing such 'close' attention to bear on individual pages and letting my thoughts 'travel' where possible also threw a light on *The Sun*'s use of signs, in the form of headlines, to enhance, probably unconsciously in my view, underlying symbolism. Further inspection of text alongside images, lead me to conclude that *The Sun* appears to work on more, and deeper, levels of communication than many readers and observers would assume. Some of my impressions are relayed below, each case includes a reflections on the signs employed and the symbolism perceived.

5.1) *How the fox he got up there?* (Fig. 16)[223]: The tower piercing a light blue sky is Olympian. The caged fox reminds me of chained wolf Fenri (Colum 1920: 183), albeit an animal figure from a different (Norse) mythology. The arrow pointing into the sky emphasises Olympian distance from us 'ordinary folk'. The 'White On Black' (WOB) printing of the Libya story's headline serves to separate a mundane event from the mythical splash. That separation is emphasised by the vernacular mode of the pun in the splash headline ('fox' implying 'fuck's'). In the text, the very first word *death-defying* implies supernatural immortality and its given name *Romeo* suggests an amorous visitation (Sun 2011: 1). *Sign*: the headline questions how an animal climbed a tall building. *Symbol*: the fox is the Trickster caged in a sky realm.

5.2) *Heel, boys* (Fig. 20)[224]: The shoe's 'kitten heels' are animalistic and, in that sense, Tricksterish. The male politicians are literally under the Prime Minister's foot, reflecting her political dominance. She laughs triumphantly, seeming to jeer at them, in the inset picture of her. It was, in my view, an unnecessary addition to the image, as

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[223] Page 174.
[224] Page 185.

the shoes are her signature and she requires no further identification. Some of the choice of language in the texts reflects a regal triumphalism and sadistic eroticism: May is 'crowned' Prime Minister in waiting and is 'expected to whip feuding male cabinet ministers into line' (Sun 2016a: 1) The deep blue background reflects the colour of her (Tory) party. *Sign*: the headline is a curt instruction from an implied 'mistress'. *Symbol*: the 'boys' are in thrall to female power expressed as an injunction delivered with animalistic eroticism.

5.3) *This is our Britain* (Fig. 24)[225]: The page is one half of a complete 'wraparound' double-page but the page shown has the most impact. It is the one readers see first before looking at the back of the product. The WOB headline has a pyramid shape which is atypical for a tabloid but somehow appropriate here. It feels monumental in form, reflecting the nature of some of the imagery around it: prehistoric Stonehenge, Antony Gormley's huge *Angel of the North* sculpture, the *Shard* and *The O2* buildings in London (the former is *The Sun*'s headquarters) and the Palace of Westminster. The smoking chimneys are reminiscent of Blake's 'dark Satanic Mills'[226]. Other mythical reference abound e.g. Scotland's 'Loch Ness Monster'. A woman reader reflects the modern diversity the newspaper would like to project, but myths and monuments appear to diminish her. In the text, 'giant leaps aren't some distant dream' hints of superhuman effort and the unconscious (Sun 2013: 1). *Sign*: the headline is a declaration of the reader's assumed solidarity and patriotism. *Symbol*: that 'truth' is reinforced by myth and monument.

5.4) *Great day for red tops* (Fig. 29)[227]. The splash story is about *The Sun*'s former editor Rebekah Brooks being cleared of phone-hacking by a court. The page is

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[225] Page 201,

[226] From a short poem written by William Blake in 1808 and best known today as the anthem Jerusalem, Cox M. (2004) *The Concise Oxford Chronology of English Literature,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 289).

[227] Page 213.

self-referential, punning on Brooks' natural hair colour and the generic term for tabloid newspapers 'red top'. The colour red shouts out emotionally from the page as if in celebration and defiance of the newspaper's many critics. Brooks' tresses are allowed to flow with no cropping. They appear almost regal, perhaps Elizabethan. In the text. 'she broke down and needed the help of a court nurse' (Sun 2014a: 1) was, in my professional judgement, a conscious decision by the sub-editor to inject darker emotional content into the story, and the page. *Sign*: the headline announces the court victory of both the *The Sun* and its senior executive. *Symbol*: the colour red pervading the page to me expresses emotion, notably angry defiance of the establishment by the tabloid Trickster that is both *The Sun* and Brooks.

5.5) *Clarifications and corrections* (Fig. 33)[228]. The page made me chuckle aloud. Again it is self-referential. It reflects *The Sun*'s decades-old battle with feminists over its Page Three 'girls' described in the subchapter. The 'joke' (is this our last topless 'outrage' or not?) is delivered tauntingly in the format used every day by the newspaper to clarify and correct stories it has published. The page is all about the woman's wink, an action which typically signals a joke, often a 'saucy' one. The animal figure in the adjoining, but unconnected, story seems also to contain a Trickster attitude. The text is deadpan and sarcastic but any reader aware of the context can *feel* the words bristling with indignation: 'Further to recent reports in all other media outlets we would like to clarify that this is Page 3 and this is a picture of Nicole, 22, from Bournemouth'. Scathingly, it goes on to apologise to readers on behalf of rival journalists 'who have spent the last two days talking and writing about us' (Sun 2015a: 3). *Sign*: the headline appears to announce one of *The Sun*'s daily corrections. *Symbol*: the wink of the tabloid Trickster—both the Page Three 'girl' and *The Sun* itself—cocks

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[228] Page 224.

a snook at the 'killjoys' who thought they had banished its signature feature. In fact, it appears they had.

This chapter explored three aspects of the British tabloid paradigm for indications of the 12 Trickster traits described, and clustered, in 4.1. Those three aspects are categorised as product, practice and phenomenon and, the first two, are further subcategorised, respectively, as content and containers, and actors (journalists as they see themselves) and figures (tabloid leaders as they are perceived). Four case studies are used as discussion points for each of the resultant five subchapters. The result has been to identify manifestations of the Trickster energies infusing the multi-dimensional redtop paradigm inhabited by the bricoleurs who are tabloid journalists, particularly those with production functions. Thus the investigation answers in the affirmative the primary research question of this work: does early 21st century popular British (tabloid) newspaper journalism, characterised by that of *The Sun* and *News of the World* be shown to perform a positive psychosocial function when assessed from a post-Jungian perspective? The question was explored by testing the hypothesis that early 21st century popular UK newspaper journalism, characterised by that of *The Sun* and *News of the World*, manifests the Trickster principle identified by Jung and others. The secondary hypothesis that the Trickster principle, in the final analysis, is a positive characteristic of the human condition was tested in Chapter Four, concluding that this appears to be the case.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

Tabloid Trickster tried and rebooted

Chapter Five tested the hypothesis that early 21st century, popular, British, tabloid, newspaper journalism, characterised by that of *The Sun* and *News of the World* manifests the archetypal Trickster principle as described in Chapter Four. The hypothesis was employed to answer the primary research question of this work, described in Chapter One: does the subject, investigated trisectionally in Chapter Three, exhibit positive psychosocial value when assessed from a post-Jungian perspective within a broader depth-psychological framework? The analysis carried out in Chapter Five concluded that the subject does indeed manifest the Trickster principle which, as explained in Chapter Four, has psychosocial value expressed in the unintended creativity it often triggers. Therefore, by extrapolation, contemporary UK tabloid journalism is judged by this work to have positive psychosocial value.

Chapter Six is divided into three subsections, the first two of which employ this work's Trickster hypothesis to discuss its secondary research question: if UK tabloid journalism does have positive psychosocial value, evidenced by its Trickster energy, is that value likely to be enhanced, diminished or left unaffected by the imposition of press regulation beyond that traditionally imposed by criminal and civil law? The discussion is separated into two interrelated areas: firstly (6.1) the effects and implications of the phone-hacking scandal and trials that resulted in the closure of the *News of the World* in 2011, and the subsequent recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry (Leveson IV: 1428-1460), and, secondly (6.2), the effects and implications on tabloid newspaper journalism of the tectonic transformation of the media landscape caused by the rapid development of the internet in the early 21st century. The third subchapter (6.3) recapitulates the findings of this thesis and makes recommendations.

6.1 Escape from the Leveson Inquiry

Voicemail interception is a procedure intended by the owners of mobile phone handsets, and the networks serving them, to allow consumers to listen to messages left for them when they are unable to answer a call. At the turn of the 20th century, the method typically involved ringing one's number and tapping in a pre-selected four-digit code; any messages left for the subscriber were then read back automatically. Consumers were instructed, usually in tiny type in the instructions rubric, to alter their four-digit code to a number known only to them. However, many did not and, in those cases a default factory set code automatically performed the same function: typically 0000, 1111, 2222 etc., as was explained to the Leveson Inquiry, Part I by an alert consumer from Wales (Leveson 2012: Module 1). Some newspaper journalists and other investigators realised that if they acquired someone's mobile phone number, for example from a friend of the owner, and rang it, if the owner answered, they could hang up. However, if the owner did not answer, they could tap in a series of typical factory codes which, eventually, would usually trigger a replay of any recorded messages, as most owners would not have changed their four-digit setting.

This method of hearing confidential messages left for other people became known as phone-hacking and, ultimately, led to the conviction, under the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000, of eight *News of the World* journalists and private investigator Glenn Mulcare, who was paid by that newspaper (BBC 2015). Among the convictions was that of former editor Andy Coulson—also former chief press aide to Prime Minister David Cameron—who was jailed for 18 months. The former Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the newspaper's owning company *News International* (NI), Rebekah Brooks, was cleared of any wrongdoing and was later reinstated as CEO of NI's successor company *News UK*. It emerged that thousands of subjects had had

their phones hacked (Cathcart 2012: 451),and the scandal triggered a series of events that led to the 'lamentable' (Brake et al. 2016: 16) closure of the *News of the World* by its parent company NI and the setting up of the Leveson Inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the British press in 2011.

Part 1 of the inquiry was the first of two investigations into the role of the press and police in the phone-hacking scandal, and associated practices. Lord Justice (Sir Brian) Leveson was appointed as Chairman of the Inquiry to sit with six members of a panel, none of whom had experience of tabloid journalism nor, according to one editor and witness, 'the faintest clue how mass-selling newspapers work' (Leveson 2012), despite, the claim of 'expertise' made in the Inquiry's report:

> Part 1 of the Inquiry examined the culture, practices and ethics of the press and, in particular, the relationship of the press with the public, police and politicians. Lord Justice Leveson was assisted by a panel of six independent assessors with expertise in the key issues that were considered. Lord Justice Leveson opened the hearings on 14 November 2011, saying: *"The press provides an essential check on all aspects of public life. That is why any failure within the media affects all of us. At the heart of this Inquiry, therefore, may be one simple question: who guards the guardians?"*
>
> (Leveson 2012)

The six assessors were Sir David Bell, former chairman of the *Financial Times*, Shami Charabartu, former director of Liberty, and Chancellor of the university where this thesis is being written, Lord Currie, former director of the Ofcom broadcast regulator, Elinor Goodman, former editor of *Channel 4* News. George Jones, former political editor of the *Daily Telegraph* and Sir Paul Scott-Lee, former Chief Constable of West Midlands Police. The practice and content of the tabloid Trickster, the whole mood and language of its paradigm as described throughout Chapter Five, can fairly be assessed as characteristically marginal to the 'jury' assembled to evaluate it.

A wide range of witnesses, 'including newspaper reporters, management, proprietors, police officers and politicians of all parties, gave evidence to the Inquiry under oath and in public' (Ibid.). Leveson published his report on Part 1 of the inquiry

on 29 November 2012. At the time of writing this thesis Part 2 of the inquiry has not

begun. It had been intended to look at 'specific claims about phone-hacking at the *News*

of the World and what went wrong with the original police investigation'. However,

many commentators and analysts felt that Part 2 had been 'quietly shelved' indefinitely

by the government (Ponsford 2015b). In other words, applying the primary archetypal

metaphor of this investigation, at the time of its writing the feeling of critics of UK

redtop activity is that the tabloid Trickster has escaped the regulatory chains with which

society had sought to bind it, notwithstanding the closure of one of the world's most

commercially successful examples of its activity: the *News of World*. As noted in 5.4,

informed observers concluded that Rupert Murdoch shut that 168-year-old title in 2011

as part of a strategic, but ultimately unsuccessful, plan to acquire 100 per cent of *Sky*

TV (Watson and Pesce 2011). Still the UK's biggest-selling Sunday newspaper at the

time of its demise, it is calculated that in 1950 'one in every two households in Britain

had a copy' of the *News of the World*, then still a broadsheet popular newspaper whose

circulation was an astonishing 8,433,917 (Engel 1997: 230)

The Leveson Inquiry (Part 1) was the subject of report of its findings in 2012

by the House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee, which concluded that

> The willingness of News International to sanction huge settlements and damaging, wide-ranging admissions to settle civil claims over phone-hacking before they reach trial reinforces the conclusion of our 2010 Report that the organisation has, above all, wished to buy silence in this affair and to pay to make this problem go away
>
> (HoC 2012: Section 14)

It added a damning observation of Rupert Murdoch: that he 'turned a blind eye and

exhibited wilful blindness to what was going on in his companies and publications'

(Ibid.: Section 70). Four years later, the House of Commons Committee of Privileges

produced a 121-page report concluding that the editor of the *News of the World* at its

demise, Colin Myler, and the legal manager of *News International* at the time, Tom

Crone, had 'misled' the 2012 committee by suggesting that jailed *News of the World* journalist Clive Goodman was the only phone-hacker on the newspaper. The report concludes the two men were guilty of 'answering questions falsely about their knowledge of evidence that other News of the World employees had been involved in phone hacking and other wrong-doing' (HoC 2016: Section 329).

At the time of writing, no further action has been taken against Myler or Crone, and, according to all publications available, none appears imminent. Similar paucity of prosecutions followed several multi-million pound investigations undertaken by the Metropoliton police into allegations of journalistic phone-hacking (Operation Weeting) and associated activities, notably paying public servants for information and 'tip-offs', which is almost always illegal (Operation Elveden). On phone-hacking

> out of 29 arrested: eight individuals have been convicted after admitting offences, one more was found guilty at trial (Andy Coulson)…Out of 34 journalists arrested and/or charged with illegally paying for stories the end result is two convictions: Dan Evans, who admitted the offence, and Anthony France of The Sun, who is appealing[229]
>
> (Ponsford 2015a)

It was not the first time the tabloid Trickster had escaped those who sought to constrain its mischievous and often malevolent energy, and punish its 'swaggering arrogance' (Lloyd 2011: 1). Since 1947 'those concerned with the system of press regulation in the UK have struggled to balance freedom of expression with the citizen's right to privacy' (Lords 2014-15: 10). That balance is often expressed by journalism educators, analysts and regulators as 'the public interest versus the interest of public', the latter sometimes characterised as a 'consumer-led approach' (Brock 2012: 519) and the former deemed to include by some regulators:

> Protecting public health or safety.
> Protecting the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organisation.
> Disclosing a person or organisation's failure or likely failure to comply with any obligation to which they are subject.
> Disclosing a miscarriage of justice.

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[229] This appeal is ongoing at the time of writing.

Raising or contributing to a matter of public debate, including serious cases of impropriety, unethical conduct or incompetence concerning the public.
Disclosing concealment, or likely concealment, of any of the above.
There is a public interest in freedom of expression itself.

(IPSO 2016)

The First Royal Commission on the Press was set up in 1947 with 'the object of furthering the free expression of opinion through the press and the greatest practicable accuracy in the presentation of the news'. The General Press Council was created as a result and reformed as the Press Council after the critical findings of the Second Royal Commission on the Press of 1961. There was a third Royal Commission on the Press (1974-1977) and two Privacy Committees led by Sir David Calcutt, the first in 1990 recommended setting up a new Press Complaints Commission (PCC) to 'curb the many excesses' of popular newspapers in 'the era of the tabloid expose' (Jewell 2013: 40). In 1992 Secretary of State for National Heritage David Mellor lost his job after the *Sunday People* redtop exposed his affair with actor Antonia de Sancha who, it was alleged, used to suck his toes, leading two months later to a bawdy but 'memorably' headlined splash story in *The Sun*: 'From toe job to no job' (Greenslade 2004: 614). The year before the same minister had warned, 'I do believe the press, the popular press, is drinking in the last chance saloon (Ibid.: 539). The second Calcutt-led committee, in 1993, reflected his view that the PCC. was 'not an effective regulator of the press' and, as a result, 'a series of recommendations for reform of the PCC' were issued by Government in 1995 (Jewell 2013: 41). Following the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, in 1997, when her car crashed in Paris while being pursued by 'paparazzi' photographers on scooters, 'notable changes were made to the PCC editor's code, including the imposition of 'a ban on information or pictures obtained through persistent pursuit' (Lords 2014-15).

The Leveson Inquiry was next to take on the tabloid Trickster in 2011 and 2012 following the phone-hacking scandal. It recommended that a new independent press watchdog body replace the PCC and that it should be underpinned by statute and free of 'any influence from industry and government'. It should also have the power to investigate 'systemic breaches' of its code and impose a fine of up to £1million on member newspapers, who would not be legally obliged to join the organisation, or other news outlets, found to be in breach of its rules. It condemned 'a willingness to deploy covert surveillance' and newspapers (by implication mainly tabloids 'that deemed celebrities to be "fair game…with little if any entitlement to any sort of private life". It concluded there was a 'cultural tendency within parts of the press' to resist or dismiss complainants 'almost as a matter of course' and stated that 'the press is given significant and special rights in this country… with these rights, however come responsibilities to the public interest' (Leveson 2012).

In 2013, Britain's main political parties agreed on the terms of a Royal Charter on Self-Regulation of the Press to implement the recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry (Part 1) following a 'history of failure in self-regulation of the British Press' (Tomlinson 2014: 7). Its 'key messages' were, in summary:

> The Leveson Report on the Culture, Practices and Ethics of the Press proposed a system under which the independence and effectiveness of a self-regulator set up by the press could be assured through a process of independent "audit" or "recognition". The Royal Charter on Self-Regulation of the Press establishes an independent Recognition Panel, which does not regulate the press, but decides whether a self-regulator meets pre-set criteria for regulatory independence and effectiveness. The Recognition Panel is independently appointed and protected from political interference by the terms of the Royal Charter and by a statutory requirement that a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament is required to amend that Charter. There is a "double lock" on political interference with the recognition system. Under the system proposed by Leveson the press remains in operational control of its own regulation and politicians are excluded from any role in the process. The Recognition Panel is an auditor, not a regulator.
>
> (Tomlinson 2014: 3)

However, this solution was rejected by national newspapers, including the tabloid titles, who lost a legal challenge to its premise (O'Carroll 2014). At the time of

writing, the predominant regulatory panel is the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) to which most national UK newspapers (excluding the *Guardian* and the *Financial Times*) subscribe, but which declines to be recognised by the Press Recognition Panel (PRP), contrary to the spirit of the Leveson recommendations. Its main rival regulator Impress, which represents mainly local newspapers and other news outlets, has applied for statutory recognition and its application is being considered by the PRP at the time of writing (Greenslade 2016b). *The Guardian*, the *Observer*, *Financial Times*, *the Independent* and *London Evening Standard* at the time of writing are not regulated either by IPSO or Impress. The 'vast majority of the national, regional and local press are regulated by IPSO. Some 33 small, independent news outlets are regulated by Impress' (Greenslade 2016a).

In their different ways, *The Sun*'s Page 3 'girls' long-running feature and its coverage of the Hillsborough disaster are examples of the newspaper's psychosocial tabloid impact on the country at large. However, the phone-hacking 'scandal', and the regulatory developments it engendered, notably the Leveson Inquiry, have, in the informed assessment of this work, had a more profoundly pervasive impact than they on discourse related to information and entertainment shared within Britain's public sphere. That impact is matched, albeit less theatrically, only by the internet-related issues discussed in 6.2, which, surprisingly, are examined in only 12 pages of the 2,000-page Leveson Inquiry report, a shortcoming described by one critic as 'almost as if the World Wide Web never happened' (Burrell 2012). Tellingly, Burrell's critique was made in 2012 in *The Independent* newspaper, which had adapted a tabloid or 'compact' format in 2003, and which printed its last copy in 2016 before moving entirely online (Ofcom 2016).

The phone-hacking saga, as publicly portrayed and consumed, strongly reflects all 12 Trickster traits as enumerated in Chapter Five. Its ambiguity manifests itself in the uncertainty of its subject. What is 'the press' in the internet age? As Brock correctly posits:

> The question is worth asking: what justification any longer exists for a separate regulatory regime for newspapers and their websites? Are the websites part of the 'press' or, with audio and video on the sites, broadcasters? Or have all news publishers converged and can be regulated with the same set of rules?
>
> (Brock 2012: 521)

The discussion he implies is explored more fully in 6.2. Articulateness is, as always at the heart of any inquiry into journalism and, in this case, the nature of what it is 'proper' to be articulate about. Issues of commerciality triggered the extinguishment of the *News of the World* in the wake of the phone-hacking scandal (Watson and Pesce 2011), and its owning company *News Corp* had paid out £332million to 718 complainants of phone-hacking by May 2015. *Trinity Mirror*, owner of the *Daily Mirror* put aside £41million to cover the cost of expected complaints against its own alleged phone-hacking practices (Sweney 2015).

The exposure of the practice of phone-hacking and the regulatory battle that ensued, and which continues at the time of writing, can accurately be said to have disrupted the entire practice, and potential existence, of the UK popular press. Little humour in 'reality' was engendered by the scandal apart, perhaps, from the custard pie attack on Rupert Murdoch at a Parliamentary hearing (Chapman 2011). However, much comedy was drawn from the saga and projected back at the public in semi-fictional entertainments described in Chapter Five, notably *Red Top* featuring television actors Maxine Peake as Rebekah Brooks and Russell Tovey as Andy Coulson (Wollaston 2016) (Fig. 38)[230].

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[230] Page 247.

Figure 38   Cast of Red Top led by Maxine Peake as roller-skating Rebekah Brooks *(Gold UKTV)*

Hypersexuality, as with all issues relating to tabloid content and practice, infused the public saga, and was fuelled not only by the exposed affair of Brooks and Coulson, described above, but that of two lawyers connected with the Leveson Inquiry (Groves 2013).

The central lie of the phone-hacking saga, whose mendaciousness was proven by events, was that Clive Goodman, the *News of the World*'s Royal Editor initially jailed in 2007, was 'one rogue reporter' (Davies 2014: Loc. 171). The stories Goodman gleaned from his activity were not Page 1 splashes but minor 'gossip' items, including a snippet of information that Prince William had 'pulled a tendon in his knee' which appeared in the journalist's column named *Black Adder* on Page 32 on 6 November 2005 (Goodman 2005) (Fig. 39)[231]. If any observer judged this to be merely mischief, later knowledge than another *News of the World* operative had 'hacked' the phone of a murdered schoolgirl called Milly Dowler (Davies 2014: Loc. 5317) placed the action firmly in the 'malevolent' category in the eyes of the public, and the establishment. The main revelatoriness attached to the scandal was that it had been exposed by another

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[231] Page 248.

newspaper, *The Guardian* (Ibid.: Passim.). The transgressiveness of phone-hacking is self-evident and the subsequent events utterly unpredictable as I reported to the *BBC* in an interview (Madera 2011) during which I also accurately asserted that I had no knowledge of phone-hacking at the *News of the World* in the periods I worked there[232]. The company involved reshaped itself into different, and disparate, entities as described in 5.4. This thesis suggests that the identification of all 12 Trickster traits embedded in the narrative and public projection of the phone-hacking saga, as well as much of the proven activity involved, manifest its archetypal energy.

Figure 39 Goodman's story marked to indicate prominence   (*NoW 6 November 2005, Page 32*)

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[232] Appendix A.

The conclusion drawn by this work from its examination of the phone-hacking scandal, the Leveson Inquiry and the events that followed, and that are still unresolved at the time of writing, is that there was an attempt by the established structure to 'kill' the amoral tabloid Trickster that was deemed to have crossed a line too many. The death of the *News of the World* was not enough to appease that aspiration, and the redtop mischief itself had to be stamped out. The mission is illustrated, this work suggests, by the absence of any journalists with an internal understanding, and feeling, for the tabloid paradigm, being selected to sit on the Leveson Inquiry panel, as described. However, the absence of an independent regulation panel underpinned by statute (although this may change by the time this thesis is submitted) suggests that, for the time being at least, the tabloid Trickster is 'free', subject to the criminal and civil law of the land, which recalls the training I received in 1969[233] under the auspices of the National Council for the Training of Journalists where I was taught that in Britain journalists had no more rights than any citizen.

Having examined Leveson and its regulatory ramifications to date, this work concludes, in response to its secondary research question, that the positive psychosocial function of early 21st century, popular, British, tabloid, newspaper journalism would be diminished by the imposition of restraints beyond the legal, and beyond the self-restraint already expressed in the IPSO editor's code of practice (IPSO 2016) or other self-regulated codes of conduct, such as that published by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ 2016). The conclusion is drawn from the testing of both parts of this work's hypothesis, the first—that early 21st century, popular, British, tabloid, newspaper journalism manifests the archetypal Trickster principle—in Chapter Five, and the second—that this principle is a positive characteristic of the human condition—

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[233] Appendix A.

in Chapter Four. Many journalists contemporaneously working on redtops, or remaining in close contact with them, fear, without using the same terminology, that the spirit of the tabloid Trickster has been wounded, perhaps mortally, by phone-hacking and its ramifications. Charles Rae describes it with instinctive astuteness when he says that, post-Leveson, 'newspapers have been left a bit bereft. They don't really know what they're doing any more with certain stories'[234]. Thus the vitality of the Trickster principle, necessarily and ambiguously attached to its mischievous, amoral, sometimes malevolent dimension, can already be judged to be weakened by societal censure following the response to the redtops' phone-hacking misdemeanours. It is reasonable to extrapolate that externally-imposed regulation beyond the law would metaphorically castrate the tabloid Trickster or transform it into paradigm no longer representative of the underlying archetypal principles enumerated in Chapter Four.

6.2 Media metamorphosis

The tabloid Trickster is a manifestation of the media Trickster, but it retains an existential distinction from its parent category: it does not reflect to its subscribers 'the broken nature of modern lifestyles and the confusing diversity of choices' (Bassil-Morozow 2015: 133). That is how many of its externally positioned detractors view the paradigm, because they see its content and, by extension, the practice and culture generating that content, as an unworthy project in a developed society in the 21st century. For McGuigan 'The *Sun* is, arguably, symptomatic of and contributory to a political culture in which popular pleasure is routinely articulated through oppressive ideologies that operate in fertile chauvinistic ground. It is populist in the worst sense' (McGuigan 1992: 184). However, for a *Sun* practitioner, who feels 'love' for that project, the role of the tabloid Trickster is to mediate Bassil-Morozow's 'confusing

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[234] Appendix B.

diversity of choices'. Porter, as her interview attests, not an ideologically oppressed agent, puts it thus, 'I…think that people are trying to edit down what they see…they've got so much information being thrown at you…I think people need and want the same as they always have…an edit, someone telling them what's important, what's of interest'[235]. The 'trick' of this bricoleuse and her colleagues—to make meaning of information and collective feelings in the postmodern media landscape—is characteristically an unintended outcome of the Trickster's inherent disruptiveness.

Sun readers, evidenced by their continued purchase of the newspaper, appear to support Porter's analysis. As construction worker Mustafa, 27, told a focus group:

> Well, I will sometimes look at the Mirror. But the Sun, they summarise everything, in a nice way. Yeah. In the Mirror, the pages are so many! The pages are many, and then you get lost. Sometimes when you read something else, you don't know what to look for … Maybe if there's no Sun around, then I'll go for the Mirror
>
> (Johansson 2007: 127)

Shop-fitter Adam, 28, puts it thus in the same focus group, 'Like on the bus to work, you're tired, and you just wanna be entertained. You know, get the latest on the sports, get a peep into the glamour world [laughs]. So the *Sun* is good for that' (Ibid.: 141).

The tabloid Trickster's existential challenge is to retain this collating, psychoculturally filtering function in a rapidly transforming techno-cultural landscape that has removed the 'mass' from media by presenting myriad methods of 'throwing' information at a subject, to co-opt Porter's term. In 6.1 the existential challenge to the tabloid Trickster's transgressiveness, and hence its entire archetypal integrity, was exemplified by the Leveson Inquiry, and any regulatory restrictions engendered by that process. The new media landscape, explored in 3.4 presents a co-equal challenge to the manifestation of archetypal energy examined by this work, and one that can be charaterised by the Trickster trait of commerce. Tabloid journalism, in its printed

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newspaper form, demands payment in return for curating, customising and re-presenting psychoculturally appropriate information and entertainment. The technologically-driven shift that threatens to make that transaction redundant is the iteration of the internet extant at the time of writing which reflects a development of user-generated content (UGC) published and shared via more accessible and faster connections on social media platforms such as *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *YouTube*, *Instagram* and *Snapchat*. In 2016, 56 per cent of UK journalists thought that the influence of 'audience generated content such as blogs' had 'strengthened or increased a lot…over time', and 80 per cent thought the influence of social media such as *Twitter* and *Facebook* had similarly increased (Thurman et al. 2016: 36).

In 2015 two-thirds of British adults owned an internet-enabled smartphone capable of capturing still images and audio-visual content and publishing it on the internet within seconds (Ofcom 2016). These devices are employed in moments of crisis, or scandal, utterly transforming the dissemination of 'news' enabling so-called 'citizen journalists' to publish it as well as 'professional' communicators. As Shirky notes it has forced newspapers to 'think the unthinkable' (Shirky 2008b). Some tabloid journalists embrace these technological developments and, as true Trickster-like bricoleurs, they 'throw spaghetti at the wall to see what sticks' (Brock 2013: 201). Jonathan Roe enthuses '(You) always want a reaction from the reader…especially now [they are armed with smart phones with instant interactive online access] because you want to engage them more…so they can contribute to the story'. Porter too is confident that 'the entertaining way…we project news with attitude can work across smart phones, tablets, on the internet'. Other redtop practitioners are more pessimistic about the tabloid Trickster's reconfiguration in the social media age; Neil Roberts claims,

'Our problem is we can't see beyond the medium…we cannot contemplate a world without that medium'[236].

As described in 3.4 different types of newspapers have responded to the problem of monetisation posed by the internet in different ways: paywalls, micropayments and 'freemium' online models. But the tabloid Trickster faces the biggest problem of all because so much of its commercial value is invested in its revelatoriness and hypersexuality, both of which are rendered far less exclusive by freely available UGC. In the first half of 1989 the average paid-for daily circulation of *The Sun* was 4, 173,265; in July 2016 it was 1,544,535. In the same month the average daily 'unique browsers' to its recently opened website (in contrast to its previous paywall) was 2.584 million, much less than the 55.8 million scored by the world-beating *MailOnline* in 2014 (ABC), a figure which itself is dwarfed by the 1.59 billion people actively using *Facebook* throughout the world in December 2015. As has often been observed, if *Facebook* were a country it would be the most populous in the world (AdWeek 2016). An analysis of 27 countries, including the UK, in 2016 shows that over half of all web users treat social media as a new provider (Newman et al. 2016: 7-11). However, it is not lack of readers per se that threatens the existence of the tabloid Trickster in its current configuration but the fact that more than three million businesses worldwide now advertise on *Facebook* 'and most of them are small and medium-sized business that used to buy newspaper space' (Greenslade 2016a) .

The conclusion of this investigation is that the confluence of regulatory pressure on the tabloid Trickster, notwithstanding its contemporaneous 'escape' from the recommendations of the Leveson Inquiry (Part 1), and the diminution of advertising income and readership by rapidly increasing social media use is creating a 'perfect

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storm' for popular newspaper journalism in Britain and some other parts of the world beyond the scope of this investigation. The tabloid paradigm relies on its collating, curating cultural nous, or feeling, to select and feedback content to its subscribers who have to be prepared to pay for that service if it is to survive. Increasingly it appears that, with the aid of analytic selection and 'nudging'[237], imperceptible to the consumer, the subject becomes her own curator of news and online entertainment, explicitly or implicitly, choosing cultural and commercial search destinations. In other words, through *Facebook*, *Twitter* or other social media platforms the celebrities, sports clubs and activities enjoyed by the consumer are fed to her without the need of a curating intermediary. This can be fairly characterised as an example of editorial enablement. However, it is an individual editorial choice that does not have a share in a collective compendium. The individual items of news and entertainments are indeed shared with like-minded consumers, but not the collective whole.

Paradoxically, this enabling of the individual through social media, at the cost of the collective, may, as Charles warns, 'divorce citizens from the desire for social and political agency which is traditionally viewed as essential to democratic citizenship' (Charles 2012: 200). As Brock puts it, the public sphere 'is now a diverse collection of overlapping spheres of fluid shape and varying size' (Brock 2012), or, in Charles' interpretation a 'new paradigm of a hypermediated reality' (Charles 2012: 19). McLuhan presciently observed in the 1960s that 'it is impossible to understand social and cultural change without a knowledge of the workings of media' (McLuhan and Fiore 1967: 8) and appears to anticipate the coming of the media Trickster by citing

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[237] For example *Amazon*'s private and 'personal' reading recommendations to consumers who have bought books through its service. 'Recommended for you, James' https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/yourstore/home/ref=nav_cs_ys Retrieved 23 August 2106, and only available for viewing with my permission.

one of its dozen traits identified by this work: 'our time is a time for crossing barriers, erasing old categories' (Ibid.: 10).

Culturally aware contemporaneous psychoanalysts, such as Balick, observe that 'online social networking sites are an important locus through which the psychodynamic functions…are often mediated' (Balick 2014: 27). Furthermore, such platforms, and the activities they engender, cannot accurately be described as 'new'. My own *Twitter* page reminds me that I opened it almost eight years at the time of writing[238], in other words the activity has embedded itself in my psychological habit and that of millions. It shows no signs of being a transient mode in which I, and millions, nay billions, of others interact psychosocially.

Bassil-Morozow and I note that 'lifestyle choices characterising post-industrial societies are supposed to assist individuals in discovering their new – and unique – identity. We warn, 'This does not mean, however, that each and every individual is equally capable of assembling this unique identity from a variety of fragments offered by the capitalist system and mass media' (Bassil-Morozow and Anslow 2014: 9). I would revise, or at least amplify, that assertion now in the knowledge that 'mass media' in the sense discussed by (McLuhan and Fiore 1967), Curran (Curran 2003), has altered beyond recognition, at least in the developed world, largely due to the impact and ubiquity of social media. The editing, or curating, of cultural information lauded by construction worker Mustafa and shopfitter Adam 14 years before the time of writing[239], and the importance ascribed to it by Porter, are judged by this work to be irreversibly diminishing, notwithstanding critics' qualified approbation of *The Sun*'s redesigned website (Greenslade 2016f).

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[238] https://twitter.com/jamesalananslow (Retrieved 20 August 2016.)

By the time of writing Mustafa and Adam, whom this investigation has not traced, will (extrapolating from their recorded responses and from national statistics) be filtering their own cultural content via *Facebook* and other social media. 'Sex, sport and competition', the editorial trilogy promised by Rupert Murdoch at the launch of his redtop *Sun* (Sandiford 2002) are no longer required to co-exist in the 'redtopped casket' of delights described in 3.1. Topless Page 3 'girls' are only available for view on a platform [240] separate from *The Sun* and their sexual explicitness is chaste compared with the nature and size of online pornography. One international pornography site alone claims it received 21.2billion visits in a single year (Drucker 2016). Meanwhile, 'instant' online dating smartphone applications such as *Tinder* have made potential sexual encounters just a 'swipe right'[241] away. Live sports results, augmented by audio-video material accessed through smartphones, is instantly available, at no extra cost in Britain through the *BBC* [242], and *The Sun* has launched a separate platform *SunBets* to capture those 'punters' wanting to compete with bookmakers over sporting results[243]. Typically, Mustafa and Adam, and consumers sharing their interests, can, at the time of writing, edit their own newsfeeds in a way unthinkable when they were taking part in their focus group in 2004, the year *Facebook* was created. A dozen years later, in 2016, that social media company is valued at $314.8 billion and has a net annual income of $1.51 billion (Forbes 2016). Has it, and competing platforms, left the function of the tabloid Trickster, as developed in the second half of the 20th century, redundant? This thesis suggests it does not, but it has left it utterly transformed, and, as established in 4.1 transformation is integral to the Trickster function.

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[240] http://www.page3.com/sol/homepage/page3/ (Retrieved 20 August 2016.)

[241] Colloquial phrase 'used to describe your acceptance of something. The term was originally a reference to the Tinder app. On Tinder, swiping right means you approve of a male/female' http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Swipe%20right (Retrieved 20 August 2016.)

[242] http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport (Retrieved 20 August 2016.)

[243] https://www.sunbets.co.uk/ (Retrieved 20 August 2016.)

Mercurius Britanicus (note the name's Trickster associations) as discussed in 2.4) was an anti-royalist 'London newsbook' which on 4 August 1645 asked mischievously, 'Where is King Charles? What's become of him?' (Macadam 2011). The publication was 'informally licensed and vetted by an official of Parliament', and its editor Marchamont Nedham 'delighted in evading these control' (Brock 2013: 15). It is not difficult to liken this aversion to state control of journalism with both those contemporaneous newspaper editors opposed to accepting the imprimatur of a royal charter, and journalistic internet-based entrepreneurs, for example Nick Denton (whose US-based tabloid revelatorial site *Gawker* was driven to bankruptcy by a libel suit (BBC 2016)) and Paul Staines (whose *Guido Fawkes* Tricksterish political blog [244] (Fig. 40)[245] worked in partnership with *The Sun* for three years (Fawkes 2016)).

Figure 40   Logo of political website Guido Fawkes *(Order-order.com)*

Thus the spirit of Trickster infused text-based popular journalism from its earliest days and, as explored in 3.1, through multiple technological transformations. However, its latest, and most transformative, metamorphosis, into the amorphous nexus

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[244] Guido Fawkes http://order-order.com/ (Retrieved 23 August 2016.)
[245] Page 257.

of connections and modes of publication (e.g. smartphone, tablet, laptop) that reflects any internet-based 'news and views' brand (e.g. *MailOnline*), is the one that is most existentially challenging to the manifestation. For, as Brock correctly tells us, 'journalism requires a community to work in' as well as a 'means to circulate information and opinion'. Where does tabloid journalism go when it loses its audience, when that audience is fragmented into silos relating to this or that celebrity, this or that sport, or club, or this or that subculture often international in scope? The curator of our entertaining news, or infotainment[246], was once, exclusively, a mighty redtop brand. However, in 2016 that curator is the individual which can access its own media Trickster enabled by social platforms such as *Facebook*—a facilitator, not mediating 'mass media', a term so many social scientists, including Bassil-Morozow and me, have sometimes appeared reluctant to leave behind in the 20th century (Bassil-Morozow and Anslow 2014: 6).

The self-editing, self-curating tabloid consumer of 2016 and beyond does not share a generic brand, redtopped or otherwise. An individual armed with 'selfies' and profiles on *LinkedIn*[247] and *Facebook* must brave accusations of narcissism (Bassil-Morozow and Anslow 2014) to create attractive social media presences. Some digital proselytisers anticipated this rise of personal, or 'micro' news-and-views brands; for example Negroponte declared in 1995, '[T]he monolithic empires of mass media are dissolving into an array of cottage industries'. Sixteen years on, when the commercial behemoths of *Facebook*, *Google* and *Amazon* bestride struggling 'legacy media'[248] the predicted demise of such empires can rightly be challenged. This work, however,

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[246] 'A mix of information and entertainment that is often dismissed by commentators as a form of so-called dumbing down.' Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 138.)

[247] https://www.linkedin.com/nhome/ (Retrieved 20 August 2016.)

[248] A term popular amongst advocates of new media, especially in the USA, to describe extant forms of media with longer histories such as newspapers, magazines, and broadcast journalism Harcup T. (2014) *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism,* Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Page 157.)

suggests that these technologically facilitated social platforms, however commercially pre-eminent, are not 'mass media' as characterised by Curran (Curran 2003) and others, because they are nether editing nor editorialising vehicles in the manner of newspapers and television news channels.

In the transformed new media landscape Trickster, it seems, really does make this world as Hyde suggests (Hyde 1998). In 1995, Negroponte anticipated the self-curating brand and dubbed it The Daily Me (Negroponte 1995: 153). In this way, this thesis argues, the tabloid Trickster is metamorphosing into a psycho-culturally democratic manifestation which continues to reflect its underlying principle. Negroponte interprets, with some justification, the tectonic change in commercialised communications thus: 'the medium is no longer the message' (Negroponte 1995: 61).

In the judgement of this investigation, Curran is uncharacteristically, culturally short-sighted to dismiss Negroponte, Rheingold (Rheingold 1994), their critique, and that of others, of the fundamental impact of internet-enabled news amplified through social media. He attacks 'sweeping generalisations…presenting simple ideas in elliptical prose that conveys the impression of profundity'. Moreover, he sneers at the notion that the internet is 'allegedly inaugurating a new era of 'netizen' cyberdemocracy because it is facilitating "many to many" communication through channels that transcend structures of geo-political power and control' (Curran 2003: 53). Some of the writing styles of those Curran cites, indisputably, do not match his own in elegance or scholarship. I, however, suggest their central thrust exposes the fundamental flaw of his own underestimation of the transforming psychosocial effect, and affect, of the new media landscape. This work agrees instead with the feeling underlying the assertion, if not with the unequivocal nature of its accompanying prediction, that

> there will always be a market for news and comments delivered in a tabloid style, and a twenty-first-century Alfred Harmsworth [the *Daily Mail*'s former successful proprietor] would doubtless be looking to new technologies to find the best format for providing it. He would note with approval that the *Daily Mail* has not only adapted confidently to the changing environment with its spectacularly successful *MailOnline* website, but that its journalism still reliably generates controversy and *continues to infuriate critics* [italics added]. The tabloid newspaper may have been the medium of the twentieth century, but its values and approaches will continue to define the twenty-first.
>
> (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 231-232)

Whichever forecast of the future of UK popular newspapers proves true, it is indisputable that their ancien regime, like its equivalents throughout the developed world, is being swept away, and along with it the tabloid Trickster as currently configured. However 'spectacularly successful' *MailOnline*, appears, the profitability of print-based *DMG* that owns it, and supplies its journalistic and technological infrastructure, is far more questionable at the time of writing (Greenslade 2016e). As Paul Dacre, the much-reviled editor in chief of that organisation, which includes the *Daily Mail*, told the Leveson Inquiry, '[T]he political class's current obsession with clamping down on the press is contiguous with the depressing fact that the newspaper industry is in a sick financial state… this demand for greater press regulation comes at a time when more and more of the information that people want to read is being provided by an utterly unregulated and arguably anarchic internet' (Leveson 2012).

6.3 Recapitulation and recommendations

This thesis has evaluated a contemporaneous, sociocultural phenomenon shown to be of pressing importance to the British public sphere at a time, for the reasons described throughout this work, when that phenomenon faces the possibility of extinction or fundamental transformation. This evaluation has taken place within the field of depth psychology employing the insights of analytical, or Jungian, psychology, and the amplifying commentaries of post-Jungians, and associated scholars. This thesis asserts that such an investigation has not been carried out hitherto within the field, and so

judges that its conclusions provide a unique contribution to post-Jungian, and, more broadly, depth-psychological, scholarship, as well as contributing a useful analysis to vexed societal discourses addressing the continued existence, in newspapers or on digital platforms, of collectively enjoyed, popular, text-based journalism, and the ethico-legal and regulatory challenges it engenders. The works suggests that its investigation has been enhanced by my own intimate occupational engagement with the subject for over 30 years and its attendant insight.

To recapitulate, I have restricted the subject of this study to early 21st century, popular, British, tabloid journalism, characterised by that of *The Sun* and *News of the World,* although, for contextual enlightenment, I have reached back to 20th century events, and I suggest that the investigation has international applications, worthy of further exploration. In order for the study not to get 'stuck' in an examination of tabloid product, I trisected the subject into three dimensions: product, practice and phenomenon, so it could be explored holistically as a paradigm or praxis. My thesis evaluates the psychosocial value of the paradigm by applying Jungian insight, predominantly that connected with the archetypal, to the societal arena of media.

The methods employed by me, both to extract understanding from the subject, and to impart 'knowledge' to the reader are situated firmly on an interpretative, or hermeneutical, platform. They employ my journalistic understanding of the subject under examination, augmented by autoethnography and interviews, and blended with my interpretation of post-Jungian writing and that of media sociologists and commentators. The primary hypothesis of the work, that the subject manifests the archetypal Trickster principle, borrows an investigatory model frequently used by post-Jungian, and more broadly cultural, scholars for explorations in associated areas, notably film studies. (Hockley 2007) and (Bassil-Morozow 2012). I achieved this by

re-examining and re-presenting Trickster, concluding that, as a whole, the principle is psychosocially positive, and measuring its 12 traits, narratively, against 20 case studies drawn from all three aspects of the UK tabloid paradigm. I concluded that this examination reveals a psychosocially positive function underlying the mischievous, sometimes malevolent, hypersexual, mendacious (actual or perceived), commercially-focused paradigm that is British tabloid journalism.

The substantive conclusion of this work is that information about culture and society, or 'news' as it is generally labelled, for most of us 'ordinary' busy, unspecialised citizens, has to be transmitted in an entertaining and energised manner. It needs to be infused with Trickster characteristics, which, by the nature of the principle, and by the nature of the news-gathering process and the way that is perceived, frequently crosses lines transgressively. In the view of this investigation, such transgressions should be dealt with by the full force of criminal law, and be open to civil prosecution, notably for libel for which legal actions London is famously the capital of the world (Collins 2014). To embed regulations, underpinned by royal charter or other statute, in an externally imposed code upon the practice, and product, of the tabloid Trickster would diminish its archetypal effect, and affect, to the point of extinguishment. It would require the statutory defining of 'a journalist' and then, in effect, the licensing of same, a move which most liberal democrats, including me, feel does not fit comfortably in an enlightened state.

In short, if we want news, and by extension entertainment and culture, to be shared in a broadly-based public sphere to which millions of engaged citizens remain subscribed, then Trickster's services are required. Ultimately Trickster is best left to weigh the competing claims of 'public interest' and 'interest of the public. In the view of this thesis, any other deciding agent, in my view, would be subject to the influence

of class and politics. As Brock correctly points out, 'Any publication that establishes a connection between the provider and consumer of news becomes a platform on which a number of different motives, aims and purposes jostle for space' (Brock 2013: 8-9). In the view of this investigation that jostling is best left to the archetypal Trickster, within the structure of the law. The intrusion of regulation beyond that law, conflated with the commercial pressures on popular journalism described throughout this thesis, will almost certainly, in my informed judgement, send us 'ordinary', unspecialised readers into online silos of interest, deserting the public sphere and leaving it populated entirely by a very small and narrow section of the establishment, unrepresentative, and unknowing, of broader interest and opinion.

I offer this conclusion to the continuing debate on the regulation of the British press, and I recommend that this work's identification of Trickster energies as a necessary component of effective, entertaining and engaging text-based journalism be considered by media analysts and educators intent on 'professionalising', inappropriately in my view (Anslow 2013), through externally imposed regulation, an activity whose etymological root, self-evidently, is in the word journal. Hence a journalist is someone who 'keeps a journal' (O.E.D., vol. 8: 280), someone whom we might reasonably call in 2016, a blogger. In opposing the 'professionalising' of journalism, with all the socially unhealthy inhibition and exclusiveness that term implies, in the judgement of this investigation, I admire, as a practitioner and educator, the core tradecraft so astutely identified by Brock: that of verification, sense making, witness and investigation (Brock 2013: 201-202)

As described in its introduction, this thesis has proved to be an individuating project, and one that I respectfully suggest indicates I can undertake a variety of qualitative research methods and deploy them in the development of an original idea

adding knowledge to the field of depth psychology. During this undertaking, I have realised that *The Sun* will reach its 50th birthday in 2019, and so intend to use this work as the basis of a book psychoanalysing this middle-aged presence from a post-Jungian perspective to coincide with that date, providing it does not share the fate of its Trickster partner the *News of the World* who marked its own demise with a characteristically humorous final front page (Fig. 41).[249] I am aware there will be critics who will judge the conclusions of this this thesis to be the self-fulfilling outcome of a journalist who has spent most of his working life participating in, and teaching, the tradecraft of popular newspaper journalism. My response to such a critique is that I have been a critical subscriber to Jungian thought longer than I have been a tabloid journalist, and that, in both the fields of depth psychology and journalism, the notion of pristine objectivity was long ago dismissed as unachievable and unhelpful. I offer this investigation of a subject I know thoroughly, both as a practitioner and an academic, and suggest it is a depth-psychologically robust test of a hypothesis whose principles are embedded in the quintessentially Jungian, concepts of the collective and the archetypal, housed within the broader field of depth psychology, that discipline which uniquely acknowledges the influence of the unconscious on mind, culture and society.

Finally, to those critics of the British tabloid paradigm who wish to see the end of its content, practice and cultural and societal impact, whose taste-based critique was responsible for Roe's university experience: '[T]here was a lot of baiting of the tabloids…a lot of people would sneer at them'[250], I commend, as the concluding words of this study, Jung's description of Trickster, and precede it with what I consider to be its irresistible corollary: that this principle is always with us, and that therefore,

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[249] Page 266.
[250] Appendix B.

teleologically, psychodynamically and psychosocially, it is a necessary and positive contributor to the human condition. As such, following this investigation, I am confident that the tabloid Trickster will navigate, and survive, the wildly capricious uncertainties of the new media landscape, but what reconfigured form, or forms, it will favour are yet to become clear, if they ever do: 'The trickster is a collective shadow figure, a summation of all the inferior traits of character in individuals. And since the individual shadow is never absent as a component of personality, the collective figure can construct itself out of it continually' (Jung 1954: par. 484).

Figure 41 A tabloid Trickster's farewell: front page of final *News of the World* 10 July 2011

APPENDICES

Appendix A. includes a summary of my journalistic career and a selective description of my personal collection, both of which are referred to throughout the thesis. It also contains autoethnographical notes made while sub-editing on *The Sun on Sunday* on Saturdays throughout 2014 (apart from leave days), and an account of the front-page splash headlines from those 52 editions. Appendix B. contains descriptions of the six journalists interviewed by me and edited transcripts of those conversations. The two appendices are separated for presentational clarity.

Appendix A: author

The following summarises my journalistic background and explains my autoethnography. I received a certificate of practical journalism from the National Council for the Training of Journalists after studying media law, shorthand and other relevant skills in 1969-70. I served a three-year indentureship on the *Kentish Times* newspaper group where I was a general reporter, a court and council reporter and feature writer until 1973 when I worked on regional English newspapers as a sub-editor before moving to the *News of the World* in Fleet Street as a sub-editor in 1977.

From 1977-2004 I worked as a production journalist on the *News of the World* and *The Sun*, sometimes together, sometimes separately. In 1986 I moved with those titles from Fleet Street to News International's plant in Wapping, east London. I was a sub-editor for most of that period, but in the 1990s I worked on the back bench of the *News of the World*, rising to become the designer and leader of a new Editorial Production department. I led that department when it produced the coverage of the death of Diana, Princess of Wales in 1977. I took and MA in Media (incorporating a post-Jungian perspective in the final dissertation) at Nottingham Trent University, left News International in 2005 and became a university lecturer in journalism at two

institutions (City, University of London and the University of Bedfordshire) until undertaking this PhD (preceded by a year on a Jungian MA at the same institution). In 2014, by invitation, I returned to *The Sun* and *The Sun on Sunday* for two days a week as a sub-editor, where I remain at the time of writing[251].

I have accumulated many objects of interest throughout my tabloid career and have included images of some of them in this investigation, designated as P.C. (private collection). They include photos of headlines embedded in glass walls (Fig. 6)[252], industrial hate mail delivered to me (Fig. 7)[253] and a presentation T-shirt and miniature window (Fig. 30), and a mug and banner (Fig. 37)[254]. Many of the newspaper pages used are in my collection, but they are all publicly available. Publications not available are the *Sun* style book (Perry and Moorhead 2014) and *Mirror* guide for staff (MGN c2000).

As part of this investigation, I decided that every working Saturday throughout 2014 I would make notes as I fulfilled my sub-editing tasks. I hoped it would throw some light on the thought processes experienced as tabloid journalist while subbing at speed. The contribution to the thesis of the resulting data proved more limited than I had hoped and I considered not including these notes in the appendix. However, I believe those notes *are* of contextual interest because, however impressionistically, they convey some of the feeling of the tabloid process. The notes were made contemporaneously and at speed, so I have corrected some spelling and introduced an occasional explanation in square brackets. For contractual reasons, I cannot reproduce the copy to which some of my observations refer. Each entry is given a code based on

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[251] Hours before submitting this thesis I have been informed by News UK that my part-time sub-editing post is 'at risk'. This almost certainly means that, shortly after submission, I shall no longer be in employment there. My departure will be the result of editorial cutbacks driven by the economic and technologically forces I examine in this thesis. There is not enough time for me to revise the appropriate chapters of this work relating to my employment. I shall, of course, attend to this at the first opportunity after my viva.

[252] Page 107.

[253] Page 122.

[254] Page 232.

the day, i.e. 090214 for 9 February, 2014. In text, the code is applied to entries collected under an appropriate Trickster trait (in brackets). CSE is chief sub-editor (line manager) of the day:

(ARTICULATENESS)

190114: CSE objected to term smuggle…because it sounds like he is sneaking stuff in...interestingly definition of the word does not suggest this…it is simply tax evasion…but I reckon CSE right to feel most people read the hidden element into the word…interesting how words are rarely taken literally...I think of socialism

260114: went back twice to freelancer…once to confirm if she [person in story] was a grannie and then to see if it was a bungled mugging…both things for intro...but mainly tight head...only gran fits...at the end used it in quotes as freelance said she could be 'spinster'...also the bungle thought could not be invented...confirmed it was a thought the police told freelance…who said tabs don't check facts!!

230314: no hint of how he might have died…yacht website says possible heart attack...I was warned not to add info...so had to run past newsdesk. Agency finally came back saying OK to say feared. Made me think of the checking we do and how much a word like 'feared' is not 'seen' by the reader. 'Feared' heart attack reads as heart attack…and in any complaints that follow…the core of all newspaper reading rows

200414: CSE to me, 'the guy dies on mountain …you'll know what I mean when you see.' We have the same collective culture.

110514: mad rush for page 2 lead...had to change woolly intro to stand up AXE in headline...was worried it was too blunt but think I called it right...this was pol[itical] interpret[ation] so I had to know inclination of the writer and the paper...interesting exercise in telepathy…or empathy I guess…this is where subbing is not just rewriting or fact checking

290614: as usual restricted headlines only leaves me the words NAZI when they probably are not really. 13-year-olds…boys? yes.

(COMMERCIALITY)

091114: Beeb is a house enemy, can't sub it without knowing that..recalls a bollocking from MacKenzie many years before

 (DISRUPTIVENESS)

090214: my original version not liked as I worked on it…'too straight' says CSE…get 'festering anger' in. So I did. He was quite right as usual.

020313: hard to balance good emotive quotes with the facts of the development in such a tight space.

100814: mad busy day…keep bar brawl colour…squeeze court stuff. Get foaming high up. So hard to get all the live quotes in…they tell the story.

281214: cut swathes out of background…keep quotes…they make it...but leave in 2nd par…it's the emotion that matters

(HUMOROUSNESS)

190114: lost the ping pong reference and went on the tournaments. CSE put the film back and lost the tournaments. I guest just because the term Ping Pong is funny...but I don't get why...

020314: saw headline about sausage factory girl and lotto winner…a tabloid has to share the joke with its readers…the sausage link will be enjoyed by most of them...it just will be

180514: switching this round the threequarters against cheating…one in four does not seem much...not sure if CSE will agree...and do not make a joke out of filler. Put is to CSE…he said I was wrong so have changed it.

240814: how much punning? not too much

(HYPERSEXUALITY)

010614: first lead for ages…a bit tense...and I can't get into picture gallery. Need to say lover instead of girlfriend for Cowell in caption…does it mean the same?

270714: am warned words are crap… [me to self] don't objectify

(MENDACIOUSNESS)

310814: right tangle…I missed discrepancy in maths which CSE brilliantly picked up...felt a bit 'unprofessional' back and forth with agency reporter. Great example of trouble taken NOT to lie or deceive. Facts have to be right even with a story as light hearted as this one

301114: ridiculous running around me trying to match the exact order of [the words] sweaty little etc…do I stay with what we wrote or what most did…there is an audio of course...order of words spells veracity, mmmm?

(MISCHIEVOUSNESS)

080314: is it only me that can see the double entendre in the page lead headline… meanwhile I almost called Osama Obama in a headline…

 (TRANSFORMABILITY)

200714: gotta do iPad version for the first time

I carried out a simple word analysis of the front-page splash main headlines of each of the 52 editions of *The Sun on Sunday* throughout 2014. I identified and counted splash headlines that include words that are about sex. They total 27 of the 52, just over half. I also divided all the subjects of those splashes into categories with this result: celebrity (TV/music/film) 16, 'news' 11, sport 8, soap 7, 'reality' stars 6 and political stories 4.

Appendix B: interviews

The following are selected responses from interviews with me by four contemporaneous or former journalists on *The Sun* from June to July 2014. They were selected because of their diversity, age and gender (only one is a woman which, regretfully, approximately represents proportionately, the number of women in the department within which she works). The interviews are intended to be indicative of thoughts, feelings and motivations of some tabloid journalists. It does not purport to be representative of all UK tabloid journalists. The answers they give, and observations they make, augment my own reflections of my professional experiences and autoethnography and, like them, make a fundamental contribution to this investigation. As the literature review in Chapter Two indicates, such recorded insight from tabloid journalists is rare, perhaps unique, and for these interviewees to agree to be named is even rarer. They did so by signing the following agreement:

Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by **James Alan Anslow** from the **University of Essex UK.** I understand that the project is designed to gather depth-psychological insights about the production and consumption of British contemporary tabloid journalism.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

2. Participation involves **James Alan Anslow** from the **University of Essex UK** using material gathered by him from a recorded interview with you in 2000 for the purpose of his MA dissertation later awarded by Nottingham Trent University.

3. I give James Alan Anslow permission to identify me by name in his doctoral thesis and to use information obtained from this interview, except where–up to the point the thesis is submitted–I specifically ask not to be named in relation to any or all statements attributed to me. In this event, such information may be anonymised. Subsequent storage and uses of the recording and of any associated records and data will be subject to standard data use policies.

4. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

5. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

_____ Printed Name

_____ Signature

_____ Investigator

_____ Date

Each of the four interviewees' responses are grouped in pairs (Example 1 and 2) relating to each of two aspects of each of three areas of questioning: the tabloid medium (techniques and its future), personal feeling about their work (likes and dislikes) and views on its effect (and affect) on society (positive and negative). That totals 12 responses by each of four participants, 48 in all. The interviewees are:

i) Jo Porter, born in 1971, was appointed Deputy Chief Sub (News) at *The Sun* in 2014. She was a news sub-editor on the newspaper from 1999 to 2005, assistant chief sub until 2010 and associate chief sub-editor until 2014. Before joining national

newspapers she was a reporter, news editor and chief sub-editor on UK weekly local titles.

ii) Charles Rae, born in 1948, joined *The Sun* in 1981 from the *Daily Star*. He transferred to *Today* in 1988 covering the royal family, returning to *The Sun* in 1995 when *Today* closed (BL) where he continued to cover the royals, including the dramatic death of Diana, Princess of Wales, and the public outpouring of grief it triggered, examined by post-Jungians including Samuels (1998) and Papadopoulos (1998). In 2005 he became a consumer correspondent.

iii) Neil Roberts, born in 1960, joined *The Sun* as a sub-editor from the Brighton *Evening Argus* in 1988. He also worked at the *Daily Mirror* for five years from 2005 to 2010 before returning to *The Sun* to sub-edit and write leader columns. He also co-wrote two books aimed primarily at young people and incorporating educational adaptions of characteristic *Sun* pages and headlines (Perry and Roberts 2000: 119).

iv) Jonathan Roe, born in 1975, was appointed *The Sun*'s Head of Design (News) in 2016. Before that he was assistant art director and designed on *Live Magazine* at the Mail on Sunday after the closure of the *News of the World* where he was part of the design team since 2002. He gained a BA in journalism in 1999.

Below are selected transcripts, with each of the interviewees identified by their initials, and each category of question, described above[255], indicated. Alternating grey backgrounds are employed to facilitate easier reading:

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[255] Page 272.

	JP	CR	JR	NR
Medium: technique	**Example 1:** I try and really pare things back as much as possible and let the design and headlines do the talking… **Example 2:** A lot of people…[working on] tabloids in particular..[wrongly] think you can bang and crash through stuff…using words in the wrong context…	**Example 1:** Your story is just one of hundreds of thousands… coming in every day and you've got to do the best job you can to…make the newsdesk and the back bench, and obviously the editor, want to put that story in the paper… **Example 2:** …we do it with a bit more style, with a bit more flamboyance [than broadsheet newspapers]	**Example 1:** [explaining he needs to read at least the start of a story before designing the page]…just to get that gist…there maybe something in the picture that you've missed… when you're dealing with video grabs...you're talking maybe one frame where there's like a little knowing wink…you get that picture and you put that headline with it then all of a sudden you've got the whole story… **Example 2:** [explaining why news images are no longer manipulated] … [when I started] there was very little outlets and all the pictures that would	**Example 1:** …tabloid sub-editors, we're like bricklayers… you build a good wall…and the fact is that your skills aren't required to build a good wall…if you work for a broadsheet, that is a job of checking and ticking and making sure that there are no grammatical howlers…whereas what we do is we rebuild from top to bottom…the craft is an architectural craft as much as anything. **Example 2:** …if you are preparing a story or rewriting a story that is about the latest…romantic interest of a character of a reality TV show…it's very difficult

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come through would be exclusive …now…it's saturation…A lot of people…are more tech savvy. They'll have their own computer…they'll be able to manipulate… [and be more likely to detect manipulations of images duplicated in other news outlets]

to see it…other than in terms of sentence construction …how do I make this amount of words fit into this amount of space to give at least some idea of what is allegedly going on?

Medium: the future

Example 1: I think the tabloids will always be there… The entertaining way…we project news with attitude can work across smart phones, tablets, on the internet…and it's not just a vain hope; I know it works…we can see it works [because readers now pay to go behind *The Sun*'s then paywall]…

Example 2: I also think that people are trying to edit down what they see…they've got so much information being thrown at you…I think people need and want the same as they always have…an edit, someone

Example 1: I think the British public would seriously miss newspapers if they didn't have the ability to rub the pages…I don't care how the reader reads the paper…We [tabloid newspapers] face a general election every night of the week. We go out and we canvas our readers…and they return us by a huge majority by paying the money to read the paper...It's dwindling but we're hanging on.

Example 2: [post Leveson] newspapers have been left a bit bereft. They don't really know what they're doing any more with

Example 1: (You) always want a reaction from the reader…especially now [they are armed with smart phones with instant interactive online access] because you want to engage them more…so they can contribute to the story…

Example 2: ...tabloids always should be fun…the dryness should be superseded [by] humour…you take that away it just becomes another paper…it's so subtle how it's done…

Example 1: My general feeling could be summed up in two words: they're doomed….our problem is we can't see beyond the medium…we cannot contemplate a world without that medium…presumably there were guys driving ox carts who felt like that…

Example 2: …what we do now simply does not translate…the only thing you can have is information which other people don't have, some form of exclusivity and of course you're having to deal with that at a time in which the methods that have been used, many of them nefarious, to

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telling them certain   get that…have
what's   stories…   been   closed
important,   down…
what's   of
interest…

| Personal: likes | Example 1: Obviously I love the words…I think it's important not to use a single word without knowing its full [connotations]

Example 2: I like news first and foremost…I like…for the most part…that it's…projected through tabloid...that's obviously a big, big most part…I like the creativity of it…I love…being first to know anything…Twitter particularly [means]…we're not necessarily the first anymore. But I still love tabloids… | Example 1: I love it…it is still the greatest job in the world. It is being able to…communicate with a mass audience….it's a challenge, it's a game….It's the speed and the pressure…that gets the adrenaline going.

Example 2: [Princess Diana] was the greatest living soap opera…I loved doing the royals because it is exactly the same when I was doing industry and strikes, that was the story of the time… | Example 1: I like the way you could see the story on the shelf [in a shop or store]…you don't have to read the intro [main story's first paragraph] you can see that from the headline, you can see that from the picture…and you know that the story was the story of the day that everyone was going to be talking about…it's got to hit you straight away…

Example 2: [Responding to JAA asking about humour in content] Absolutely…that's why Page Three's there [the usually offbeat or celebrity-based page lead story, not the pin-up image] …there's an order to that whole…you can't have too | Example 1: For me…it is about…the art of what I do, the craft of what I do…much of the material I'm dealing with, personally I consider to be utterly uninteresting …and having, from my personal point of view, very little news value but then you have to understand that I am a reasonably well educated middle-class person who…is not the demographic of the product.

Example 2: …there is of course the slightly puritan aspect that I know I bring to it [editing celebrity copy] and I know a lot of my colleagues do in which you do take a perverse delight in taking out many of the |
|---|---|---|---|---|

much death in more
the paper, ridiculous
you've got to aspects of
be flipping …what is
from dark to being said.
light…

Personal: dislikes

Example 1: There's nothing as bad as that feeling when you screw up, when something has gone in the paper you don't have a good feeling about…there was a woman in the States who had won the biggest ever…payout for sexual harassment at work…it came down to the fact that her boss had performed a rather charming sex act over her…Our picture desk… found pictures of her on Facebook. There was one very nice headshot but they used the one of her in stockings at a fancy dress party…I just thought it was opportunistic and so I argued against it…and on that occasion I lost. I had a horrendous nosebleed all

Example 1: People in public lives who…make their money by publicity to boost their careers one way and another [and then] cry 'private lives' whenever they want to do something naughty…

Example 2: …it's important that, if you are a journalist, [you] stand up to the boss…

Example 1: …when I was on a degree course [BA in journalism in UK] there was a lot of baiting of the tabloids…a lot of people would sneer at them…there was a great leaning towards the broadsheets rather than looking at the tabloid press….

Example 2: Any deception of the reader is undesirable for all sort of reasons, not the least of which is…readers are much more savvy…you might say media savvy in general…

Example 1: … [I am] …horribly disillusioned with what popular newspapers are as opposed to what they could be…there's no reason for them to be…that to have a wide readership you have to somehow be tawdry…I think you can be edgy…you can walk the line and step over it occasionally and that is acceptable, but when you're deliberately walking on the other side of the line all the time for information that has little value…

Example 2: …*The Sun* has its own…slightly narrow world view which, after a number of years…it's like a process of osmosis…I could probably give you *The Sun*'s

the way home. I was really, really angry.

Example 2: a lot of attitudes are changing too slowly for me but at least they are changing...attitudes towards women..across a lot of the press, certainly across a lot of the tabloids. …that's one of the reasons I've stayed at *The Sun*…to help drive things in the right direction…

world view on almost any subject I'm likely to write on.

| Societal: positive | Example 1: First and foremost the attitude…Telling you how bad things are, how good things are…We speak for our readers, we campaign for our readers, but we also take the lead in some ways…[*The Sun*] is there in a lot of people's lives…

Example 2: A tabloid of ten years ago is very, very different from a tabloid of today…When the *News of the World* closed people were absolutely devastated…it was a real part of Sundays for a lot… | Example 1: …*The Sun* was designed for the factory worker to be read in ten minutes during the coffee break…so that style is still there and that worker…can get an idea of what is happening in the world...

Example 2: Does it matter who is having an affair with whom? Yes it does on a tabloid newspaper because that's one of our cornerstones... [we] are there to keep them [misbehaving public figures and celebrities] on the straight and narrow… | Example 1: What we do is an art form…by the end of it [a copy of *The Sun*] the reader has felt that they've gone through a lot of emotions…they've felt like they've engaged with those stories...

Example 2: …that story you've done often will be the agenda-setting story. It will be on the Wright Stuff [a daytime TV conversation panel show] it will be on BBC breakfast news…it will be everywhere over that morning because they've got to fill their airtime with something and people will just get into that story more and more and they can interact with it more…becau | Example 1: …largely [tabloid journalism] is a tradition…and the interesting thing about it is it's not driven by the reader…I don't believe the reader is ever taken hugely into consideration …you are subbing in a tradition of writing… it goes back to…the almost semi-holy Cudlippian idea…tabloid journalists, subs in particular, of an age…have this slightly worshipping at the great altar of the whole sort of [Hugh] Cudlipp [Editor of Daily Mirror 1952-1968] idea of …almost a slightly paternalistic tabloid journalism.

Example 2: There are aspects to it [the tabloid tradition] that |

se they can text and tweet…[that morning's print edition of the newspaper] might have gone but it's still around… of course change as attitudes change…for instance…I would as a matter of course knock out the word blonde…unless…that had some direct application… unless this was a woman who had been targeted for instance by a maniac who had a history of attacking blondes.

Societal: negative

Example 1: …you think about the people affected by it [a story] the fact that they will inevitably…see the coverage…whether they like it or not…we've had stories in recent years of children being mauled by dogs; how far do you go in what you say? A detail too far - the family have got to read this…

Example 2: …don't go down the titillation route because if you do that you'll get very short shrift from me.

Example 1: I've got things wrong because…you get led down certain paths…it underlines the value of checking, checking, checking all the time…you just need to find the right people to tell you the truth…

Example 2: …the difficult thing with [covering] the royal family was - as opposed to any other specialist subject - you could never really actually talk to any of the principles. You always had to go through a second or third party or even sometimes a fourth party…

Example 1: [JAA asked if JR ever felt that his contribution to *The Sun* had an adverse effect on society. After a long pause, he replied:] How can you do the story if you don't believe it?...I don't just read the products we produce and that helps…[I] balance it out with reading other forms of media…

Example 2: [the] Milly Dowler incident [a murdered teenaged whose voicemail was intercepted by *News of the World* reporters]…and stuff like that…unfortunate…I would have taken myself out of that loop and said…I was just putting together the paper…

Example 1: [tabloid newspaper journalism] should have a role [in society]. I think it fails in that role dismally….all the redtops fail to play any constructive part and I think they should…That part of the argument has been lost…Tabloid newspapers… represent only the amusements of the great…mass …an old-fashioned blue collar…what they don't represent…are any of the injustices…no attempt for instance to empower them in any way…they are not subversive in any way…

Example 2: [I am] horribly disillusioned with what popular newspapers are as opposed to what they could

be…there's no reason for them to be…that to have a wide readership you have to somehow be tawdry…I think you can be edgy…you can walk the line and step over it occasionally and that is acceptable but when you're deliberately walking on the other side of the line all the time for information that has little value…

The following two selective transcripts are from interviews carried out in 2000 in connection with an unpublished work I wrote viewing press stories from a Jungian perspective (Anslow 2002). Having consulted with my supervisor and supervisory board, it was judged academically and ethically appropriate to include them in this appendix, as long as each of the two individuals signed the permission form, above, which they did. The original interviews focused on four case studies, each the subject of running stories in the British tabloid press: Swampy (an 'eco-warrior of the 1990s), Tony Blair (former Labour Prime Minister), Myra Hindley (child-murderer) and Diana, Princess of Wales (Royal who died in a car crash in 1997). I judged that the answers from UK tabloid practitioners to questions exploring a tabloid/archetypal interface would provide helpful contextual background for this investigation, notwithstanding the fact that there are few references to these two interviews in the thesis itself. Below is a brief description of the two interviewees:

i) **Chris Hockley**, born 1950, was a national newspaper sub-editor from 1979 senior sub-editor at the *Daily Mirror*, *Today* and 'splash sub' of *The Sun* for the final 16 years of his career. His forte was collating and rewriting splashes and spreads and, for a period, was considered the best sub on *The Sun*[256]. He is also a published author of fiction (Hockley 1989) and was creator and main contributor to *Sun Motorsport* online (Hockley 2012).

ii) **Roger Wood** was chief sub-editor, and associate night editor at *The Sun* and held senior positions at the *Daily Mirror*. He was one of the best-known and most experienced production executive journalists in British national tabloid newspapers throughout the 1980s and 1990s. He is from rural Gloucestershire and retired to Spain.

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[256] Page 210.

Below are edited excerpts of the interviews from 2000 with Wood, Hockley and I identified by initials and the subject of discussion bracketed:

CHRIS HOCKLEY

JAA. What do you think that makes a good news 'character'? I'm particularly interested in one that somehow stays in the news. One who people carry on being interested in.

CH. I think a lot of it's got to do with mythology. I'm thinking of someone like Reggie Kray [the London gangland villain] who's been locked up for many years and many youngsters don't even know who he is. He is surrounded by a kind of mythology that's added to his own personality.

JAA. When you say mythology, what do you mean?

CH. I mean that, although we don't know these people, they attain personalities as stories come in about them, some of which may or may not be accurate. But it all sticks. Gradually this sub personality is built up on top of the person's real personality. And we really don't know which is real.

JAA. Do you think that, consciously or unconsciously, journalists select facts to enhance the [subject's] myth?

CH. Yes. If you're dealing with someone like Reggie Kray, you make sure to include the bits that portray him as hard. You'd choose words and facts to suit that image, thus perpetuating that sub-personality I was talking about. So it's a snowball effect really.

JAA. It might not be just aspects of the personality, but aspects of the 'plot'.

CH. Yes, aspects of the legend, if you like.

JAA. How does that compare with the total control you [as a novelist] have over your fictional characters? Do you [as a journalist] create the myth, or choose the myth?

CH. My characters in my books were an amalgam. You take aspects of someone you know and someone you've heard of and put them together to get a whole.

JAA. So, in a paradoxical way, an author writing about characters, drawing on people he really knows, can have almost more connection with the real world that some journalists enhancing a myth about a person they don't know.

CH. I think that's beyond doubt. The enhancement of the myth…that style of journalism, seems to be gaining more and more influence. I think a lot of fictional characters now are a lot more real than Mel B [the Spice Girl] or Beckham [footballer David]. We've never met them have we? And yet we can come up with a personality profile of them.

(SWAMPY)

CH. He dug tunnels and thing like that. Was he called Swampy because he had a dirty face?

JAA. What was his story, bearing in mind that every time an eco story is used now, his name is [attached to it]?

CH. It's an evocative name. I guess it's to do with the darkness and the twilight world he inhabited. It's like a hook on a pop song. It's a way of reminding people of the issues.

JAA. Does he remind you of any other character?

CH. He struck me as a little child. Incredibly young and rather sweet.

CH (later). He's Dennis the Menace – because he's always being naughty.

(TONY BLAIR)

CH. He has this sanctified air about him.

JAA. Is there anyone from history, ancient or modern, he reminds you of?

CH. Kennedy I suppose.

JAA. Journalists have often used the language of Camelot when writing about Kennedy.

CH. Yes. It's similar to Tony's Cronies. The words 'inner circle' have been used an awful lot with Blair. So you've even got a circle – a Round Table.

JAA. [Peter] Mandelson [New Labour Cabinet minister and spin doctor] is often described as Merlin by newspapers. Is that just lazy journalism?

CH. No. I don't think that is. I think comparisons with Arthur and the Round Table are quite evocative of what's going on [in New Labour]. It's basically the Islington set, isn't it?

(MYRA HINDLEY)

JAA. Myra Hindley vs Rose West. West slowly starved to death a teenage girl while she and husband Fred sexually abused her for months. Yet Hindley's (story) has survived.

CH. The [moors] location gave the whole thing this mystical…like a horror film.

(Chris talks about the tape of Hindley's victim Lesley Anne Downey and the fact that in recent times British people have become more used to reportage of violent crime. But he cites a third important reason for the Hindley story's amazing survival factor):

CH. Nobody's seen on her on TV. She might as well be dead. It's the same as Marilyn Monroe and people like that. It goes back to my main point, about the legend. When Monroe died there were so many stories. In Hindley's case it's the legend that's

kept her behind bars. A lot of people in the street say she must never be let out, without really knowing what she did.

(PRINCESS DIANA)

CH. She represented to quite a large body of people that she was fighting back against an archaic system. One of the reasons for such a large outpouring of grief afterwards was that we'd lost again. And it gave a lot of people an opportunity to grieve about things that had happened in their own lives.

Chris said he thought that Diana's love affairs would be "excused or understood" by adoring newspaper readers.

ROGER WOOD

JAA. What makes a good story? Is it something new, or something that's happened before?

RW. Somebody wins the Lottery every week, but it's always a story.

JAA. What about long-running stories? Episodes in the life of one particular person who catches the imagination?

(SWAMPY)

RW. You had to admire his courage going down dirty, damp holes defying authority. He was a television person. TV expects people swinging in the trees.

JAA. The name's stuck. It wouldn't surprise you if I showed you lots of stories about eco warriors where the name Swampy comes up all the time.

RW. [Journalists] use a person from the past to describe in one word what a story's all about. If, for example, you said "in a Churchillian way" you instantly save yourself a small book. Just like "Swampy-style protest".

(TONY BLAIR)

RW. He's unique. He created a person to fit what he thought this country needed. He created a new kind of person, an image.

(MYRA HINDLEY)

JAA. Why has that story survived so long?

RW. She was absolutely shocking. In an age when women were traditional, home-making, subservient…she broke all the rules. Nobody could understand how a woman could be perverted [like that].

(PRINCESS DIANA)

RW. On her wedding day, every paper captured that spirit. Hearts and flowers. It was ushering in a new age. People saw her as a wonderful creature. A fairy queen.

JAA. Even when she was having a lot of lovers?

RW. Yes. She…was a force for good...the landmine [campaigns] etc. Most of the time newspapers were giving her the benefit of the doubt. Even when she went out with Dodi she got a fairly good press. Wasn't she a lovely girl knocking about with this bloke. Nobody really pissed on her did they?

JAA. How did she rate in size of news story. She was the biggest I've ever known.

RW. Yes. She was huge, just huge. Every day you had to have (publish) something about her. She was monstrous, huge news, because everybody knew the news about her was unresolved. It was always open-ended. There was always going to be something new.

(Roger described how, on the morning of Diana's death, his ex-wife and daughter went to great trouble to seek him out to tell him of her death.)
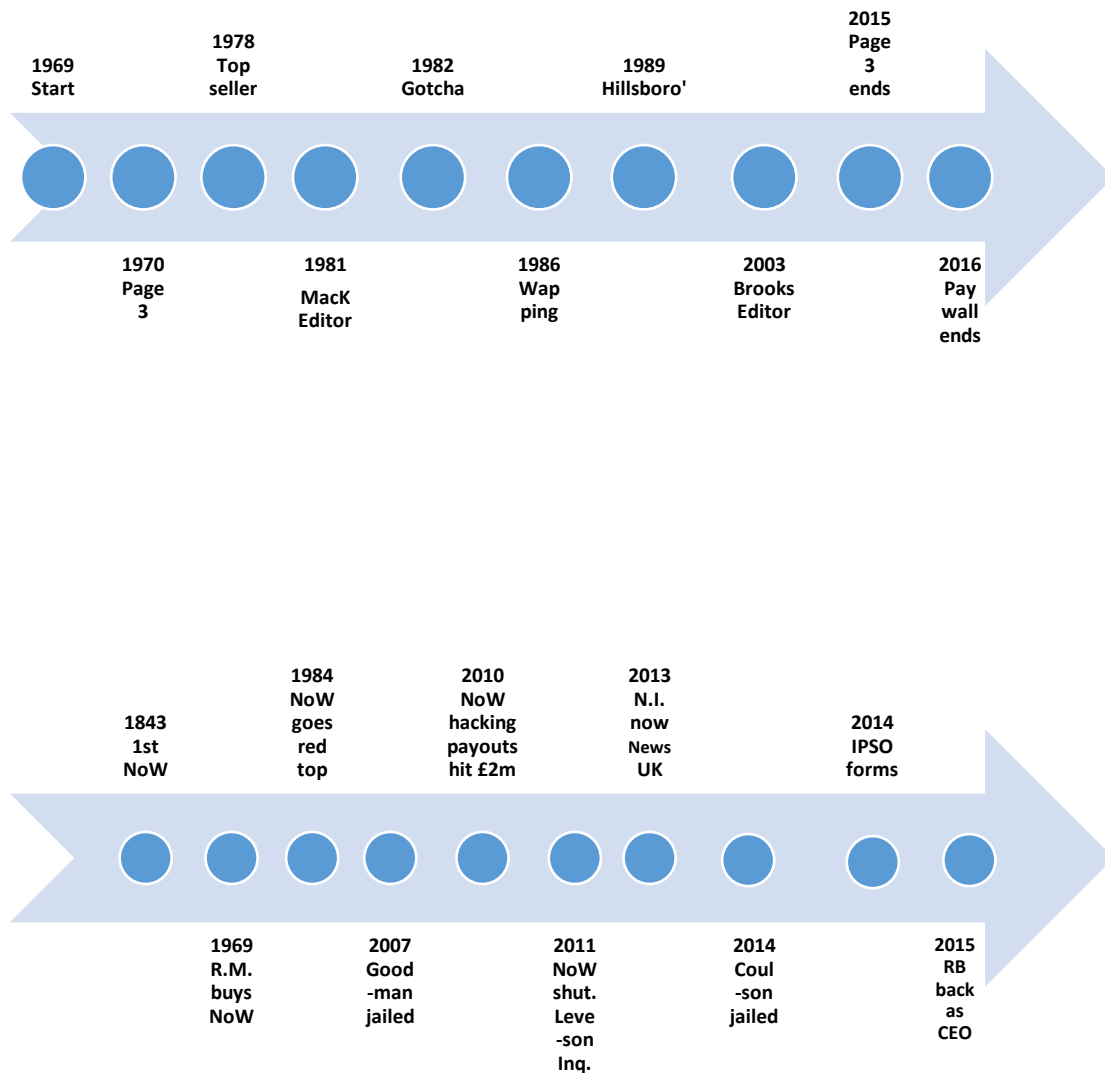
RW: That's how huge it was. The resolution of the story.

NOTES AND SOURCES

This section contains additional information facilitating referencing within the thesis.

It presents two timelines indicating pivotal events in the lifetime of the modern *Sun* and

the *News of the World* phone-hacking scandal. It explains abbreviations used for in-

text citations and the bibliography. Finally, it presents the bibliography itself.

Timelines

The Sun and (below) the *News of the World* and phone-hacking

The Sun timeline (above arrow): 1969 Start; 1978 Top seller; 1982 Gotcha; 1989 Hillsboro'; 2015 Page 3 ends. (below arrow): 1970 Page 3; 1981 MacK Editor; 1986 Wapping; 2003 Brooks Editor; 2016 Paywall ends.

News of the World timeline (above arrow): 1843 1st NoW; 1984 NoW goes red top; 2010 NoW hacking payouts hit £2m; 2013 N.I. now News UK; 2014 IPSO forms. (below arrow): 1969 R.M. buys NoW; 2007 Goodman jailed; 2011 NoW shut. Leveson Inq.; 2014 Coulson jailed; 2015 RB back as CEO.

Abbreviations

This dissertation elects to use capital letters without full stops or spaces where that is their common usage, e.g. UK, USA, BBC, PCC and ABC. It uses the initials CW in its bibliography to indicate named volumes of the *Collected Works* of C.G. Jung edited by Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerald Adler and William McGuire. It is translated by R.F.C. Hull and published by Routledge & Kegan Paul in London. Each individual contribution by Jung is named and dated from the General Index (Vol. 20) except where otherwise stated. Paragraphs are indicated by the abbreviation 'par.' and a number. Where the abbreviation is omitted the number refers to a page. In the text of this thesis, works from the *Collected Works* carry Jung's name, a date and a paragraph number or numbers. Other works by him are cited in the same way as all references throughout this thesis, i.e. the number refers to a page.

The dictionary used by default in this thesis, except where otherwise stated, is *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition; prepared by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner. 1989 Clarendon Press, Oxford. 20 volumes. [First Edited by James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie and C. T. Onions; combined with A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary; Edited by R. W. Burchfield and reset with corrections, revisions and additional vocabulary. Oxford, New York Toronto et al., Oxford University Press 1989.] This dictionary is described in text and in the bibliography as O.E.D. (with full stops). Volumes and page numbers are included.

Unless otherwise stated, the source of UK newspaper statistics for print and online editions is the Audit Bureau of Circulations (UK) at abc.org.co.uk, which is referred to in this thesis as ABC (no full stops). However, only the latest statistics in any accessed month are freely available at this site. The reader will require a subscription to access its archives. For this reason, this thesis cites newspaper statistics

from 2001-2014, unless otherwise stated, from *The Guardian* website https://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/feb/14/abcs-national-newspapers-2014 (follow dated links) which has collated them from ABC data. Where possible, these figures are cross-checked with available statistics at the ABC itself. In some instances ABC figures, or ABCe figures, the term which some publications use to indicate digital press platforms, are reported from reputable trade platforms, such as the *Press Gazette*, often authored by its editor at the time of writing, Dominic Ponsford, an Honorary Visiting Fellow in the Department of Journalism at City, University of London. (That 'leading' journalism department[257], where I was a lecturer for five years, includes, at the time of writing' five other faculty members cited throughout this thesis: professors George Brock, Michael Bromley, Roy Greenslade and Howard Tumber, and Reader Neil Thurman.[258] Statistics relating to overseas print products are drawn from the International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations (ifabc.org). Facts cited from the British Library's *Concise History of the British Newspaper in the Twentieth Century*, available at the time of writing at: https://web.archive.org/web/20080915192459/http://www.bl.uk/collections/brit20th.html, are referred to in text and the bibliography as B.L.

Articles and headlines, from newspapers' print editions and websites, are cited by the name of the accredited journalist or journalists. If the article has no name attached then the title of publication (e.g. *BBC* or *MailOnline*) is cited along with the original year of publication in text, and the url (if appropriate) and date of retrieval in the bibliography. Where the *News of the World* is cited as the author, it is abbreviated to *NoW* in the text and bibliography. Where *The Sun* is similarly cited, it is abbreviated to *Sun*, the *Yorkshire Post* to *YP* the *New Musical Express* to *NME* and the *Radio Times*

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[257] http://www.city.ac.uk/arts-social-sciences/journalism#unit=academic-staff (Retrieved 9 September 2016.)
[258] http://www.city.ac.uk/arts-social-sciences/journalism#unit=academic-staff (Retrieved 9 September 2016.)

to *RT*. Publications of the House of Commons are abbreviated to *HoC*. Data and quotations from the Leveson Inquiry (Part 1) relate to the four volumes of its report published in 2012 by the Government's Stationery Office and/or its pendant summaries and transcripts of witness summaries, available at http://leveson.sayit.mysociety.org at the time of writing. All such material is cited as Leveson 2012, with appropriate amplification and direction given in text and/or footnotes. Numbering is by page or module where appropriate. Where the volume is cited in text, the date is omitted.

Material cited from my personal collection is cited as P.C. and is available for inspection on request. *ClipShare* is a proprietary search engine operated by the NLA (formerly the Newspaper Licensing Industry[259]) employed by newspapers to archive articles across titles. This thesis has used this tool extensively. Many books, journal articles and academic papers are cited by this work in their digital form. Sometimes these iterations do not include conventional page numbers. In those instances, this thesis employs the abbreviation Loc. plus a number to indicate the digital location of the reference. Below is an alphabetical list of abbreviations used in this work's bibliography and, in most cases, its in-text citations, including some of those already described above[260]:

ABC Audit Bureau of Circulations (UK), collated by *The Guardian*, and accessed directly where available.

AdWeek Online magazine of that name.

Anon Anonymous contributor to online blog headlined *The Sun – Tabloid Lies*.

B.L. British Library's *Concise History of the British Newspaper in the Twentieth Century* described above.[261]

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[259] http://blog.nla.co.uk/about-the-nla/ (Retrieved 23 September 2016.)
[260] Pages 292-294.
[261] Page 293.

BARB Broadcasters' Audience Research Board.

BBC Articles, broadcasts and websites of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

ClipShare Proprietary newspaper search engine.

DC DC Comics, a subsidiary of Warner Brothers.

DorsetEcho Newspaper in the west of England.

E! Celebrity news website: www.eonline.com.

Eye Private Eye satirical magazine based in London.

Fawkes Guy Fawkes, nom-de-plume of political blogger Paul Staines who operates order-order.com

Forbes Facebook page of Forbes, USA-based magazine company.

Guardian UK newspaper and global website owned by Guardian Media and News.

HoC House of Commons publications.

IAJS Unpublished communications thread of the International Association of Jungian Studies.

Independent UK newspaper that transferred entirely to online publication in 2016.

IPSO Independent Press Standards Organisation.

ITV British-based independent television network with websites.

Leveson Reports and summaries of judicial public inquiry into culture, practices and ethics of the British press from 2011-2012.

LiverpoolEcho Newspaper and website base in north-west of England.

MailOnline Newspaper website owned by Associated Newspapers Ltd and published at dailymail.co.uk.

MGN Unpublished documents of Mirror Group Newspapers PLC.

Mirror UK-based newspapers the *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror* and their website.

NoW Defunct *News of the World* Sunday newspaper.

NRS National Readership Survey run by The Publishers Audience Measurement Company (PAMCo).

NUJ National Union of Journalists.

O.E.D. Oxford English Dictionary.

Ofcom Britain's communications regulator.

PA Press Association, Britain's national news agency.

P.C. Author's personal collection.

Sky UK television network and website.

Standard Evening Standard, free newspaper circulated in London.

Sun *The Sun* newspaper based in London.

Telegraph The *Daily Telegraph* and *Sunday Telegraph* newspapers based in London.

YP Yorkshire Post newspaper based in the north of England.

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