Chapter 1

Süheyla Nil Mustafa*

Reading the Turkish Femininity through the Proceedings of a Social Drama Enacted in a Celebrity Gossip TV Program

Abstract: This article analyzes the process involving the spread of a social crisis that broke out in social media platform into traditional mass media and its resolution upon being featured and judged in a celebrity gossip TV show in line with the conceptual framework provided by the prominent anthropologist Victor Turner. For Turner, the crisis situations provide greater insight into the normative structures or hegemonic discourses in society since the norms are being entrenched and become more visible along the lines of defense in times of social crises. Turner defines the processual nature of any social conflict in terms of his concept of social drama. In line with Turner's argumentation, this paper suggests that the social conflicts represented on the television shows also reveal significant comprehension with respect to the normative discourses of the contemporary Turkish society. In our case, the discussions held on a certain celebrity gossip show will be examined through the Foucauldian discourse analysis to understand how the existing hegemonic discourses of femininity and masculinity in contemporary Turkey are reproduced and modified throughout the narratives held in the program. The literature on daytime television talk shows in Turkey mostly argue that the traditional feminine identity in accordance with the hegemonic patriarchal discourse in Turkey is reproduced in these programs. This paper shows that television programs do not just reproduce the existing norms and identities, but traditional discursive codes of Turkish feminine identity are modified as an effect of the juxtaposition of the neoliberal discourse of individual self-empowerment and the traditional discourse of solidarity of the family. Finally, it is considered that although women seem to be empowered with the neoliberal discourse of self-responsibility and empowerment, they are only permitted to enforce this power for the benefit of the family rather than their individuality and condemned for their individual desires and choices.

Keywords: Hegemonic femininity, Victor Turner, Social drama, Foucault, Discourse analysis, Neoliberalism, Celebrity gossip TV show

Introduction

Celebrity gossip shows on TV are mostly considered in relation to the genre of tabloid journalism. It is a type of journalism that is undervalued since it makes news about famous people rather than serious political, economic, and social subject matters. The literature on tabloid journalism/television and entertainment news reveals the underestimation toward these types of news-making due to the perceived lack of social use value of such news content.[1]

* Lecturer, Ph.D., Marmara University, Faculty of Communication, suheyla.mustafa@marmara.edu.tr.

[1] Kathleen A. Feeley, "Gossip as News: On Modern U.S. Celebrity Culture and Journalism", *History Compass*, 10/6 (2012); John Langer, *Tabloid Television: Popular Journalism and the 'Other News'*, London: Routledge, 1997; Sofia Johansson, *Reading Tabloids: Tabloid Newspapers and Their Readers*, Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2007; Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks, *Journalism and Popular Culture*, London: Sage, 1992;
Anne H. Petersen, "Towards an Industrial History of Celebrity Gossip: The National Enquirer, People Magazine and 'Personality Journalism' in the 1970s", *Celebrity Studies,* 2/2 (2011).

Following the conceptual framework suggested by the distinguished anthropologist Victor Turner, this paper argues that the celebrity gossip shows (rather need to be thought as talk shows in Turkey) are considered to function as a part of social conflicts that take place in the contemporary Turkish society. These shows mirror the public opinion, namely the comments and reactions of citizens on social media. Thus, the conflict situations that are generated by the celebrity figures are discussed and judged on the screen throughout the programs. The program hosts take both the subject matters for discussion and arguments from the people, as represented in social media.

In his seminal book, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society,* Victor Turner states that he shares "Freud's view that disturbances of the normal and regular often give us greater insight into the normal than does direct study. Deep structure may be revealed through surface anti-structure or counter-structure."[2] In this respect, he believes that the crises reveal the normative structures or discourses dominant in society. He also adds, "Conflict seems to bring fundamental aspects of society, normally overlaid by the customs and habits of the daily intercourse, into frightening prominence. People have to take sides in terms of deeply entrenched moral imperatives and constraints, often against their own personal preferences. Choice is overborne by duty."[3]

As he puts it, in conflict situations the normative discourses or moral codes, which operate meticulously without drawing anyone's attention in daily life and are accepted without much consideration, come to the fore and are thus put under scrutiny. Moreover, he says that people who have been dealing with this crisis either remotely or closely have to express their opinions and declare their sides in accordance with the discourses brought about by this crisis. Therefore, the discussions or comments revealed upon the social conflict provide us further insight into the normative discourses of that society.

In line with Turner's argumentation, this paper suggests that the social conflicts represented on the celebrity gossip shows also reveal significant insight with respect to the normative discourses of the contemporary Turkish society. In our case, the discussions held on a certain celebrity gossip show will be examined through discourse analysis in order to understand how the existing hegemonic discourses of heteronormativity and of femininity in contemporary Turkey are both reproduced and modified throughout the narratives held in the program. As femininity is defined here as the experience of being a woman or the formation of female identities, it is also targeted to understand the scope of the experience of womanhood given and discussed in this TV program. Hence, the study will provide us insight into the female subjectivity in Turkish society, that is the proper modes of thinking and living for a Turkish woman.

Daytime TV Programs and Hegemonic Femininity

In Turkey, the celebrity gossip shows need to be considered in terms of the daytime talk shows which gather considerable audiences nationwide, shape public discussion and reproduce social discourses.

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[2] Victor Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987, p.34.

[3] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", p.35.

The Television Watching Tendencies Research, which was published by The Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) of Turkey in 2018, reveals that women, especially the housewives, constitute the majority of the audience of these daytime talk shows which are broadcasted during the working hours (between 09.00-18.00) in the weekdays.[4] Daytime talk shows include a wide range of programs: marriage/matchmaking programs; women's programs where topics such as music, education, knowledge-skills, health are addressed and conversations are made with the participants; and programs dealing with cases such as criminal events, murders and child abductions. The first example of the daytime talk shows in Turkey was an educational program that aimed at informing the housewives.[5]

The private broadcasting in the 2000s led to a rise both in the number and variety of the women's television programs. Similar formats, which have focused on entertainment, show or tragedy, have begun to be broadcast in daytime programs on national channels. Daytime talk shows with marriage content were first broadcast in 2003 and had significant impact on the daytime zone until their cancellation by law in 2017. These programs were mostly replaced with new types of programs in which criminal cases were handled.[6]

It is seen that the celebrity gossip shows also started to attract the female audience on national channels in the daytime zone as an effect of the demise of the marriage programs by the end of 2016. Although these kinds of celebrity gossip programs previously existed during daytime, their number increased with the end of marriage programs. In this paper, three specific programs will be mentioned in relation to our discussion. First, the program named *No Way If I Don't Say* (Söylemezsem Olmaz) was a gossip show that started to be broadcast on Beyaz TV (a national TV channel) on September 16, 2013.[7] Later on, another celebrity gossip show titled *Let It Be Heard by Everyone* (Duymayan Kalmasın) was broadcasted on STAR TV, a popular national channel, on October 3, 2016.[8] Both celebrity gossip programs received significant response from the female audience and are still broadcast in the daytime zone. The celebrity gossip show which is studied as a case in this paper, *Second Page with Müge and Gülşen* (Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa) started to be broadcast on October 28, 2018 on another leading national channel, Kanal D.[9]

The daytime talk shows, especially the marriage programs, mostly projected the lives of ordinary people on TV. They offered a sense of neighborhood on TV for the viewers at home while the participants of the program were following and responding to each other's attitudes and behaviors.

These daytime talk shows have been widely studied in the fields of media studies and sociology and have been subjected to discursive and qualitative content analyses. The literature on daytime shows reveals that these programs generally share a gendered discourse and reproduce

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[4] Televizyon İzleme Eğilimleri Araştırması, (2018), pp. 35-42.
https://www.rtuk.gov.tr/assets/Icerik/AltSiteler/televizyonizlemeegilimleriarastirmasi2018.pdf.
[5] Televizyon İzleme Eğilimleri Araştırması, (2018), p.59.
https://www.rtuk.gov.tr/assets/Icerik/AltSiteler/televizyonizlemeegilimleriarastirmasi2018.pdf.
[6] Televizyon İzleme Eğilimleri Araştırması (2018), p.60.
https://www.rtuk.gov.tr/assets/Icerik/AltSiteler/televizyonizlemeegilimleriarastirmasi2018.pdf.
[7] The program video record, "Söylemezsem Olmaz" (No Way If I Don't Say), accessed December, 1, 2020, http://beyazgazete.com/video/tv-programlari/beyaz-tv-81/soylemezsem-olmaz-beyaz-tv-415011/soylemezsem-olmaz-1-bolum-16-09-2013-415011.html.
[8] "Duymayan Kalmasın izleyicilerden tam not aldı!", last update October 6, 2016, accessed December 1, 2020, http://www.gazetevatan.com/duymayan-kalmasin-izleyiciden-tam-not-aldi--992304-gundem/.
[9] "Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa Kanal D'de başladı!", last update August 20, 2020, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/haber/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-basliyor?p=1.

and even enforce the gender roles and feminine identities provided by the hegemonic patriarchal discourse in Turkey.[10]

Hegemonic femininity is a certain mode of feminine identity, which is promoted, reproduced, and varies in each society.[11] The concept of hegemonic femininity was later named as "emphasized femininity" referring to the asymmetrical positioning of masculine and feminine identities in a patriarchal gender order and it was initially framed in relation with the concept of hegemonic masculinity.[12] "Hegemonic masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue."[13]

> "Hegemonic masculinity is the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women….Hegemonic femininity consists of the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women."[14]

In these daytime talk shows or reality programs, the existing discourses of hegemonic femininity and masculinity that are in circulation among the Turkish society are both reflected and reproduced. This paper is an attempt to understand the discursive configuration of the hegemonic femininity in contemporary Turkish society reproduced throughout this social drama.

Victor Turner and the Concept of Social Drama

Following his studies on the Ndembu society in Zambia, the prominent social anthropologist Victor Turner developed his concept of social drama for the analysis of the conflict situations "in societies at all levels of scale and complexity". [15] Victor Turner defines the processual nature of any social conflict in terms of his concept of social drama.

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[10] For various sociological and media studies on the daytime programs for women, see:
Ceren Çavdar, "Gündüz Kuşağı Kadın Programlarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği ve Kadın Temsili", *Selçuk İletişim*, 12 (2019); Tebrike Kaya, "Televizyonda Yayınlanan İzdivaç Programlarında Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Temsili", *Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi,* (2013); Vahit İlhan and Derya Usta, "Televizyonda Gündüz Kuşağı Programlarındaki Dönüşüm: 'Esra Erol'da' Örneği", *Erciyes İletişim Dergisi,* 5 (2018); Hakan Yüksel, "Televizyonlardaki Evlilik Programlarında Kadın Kimliğinin Temsili", *Kent Akademisi*, 11/36, Issue 4 (2018); Şehriban Şahin Kaya, "Sahibinden Satılık Korkular: Kadının Korkutulan Özne Olarak İnşasında Medyanın Rolü", *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*, 11(1) (2012); Aybike Serttaş and Hasan Gürkan, "Türkiye'deki Kadın İzleyicilerin Televizyon Programlarındaki Kadını Alımlaması", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi*, 48 (2015); Nilay Etiler and Ülkü Zengin, "Televizyon Kanallarındaki Gündüz Programlarında Kadın Sağlığı ve Toplumsal Cinsiyete Bakışın Değerlendirilmesi", *Turk J Public Health*, 13(2) (2015); Hacer Begüm Bozkurt, "Re-construction of Femininity: A Content Analysis of 'Bu Tarz Benim' Reality Show", Unpublished Master's Thesis, İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi, 2017; Yeşim Coşkun, "Türkiye'de Yayınlanan Evlilik Programları Ekseninde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rollerinin İncelenmesi", Unpublished Master's Thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2019.

[11] For detailed discussion on masculinity literature, see; Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R.W. Connell, *Handbook on Studies on Men & Masculinities*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005.

[12] R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept", *Gender & Society*, 19 (2005), p.848.

[13] Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept", p.832.

[14] Mimi Schippers, "Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony", *Theory and Society,* 36 (1) (2007), p. 94.

[15] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", p.33.

Throughout his research, Turner found out that the social life of Ndembu villages had a tendency toward conflict. As he put it, conflict was a widespread practice among the village community and "it manifested itself in public episodes of tensional irruption" which he calls as "social dramas".[16]

His conceptual framework helps us examine a conflict situation from its start, that is the irruption of the conflict; later followed by the escalation or decrease of the tension and finalized with a certain type of ending, either with resolution or another crisis. Hence the social conflict can be analyzed in terms of its underlying structure like a narrative in sequence. Turner argued that one could easily notice four phases of public action that take place throughout the progression of a social drama. These four phases of the social drama are called the breach, crisis, redressive action, and resolution/ crisis.

1."*Breach* of regular, norm-governed social relations occurs between persons or groups within the same system of social relations… or set or field of social interaction…Such a breach is signalized by the public, overt breach or deliberate nonfulfillment of some crucial norm regulating the intercourse of the parties."[17]

2. The breach is followed by a phase of *crisis*, if it is not closed up in a limited field of interaction. The crisis has the potential to escalate when the confrontation or encounter is disclosed to the public.[18]

3. The third phase is "redressive action by which certain adjustive and redressive mechanisms, informal or formal, institutionalized or ad hoc, are swiftly brought into operation by leading or structurally representative members of the disturbed social system. These mechanisms vary in type and complexity. …They may range from personal advice and informal mediation or arbitration to formal juridical and legal machinery." In this phase, the redressive machinery tries to appease the crisis by restoring the status quo or at least the peace among the opponents.[19] Turner states that we should carefully study this redressive phase. It is in this third phase that "the society, group, community, association or whatever may be the social unit, is here at its most "self-conscious" and may attain the clarity of someone fighting in a corner for his life"[20] The hegemonic discourses of the society are openly revealed in this conflict situation.

4. "The final phase …consists of either the reintegration of the disturbed social group or of the social recognition and legitimization of irreparable schism between the contesting parties."[21] The final phase can end with the reproduction of the existing norms and the status quo ante or with the modification of the existing norms with the new norms engendered in the redressive phase.

Performance of Social Drama in a Turkish Celebrity Gossip TV Program

Upon the exposure of an extra-marital affair of a famous female TV host on social media, this issue was addressed in a celebrity gossip show on TV. In this article, the process that has evolved since the shocking news was first heard on social media is evaluated through Victor

[16] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", p.33.
[17] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", pp.38-39.
[18] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", pp.38-39.
[19] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", pp.38-39.
[20] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", pp.38-39.
[21] Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors", p.41.

Turner's concept of social drama. In this section, detailed information about this event will be presented and how the social conflict, which was initiated by his event, evolved will be explained through Turner's scheme.

A famous host, E.E.'s forbidden love with Ş.M., a married businessman, came into the open with a post on social media. The man's wife, B.M., learned about this forbidden affair in the last three months of a one-year relationship and decided to get a divorce.[22] Although this news attracted media attention, the shocking news was not illicit love affair itself.

On March 12,.2020, the cheated wife, B.M. announced on her Instagram account that she obtained a protection order against the famous TV host, E.E., from the court. In this post, B.M. also shared a security camera footage showing that E.E. broke the windows of two luxury cars belonging to the couple and wrecked the cars while the married couple were resting in their house at night.[23]

As soon as E.E.'s act of breaking the car windows was shared, it became a topic of discussion on social media and was shared by large masses on various social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube. The next day it was news in all over the Internet and traditional media. Although forbidden love was already known before this post, the real controversy and social drama broke out when the cheated wife shared this video.

The video in which the car was wrecked first spread quickly on the Internet media. Popular social media figures, who had a problem with this TV host E.E. discussed this event instantly on their social media accounts such as Twitter and YouTube. The singer, Reynmen released a mirror video referring to E.E. and this event. Social media celebrity, Danla Bilic also criticized her and shared a tweet on her twitter account denouncing E.E., who frequently criticized her in her TV show, for this act of violence.[24]

When we evaluate all these events in the context of Victor Turner's concept of social drama, not the affair with a married man but the act of vandalizing one's married lover's car can be defined as a violation of a social norm, which Victor Turner defines as **breach**. In this example, a public figure goes to his married lover's parking garage at night and illegally damages his property and threatens this family. And this in turn caused indignation in the public sphere as soon as it was heard, and it was considered as a serious violation or breach of the social norms by the society.

Upon the release of the video, the rapid circulation of and intense discussions around this violation on social media can be defined as **the crisis phase** of this drama. With the reflection of this incident on the public, the size of the crisis increased. The single social media share by the man's wife reached to thousands of shares in the blink of an eye and the crisis reached to such a level that it could not be suppressed. In fact, the post that was widely shared on social media was not only covered by gossip media, but also by mainstream news centers and the Internet news media. In this sense, this event became differentiated from other celebrity gossips

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[22] Mehmet Üstündağ, "Ece'yi Sosyal Medya Ele Verdi", February 24, 2020, accessed December 15, 2020, https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-ustundag/eceyi-sosyal-medya-ele-verdi-41453601.

[23] "Ece Erken olay görüntüler sonrası canlı yayında istifa etti! Evli sevgilisinin eşi Ece Erken'i araçlarına zarar verdiği video ile ifşa etmişti...", accessed December 15, 2020, https://www.sabah.com.tr/magazin/2020/03/13/evli-sevgilisinin-esi-ece-erkeni-o-goruntulerle-ifsa-etti-ece-erken-gece-yarisi-sevgilisi-safak-mahmutyazicioglunun-evine-gelip?paging=10.

[24] "Evli Sevgilisinin Arabasının Aynalarını Kırarken Yakalanan Ece Erken Tartışmasına Danla Bilic de Dahil Oldu!", accessed December 15, 2020, https://onedio.com/haber/evli-sevgilisinin-arabasinin-aynalarini-kirarken-yakalanan-ece-erken-tartismasina-danla-bilic-de-dahil-oldu-899666.

and acquired news content that was discussed in the public sphere as part of the country's agenda.

According to Victor Turner, the third stage of social drama is **the redressive action** (or in other words, corrective action) in which the crisis is defused by an intermediary method. Mediators involved in this phase do not have to be a formal or legal body; they can simply be prominent people in the community and can offer personal advice. What matters at this stage is the effort shown by the representative members of the social system or the corrective mechanism in an attempt to mitigate this crisis. At this stage, the crisis is overcome either by restoring the status quo or at least by restoring the peace between the opponents. This stage is a process in which social norms that have been transgressed or violated by the crisis are opened to public discussion and defended. In this respect, during this stage, a magnifying glass is held to the society's own consciousness and norms. In this conflict situation, the hegemonic discourses of the society become clearly noticeable.

In the social drama that is addressed in this paper, we define this celebrity gossip program as the third stage called redressive action. The crisis, which has broken out due to both posts and comments in social media, was also featured in traditional media outlets and evening news on TV. In the celebrity gossip program discussed in this article, the event was evaluated by the program's hosts and the public opinion on the issue was reflected in the program, taking into account the comments made by the society on social media.

The program hosts presented all the relevant data to the audience, acting as if they were prosecutors in an unofficial social court. They presented the chronological event flow, news, information about the actors involved and their relations, the attitudes and behaviors of the actors, and the relationship history of the actors that took place in the press and social media from the beginning of this issue.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

There are various methods for discourse analysis offered by different thinkers. In this paper, Michel Foucault's approach to discourse analysis will be employed. Foucault defines discourse as a discursive formation which "is a system of dispersion for statements. It is not a structure existing on a level different from statements; discursive formation is simply the regularity of the irregular distribution of statements."[25]

"For Foucault, individual is no more than an object of discourse and/or knowledge that is dominant in any given social realm. There is no subjectivity possible out of the discursive positions that are imposed on or taken by the individual as a result of discursive and disciplinary practices."[26] A discourse can be shared by a variety of social groups and individuals in different institutional settings (like families, prisons, hospitals, and asylums) although they seem to have contradictory interests and targets.[27]

[25] Niels Akerström Andersen, *Discursive analytical strategies: understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau*, *Luhmann*, Bristol: Policy Press, 2003, p. VI.
[26] Süheyla Nil Mustafa, "Organizational Culture of the Ottoman Police", *Perspectives in Communication Studies- Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Dr. Ayseli Usluata*, ed., Ayşe Binay Kurultay and Burcu Sabuncuoğlu., Peter Lang Publishing, 2016, p. 150.
[27] Stuart Hall, "The West and the rest: Discourse and Power", *The Formations of Modernity*, ed., Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, pp. 292-293.

A statement, which is the main element of a discourse, creates objects and subjects or subject positions by enunciative strategies of classification and definition. Moreover, statements are always found in relation to other statements and establish a network of statements to serve an enunciative strategy, which is the creation of a certain kind of meaning. Therefore, statements activate or put existing statements into operation and reproduce them in a new manner. [28]

Moreover, discourses or discursive formations are always found in relation to other discursive formations. Therefore, a discourse is always an articulation of several discourses, statements, and conceptual relations. The individual or institutions can juxtapose existing or hegemonic discourses with their individual discursive formations relevant to their interests and targets. In this respect, any discursive formation is a practice of producing meaning by the articulation of discourses. The discourse analyst tries to reveal the definitions, categories, oppositional or definitional relations constructed among concepts, enunciative patterns, and the derivations of other discourses in a certain discursive formation.[29]

Discourse Analysis of the Program

Real Woman vs. Second Woman (Decent House/wife vs. Aggressive Mistress)

The issue which is the subject matter of this paper started with the broadcasting of the aggressive behavior of E.E. on social media. First, the use of physical force or the act of aggression by a woman created shock and reaction in public. This behavior has been condemned by the majority of social media users as well as by the program hosts since it is a behavior that is not associated with the dominant feminine behavior. It has been stated in many previous gender studies on Turkish media that women are expected to act passively and docile in the dominant gender discourse. E.E. performed a masculine behavior that is associated with men, i.e., she resorted to violence or assault. According to the conservative gender discourse in Turkey, while men are mostly associated with aggressiveness, women are expected to talk, use diplomacy and courtesy.

> "B., Ş.'s wife of 15 years, shares the image. She (the lover, E.E.) comes to the driveway late at night and tries to break the side mirrors of two luxury cars…. E.E. has come to a point where *she has become capable of harming the home and wife of the man she has an affair with*. It is like the typical movies. So, at that time the house is not empty. Mr. Ş. and Mrs. B. are inside. This was at an hour towards the morning."[30]

The aggressive behavior of this woman was perceived not only as an attack on material objects, but also as an attack on the marriage institution. The condemnation of this assault on the institution of marriage is revealed with the sentence, "She has become capable of harming the home and wife of the man she has an affair with." The lover was considered to have violated the sanctity of the institution of marriage. It was thought that the woman was in a desperate mental state to attack the cars, and her appeal to aggressive behavior, which is normally attributed to men in the hegemonic masculine discourse, caused indignation.

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[28] Andersen, *Discursive analytical strategies: understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann*, p. 11.

[29] Andersen, *Discursive analytical strategies: understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann*, pp. 8-17.

[30] The incident was discussed in the celebrity gossip program on March 13, 2020. All the data is retrieved from the discussion of the two hosts throughout the program on that date which took place immediately the next day after the date of broadcasting of the aggression video record. The program can be retrieved from the link:
Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

Also, this aggression was seen as the efforts of a woman forcing a man, a married man, into a relationship. In the dominant heteronormative discourse in Turkey, it is considered inappropriate for women to be the demanding and compelling party in a relationship. Even the single women who initiate relationships with men are frowned upon.

Women are to be demanded/desired by the man and be passive in initiating any relationship. In this case, since the woman adopted a masculine attitude associated with men, she also violated the codes of hegemonic feminine identity.

Moreover, the host said that the lover also attacked the wife by threatening her: "There is no point in going out and threatening the man's wife with photos and messages." It is said that although E.E. had a love affair with a married man and violated the sanctity of the marriage, she did not feel embarrassed for having such a socially inappropriate relationship. It is thought that she completely transgressed the society's moral norms both by having an affair and also by not showing even a hint of embarrassment for doing so. She is considered to be immoral and totally out of line for not showing any sign of regret or shame.

> "One of the parties is married. If both parties were single, you would release it as a normal love story and pass it as such… When a death or illness happens, or such accidents (like this love affair) happen, I call it an accident. Everything is for people, but after I say this, there is a way to carry (live) it, to feel distressed and sad about it, to be ashamed of it. There is no point in going out and threatening the man's wife with photos and messages."[31]

> "E.E. spoke to "Uçankuş" (*Flying Bird*, another celebrity gossip program) about these images. She said that when they watched what happened, they laughed with the owner of the vehicle. Let anyone (not herself, but only) someone else, especially those who do not love you can laugh at this situation. How can one laugh at this situation? One can only feel ashamed and cry in a situation like this." [32]

The silent or peaceful housewife is described as the "proper" version of the woman and positioned in opposition to the aggressive lover. The expression "the real woman in the house" describes the wife as the legitimate partner due to her ownership of the house or the marriage. The cheated wife was also called "the woman at home" or "the domestic woman" whereas the lover of the married man is named as the mistress, a term which is also associated with other terms such as "the second woman" or "the third person in the marriage" in similar other gossip programs.

> "People used to live these things in secret and were ashamed to talk about them. S/he would not be able to raise his/her head while walking on the street. Now the mistresses are proudly, comfortably talking about this. Other women, *the real women at home, prefer to keep quiet*. And I say to them, do not be silent. You (wives) should disgrace them (lovers)."[33]

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[31] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.
[32] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.
[33] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

The concept of "the real woman" has turned into a catchword for the wife who was positioned vis-à-vis the mistress or the lover of the husband -who was also described with the words "the second woman" or "third person"- in previous popular celebrity gossip programs for many years. The relationship between the wife and the lover/mistress was established as a binary opposition, which refers to a hierarchy among these two categories. The real woman category should be considered in relation to the Turkish melodrama genre, which revolves around the love relationship of a couple that is challenged by an evil female character, the second woman character of the movie.[34]

This discourse reproducing the binary opposition of the real woman vs. the second woman was repeated many times in the discursive formations of the celebrity gossip shows in the last five years. This discourse was most probably put into circulation with another celebrity figure who has been working as the host in a celebrity gossip show since 2016. Due to her past experiences as an actress, she continuously made use of this phrase from the Turkish melodrama genre and made it a catchword in public discourse.[35] While the wife was positioned in the "real woman" status, she was associated with the leading actress in a movie who was challenged by the second female character. However, in the Turkish movies even though the second woman would always be considered dangerous for the relationship, she was temporarily effective on the relationship since the leading man always ended up with the real woman as he realized the evil perpetrated by the second woman and his mistakes in leaving his wife, the real woman.

Blending Neoliberalism with Traditional Femininity: Self-responsible and Self-sacrificing Women as the Patrons of Marriage/Family

In this discursive formation like those of the other daytime talk shows for women, the concept of marriage does not solely refer to the concepts of love, the relationship between the husband and wife or sexual intercourse, but it is largely defined with the concept of family, which generally includes children. In reference to this definition, the host said the following:

> "About a week ago, E.E. said that they did not have a relationship anyway, that the husband and wife were separated, and that children couldn't save a marriage. Children cannot save the marriage, but they create a family out of a marriage. *They create the family, which we try to protect*. It is useful to remind this to E.E. since she also has a child. Mrs. B. has already shared a photograph from a family celebration event." [36]

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[34] For detailed analyses and discussion on the female characters in the classical Turkish melodrama, see: Hasan Akbulut, *Kadına Melodram Yakışır: Türk Melodram Sinemasında Kadın İmgeleri,* İstanbul: Bağlam, 2008; Şükran Akpınar, "Melodram ve Modernite İlişkisi Bağlamında, Yeşilçam Sinemasında Avrupalılık Görünümlerinin Kadın Karakterler Üzerinden Temsili: Kezban Filmleri Örneği", *Turkish Studies* 10/10 (2015); Gülcan Kaplan "Yeşilçam Melodramları ve Kadın", *Bianet,* 2003; Barış Kılıçbay and Emine Onaran İncirlioğlu, "Interrupted Happiness: Class Boundaries and the 'Impossible Love' in Turkish Melodram", *Ephemera*, 3/3 (2003); Can Yalçınkaya, "'Never my Soul': Adaptations, Re-Makes and Re-Imaginings of Yeşilçam Cinema", *Refractory,* 18 (2011); Gülsüm Depeli, "'Emine Mine, hepsi sensin be kızım': Yeşilçam Sinemasının Eril Fantezisi", *Fe Dergi* 8/ 2 (2016).

[35] Seren Serengil, who is a famous pop singer and a previous actress, started her carrier as a host of a celebrity gossip program named *Let It Be Heard by Everyone* (Duymayan Kalmasın) in 2016. She has been popular for her comments regarding love affairs where she has always supported the cheated party, mostly those would be the wives. Her comments attracted the female audience and the program received high ratings when she was the host. She even started a social media campaign against the mistresses with the hashtag 'do not touch my husband,' which triggered a discussion in traditional and social media for a while. Itır Bağdadi, "Kocama Dokunma", haberturk.com, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/itir-bagdadi/1645828-kocama-dokunma.

[36] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

The discursive formation reveals that the women are supposed to shoulder the responsibility of protecting the marriage not the men. Even though a woman is the lover of a married man, she should act with the consciousness that the sanctity of the marriage comes first, and she should not violate the marriage by having an extra-marital affair. E.E. who had a previous relationship with another man who was also married acted with that consciousness and did not continue the relationship and asked the man to behave in terms of the legal marital boundaries.

> "When you (E.E.) had a relationship with N.T. (who was the previous lover of E.E. and also a married man) before, you made a move that was worthy of applause (you behaved in an admirable manner) as soon as you found out that the man was married. We said (appreciated) that (behavior) then. You told (the man) that he was married, that he should either go and terminate that situation (marriage) or if he wanted to continue (in his marriage), then to come to you. What did the man do? He ended his marriage, and he came to you. And you continued your relationship with him because his marriage was then over. His marital status was single." [37]

> But here although (E.E.) says that the (court) case has already been filed, (but) it is ongoing. So, there is a case ongoing. We see a lot of cases where people return to each other while the lawsuit continues. We see many people coming together by saying that they have children, and their home should not be disturbed." [38]

The program host underlines the point that E.E. should behave properly and wait for the finalization of the divorce in order to have a relationship with the man. She reminds E.E. about her previous proper manners in another extra-marital relationship she had. Throughout the program as can be seen in the above quotations, the definition of family and the issue and process of divorce in general are discussed. In fact, the question of how the attitudes of spouses and the third parties should be during the ambiguous period of divorce is taken into consideration.

It seems that the gossip, which is discussed here, is perhaps derived from the situations that take place somewhat at the confines of these heteronormative moral discourses, when the status of individuals in the institution of marriage becomes ambiguous. In the process of divorce, although the couple is legally married, the marriage bond has weakened emotionally. There is a discussion about the proper attitudes of the spouses during the divorce process in general and in particular at this case.

Whether the woman is a lover or a wife, she is deemed obliged to shoulder the responsibility of the marriage in both cases. In this discursive formation, we see that neoliberal rationality's discourse of making the individual responsible for his/her actions for reproducing institutions is juxtaposed with traditional feminine discourse. The woman's attitude of sacrificing herself for the continuity or for the good of marriage in the traditional femininity discourse is combined with the responsible attitude in neoliberal discourse, and the new hegemonic feminine identity is thereby defined as responsible and self-sacrificing.

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[37] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

[38] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

Neoliberalism or liberalism has started to reinforce its power as a hegemonic political rationality since the 1970s all around the capitalist modern societies. Mathews argues that,

> "Neoliberalism is an eminently contentious term. Interestingly, most efforts to define it have been made by self-described opponents of neoliberalism. Many of the alleged neoliberals—from F.A. Hayek to Milton Friedman—have rejected the label; often preferring to be associated with more traditional labels such as "liberal".[39]

In his seminal study on neoliberalism, David Harvey explains the term as such,

> "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade."[40]

According to the neoliberal discourse or rationality, individuals are given the responsibility to reproduce the institutions in modern society. Rose puts it as such,

> "Advanced liberal forms of government thus rest, in new ways, upon the activation of the powers of the citizen…. The citizen as consumer is to become an active agent in the regulation of professional expertise; the citizen as prudent is to become an active agent in the provision of security; the citizen as employee is to become an active agent in the regeneration of industry."[41]

As a technology for governing the citizens of the modern societies, neoliberalism targets the development of self-managing, autonomous and enterprising subjects.[42] The neoliberal subjects are expected to become actors who are responsible, rational, calculating, and self-motivating.[43]

Here the hosts say that this relationship is wrong because we must protect the family. The spouses can make peace and decide not to get a divorce, it is therefore wrong to convince the family to divorce immediately. The parties of the marriage should take time before getting a divorce. However, in this case, it is emphasized that the person who caused the family to get a divorce is the mistress. Although both the man and the mistress are found guilty of having an extra-marital relationship, in this case, the mistress is held responsible since it is implied that the mistress forced the man, who did not want to get a divorce.

"Real women", the wives, are expected to be stronger, to struggle in order to save their marriage and to not hesitate to compete with the other woman. In this discursive formation, the wife is encouraged to be assertive so as to get rid of the second woman and save her marriage.

In cases like this, the wife may want to get a divorce, but she is then seen as avoiding putting up a struggle for her family and such a behavior is indeed associated with selfishness. The wife should look after herself and be beautiful in order to attract the husband and make him return to his home.

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[39] Matthew McManus, *The Rise of Post-modern Conservatism: Neoliberalism, Post-modern Culture, and Reactionary Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, p.45.

[40] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.2.

[41] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.166.

[42] Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff, *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 5.

[43] Gill and Scharff, *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity*, p. 6.

> "People used to live these things in secret and were ashamed to talk about them. S/he would not be able to raise his/her head while walking on the street. Now the mistresses are proudly, comfortably talking about this. Other women, *the real women at home, prefer to keep quiet*. And I say to them, do not be silent. You (wives) should disgrace them (lovers)."[44]

Wives are also expected to disgrace the second women in public by revealing her inappropriate behavior toward the institution of marriage. This discourse only reinforces the female power by highlighting the importance of a responsible conduct for the sake of the marriage, family, and children not for the woman herself. The woman is expected to stay married for the good of the family even if there are problems between the couple.

The Predicament of the Cheating Man: Being Adventurous and Masculine vs. Being Self-Sacrificing and Feminine

In the context of hegemonic masculinity, men are also expected to behave properly and act within the marital boundaries rather than indulging in such extreme pleasures. In the traditional Turkish patriarchal discourse, keeping the family together has been defined as an indispensable form of behavior for both men and women. Therefore, cheating one's spouse is not tolerated neither for men nor women. However, the primary duty of saving the marriage or the family falls on the shoulder of the women who are to act responsibly and in a self-sacrificing manner.

> "In these cases, there is such a psychology (mentality) in some of the men -but not in all of them- who are caught between their spouse and lover. The man feels that (in marriage) the excitement and passion have decreased. But (after having a love affair he realizes that) he loses his wife, who has brought him to these days both materially and spiritually, who maintains the peace at his home and the order of the children, who supports him no matter what and starts an adventure. *Some men get afraid of this adventure at the last minute and withdraw. Whether he loves his wife or not, he turns to her* and says, just as it happened in the case of Mr. Ş. and Mrs. B., *he says please do not divorce me. Please, I regret what I did*.... Mr. Ş. does not want to get a divorce, but his wife wants to get a divorce after all this." [45]

Here, the program host mentions that some men, not all of them, realize at the last minute that extramarital affairs will lead to a divorce and the loss of their familial life and they then give up on this "adventure". However, if a husband has embarked on such an "adventure" and later puts an end to it, is considered that he behaves in a responsible and self-sacrificing manner for the continuation of his marriage. Although the host seems to appreciate this male behavior, she also associates such behavior with fear, which is considered to be a weakness for a man's masculine identity. In this respect, the husband's return to his marriage is considered to be a failure for his masculine identity since having a sense of responsibility and self-sacrifice are characteristics associated with the feminine identity in this discursive formation.

The host says that when the excitement of the marriage ends, the man seeks another relationship, but he later regrets this and puts an end to this adventure. In this respect, although

[44] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.
[45] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

she provides a general comment, she criticizes the man's failure in this case to take responsible action by leaving the lover and returning to his wife. In this case, the presenter argues that Mr. Ş does not want to get a divorce when the wife wants to get a divorce. In this respect, the wife does not fulfill the self-responsible action of feminine identity. Yet, the mistress is actually deemed to be guilty for the destruction of the marriage for not behaving responsibly; she is represented as forcing the man to continue the relationship.

Feminine Sexual Desire vs. Mother's Sacrifice

The discursive formations of the daytime talk shows share a certain discourse about female sexuality, which is the condemnation of the sexual desire of a mother. According to this discourse, a mother should ignore her personal desires, especially her lust or desire for love and act sacrificially for the sake of her child.

For instance, in another popular daytime talk show *Esra Erol Show*, the plight of a woman who had a boyfriend after she became pregnant was discussed by the people in the studio for a long time. The motherhood is considered as a natural evolution of a woman to a higher level of femininity. The program presenter utilized this discourse in her following statements: "When a woman becomes pregnant, she does not take care of her partner, cats also do that. Because nature tells her to 'claim her pregnancy first'. Moreover, the woman was even criticized for having three lawful marriages."[46] The fact that the woman married more than once was considered to be the evidence of her lust. Even though the marriage is a legal act that is heteronormativity appreciates, women who marry more than once are considered to be lustful and an inferior characteristic is attributed to them due to such extravagance of lust.

Highest level of feminine identity is motherhood, which is associated with the suppression of one's personal desire, the lust. When a mother does not show this behavior of sacrifice, the repression of her sexual desire or her desire for love, she is then considered to fail in her duty of fulfilling this status of motherhood and seen in a hierarchically lower position.

> "In such cases, they (mistresses) always say the following: "But I am a mother. When making comments, keep in mind that I am a mother." They always take cover behind this. Sister, you are not thinking about your child. Why should we think about your child? Did we tell you to go there at midnight and break the windows of the cars? We would say suppress your anger, calm down, think about what you are doing and what kind of relationship you are in." [47]

Here, too, the program host made a comment about the position of the mistresses who were also mothers. She stated that women, who are in the mistress position, continuously emphasized that that the society should not judge and punish them harshly due to their positions of womanhood and motherhood. In this respect, these women demanded the respect and sympathy attributed to the position of motherhood in the society. The program host says that the fact that these people are mothers and that they are in a respected position in society does not erase or cover up their mistake. These women were criticized because they did not consider what is best for their children but acted selfishly. Selfishness is considered contrary to proper femininity. Normally women who hold the status of motherhood receive respect from the

[46] Ceren Çavdar, "Gündüz Kuşağı Kadın Programlarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği ve Kadın Temsili", *Selçuk İletişim* 12 (2019), p.375

[47] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

society but in such a situation of selfishness, public respect to the mother status is cancelled. Selfishness and sacrifice are the two characteristics that are positioned on the opposite ends in the discourse of the hegemonic femininity. As the program host says, a woman should refuse a married man, especially if she is a mother, and choose her child instead of the love affair.

> "Mr. Ş. is guilty. Everyone says that the woman alone does not have a fault. No, the man is equally guilty, but we say this, we must know how to say no. A woman should say no to a married man. When a woman says (to the man's wife) that your husband loves me, not you anymore, his wife is furious or maddened." [48]

According to the host, being a mother worsens their situation. She says that if she is a mother, she should take responsibility for her child and consider the damage this extra-marital affair will inflict on her child. She means that a woman who does not take responsibility for her motherhood position cannot demand the social prestige and privilege that come with this position.

For E.E., the expression "maddened" is used, in fact it means that she is not thinking rationally due to her incredible desire. The host argues that the lover, E.E. has told the man's wife that her husband said to her [E.E.] that he loved her. The assault on the marriage and the aggressive behavior towards the cars are both reflected in the woman's sexually aggressive manner, in her desperate desire and anger so to speak. If a woman has lost her mind and control and has been overcome by her feelings and desires, it is regarded as a negative quality for her feminine identity and rejected. Based on this, the definition of a desirable woman is someone who can control her emotions, who can suppress all kinds of excessive emotions and desires, and who can act rationally.

Final Phase of the Social Drama: Resolution of the Social Crisis

In terms of Victor Turner's scheme of social conflict, it can be argued that this social drama ended by reproducing the existing norms. E.E. did not accept the "home-breaking woman" label, and both she and her lover, the cheating husband, responded to the accusations with a discourse that endorsed heteronormative discourse. In addition, as a result of all this social drama that unfolded on social media and the celebrity gossip show, E.E. had to quit her job willingly or unwillingly and this can be interpreted as the woman paying the penalty for this relationship.

The allegedly cheating husband, Ş.M. made a statement a day or two after the incident on another celebrity gossip program named *No Way If I Don't Say* (Söylemezsem Olmaz), the show that was hosted by E.E.[49] In brief, the cheating husband said that they started their relationship with E.E. after his marriage ended. Then, E. E. participated in the program and said, "I started this relationship after this marriage ended and I was not the third person in the marriage."[50] In this sense, both of them stated that they did not violate the institution of marriage and spoke within the heteronormative discourse. What showed them unfair was the statement that E.E. caused the marriage to end, which they denied. However, the statements of

[48] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.
[49] The program video record, "Söylemezsem Olmaz" (No Way If I Don't Say), March 13, 2020, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bBRbrimmVyg.
[50] The program video record, "Söylemezsem Olmaz" (No Way If I Don't Say), March 13, 2020, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bBRbrimmVyg.

E.E. and her husband were not approved by the hosts in the program, which is the subject of this article.

In addition to these, Ş.M., the cheating husband, took all the blame for the affair. He emphasized that E. E. was not a third person transgressing the institution of the marriage. He also angrily rejected the statements in the media that portrayed him as passive and childlike, and deceived by a woman. The husband accepted his active role in the event. This discourse emphasizing the male power by taking responsibility for the affair was a language that was derived from the heteronormative discourse. He used a discourse that emphasized his masculine power by presenting himself, not his lover, in an effective and powerful position. While presenting himself as the responsible party in the affair, his attitude toward protecting his beloved is derived from the strong male position that protects and watches over the woman, a position that hegemonic masculinity assigns to men.

> "*If there is anyone here to blame, it is me*. This is a love affair. I do not regret it…. Those who do not keep silent after this time will encounter me. They can make criticisms but insulting and lynching are not possible. I want to say, put an end to this. I made a decision and hit the road. *It has nothing to do with the third person*. *She has not come and spoiled it.* Nobody gets his/her nest (family) knocked down unintentionally. Such a world does not exist. Folks had fun and got something out of this. (They say) Let's kill Ş.M. and E.E. What good will it do? If there is a crime, we have laws and there are courts. If there needs to be a scapegoat, I am guilty. Nobody should look for another scapegoat. I do not want anyone to be upset about me, especially my children. What are they going to do? Bury our bodies up to our heads and stone us? Should we go back to the times before Christ? Let's say we made a mistake. Is this the price? I am not caught (with my mistress) anywhere. I have one respondent (my wife) and I told her (frankly), too. I do not have to answer to anyone. *I am a sane person, no one has taken me and deceived me*." [51]

E.E. also participated in the same program after her boyfriend did and said that she was tired and wanted to rest. She said that she was not fired. After the program, she resigned. In brief, E.E. never accepted the position of a woman who broke up a marriage.

In another gossip program, the singer and the new host of the program, *No Way If I Don't Say*, Seren Serengil said the following after a month passed: "E.E. explained to me that she did not end this marriage and I did not criticize E.E. about this issue because she showed evidence."[52] In addition, it was said that the allegation of the wife, who identified E.E. as a house wrecker, was just a slander because the wife wanted to convince the husband to make an agreement regarding the property distribution during the divorce process. After all, the man's wife did not make a statement in any program, but the common discourse used by the other two actors, E.E. and the husband, was that it was the husband that put an end to the marriage and the relationship with E.E. started only after that. It was emphasized that there was no unlawful situation. After a while, the married couple got divorced, but about a year later this extra-marital affair ended.

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[51] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

[52] The program video record, "Söylemezsem Olmaz" (No Way If I Don't Say), April 9, 2020, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QaohO8idlmc&t=75s.

However, the hosts of the program we discussed as our case were also questioning the professional competence of E.E.'s position as a program host through this transgressive behavior – her love affair with a married man. They emphasized that a woman who did not act in accordance with this hegemonic femininity could not host and sit on that chair. Since the judgments were given considering the moral codes of the society in the program, they argued that someone who did not adopt and use this normative discourse could not make this judgment.

> "This decision to leave (the magazine program) was the right decision. Because you should not have a soft stomach while sitting at this table. You must be free. You should not be connected to anywhere. Also, you came across a similar forbidden love issue like the people you commented on. E.E. also spoke on these issues for years. The next time she talks, they will say turn around and look at yourself first. Because there are many scandals like this. The T.Ü. affair (for example). E.E. and her partner in the program also talked about these things and criticized people a lot. Can they talk about these now? She cannot sit at the table and talk; her hands are tied (she feels not free to talk)." [53]

Conclusion

The subject of analysis of this paper was a celebrity gossip show throughout which a certain case of a love affair, the process of divorce and the modes of behavior of the spouses and lovers throughout this process were discussed by the program hosts. The behaviors of the women, the wife and the other woman that had an affair with the husband were continuously judged. Although both lovers, the husband and the mistress were blamed, the role of the woman in this immoral and transgressive act of extra-marital relationship was much more emphasized. In this sense, a language blaming the women instead of men was constantly appropriated in line with the discourses of hegemonic masculinity and femininity.

Divorce is not just a legal problem, it also turns into a social crisis in contemporary Turkey because when the couple breaks up, the process until the divorce is a liminal phase, a gray area that generates problems in terms of the moral norms provided by the conservative heteronormative ideology. The wives or generally the husbands may have relations with third parties and this involvement of the mistresses or lovers exacerbate the divorce into a catastrophe for the society.

In this program, there was a new debate about this liminal phase that turns a puzzle for the society. It was discussed that when the divorce was not legally finalized and the couple was still married, how the couple and the people around them should behave in that liminal phase of separation.

Throughout this mediatized social drama, certain narratives are produced and indeed reproduced in terms of the codes of proper femininity, or feminine behavior in contemporary Turkey. Feminine subjectivity is considered in terms of a certain conservative discourse of heteronormativity in contemporary Turkey. The proper and moral behavior to be endorsed by a Turkish feminine subject is discussed, contested, and reproduced with this crisis throughout the mediatized informal trial, the TV program. Therefore, the discussions or comments regarding the proper and improper behavior of the feminine subject throughout this redressive

[53] Müge ve Gülşen'le 2. Sayfa/13.3.2020, kanald.com.tr, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.kanald.com.tr/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa/bolumler/muge-ve-gulsenle-2-sayfa-13-03-2020.

phase in the TV program reproduce the existing hegemonic heteronormative discourse but also transform it in some respects.

The discursive analysis of the program content reveals that the characteristics and behaviors of the female subjects in this issue are judged and hierarchically positioned in binary oppositions throughout the narrative of the program.

Throughout this entire program, it is seen that women are positioned as responsible individuals of the neoliberal discourse. It is emphasized that women should reproduce the institution of marriage, more precisely the family, as responsible subjects. While it is pointed out that women should take an active role in the maintenance of the family, almost no responsibility is attributed to men; men are even infantilized. The message of self-empowerment and responsibility or "you can succeed" message of the neoliberal discourse is also imposed on the women in this discursive formation. Hence, women are expected to take on the responsibility and authority to resist all the violations against the institution of marriage or family. Since they are entitled to be the patrons of this marriage/family institution, they are held completely responsible for it and all the obligations, failures, and successes of the family members are associated directly with women, the mothers, or the wives.

The gender discourses in the Turkish media have been the subject of media studies or sociological studies. It was claimed that the traditional feminine identity existing in the society was reproduced in these media discourses. This article concluded that traditional discursive codes of Turkish feminine identity have been reshaped as an effect of the juxtaposition of the neoliberal discourse of individual self-empowerment and the traditional discourse of solidarity of the family in the daytime talk shows in general and the celebrity gossip show -that is the subject of analysis in our study- in particular.

Finally, it is considered that although women seem to be empowered with the neoliberal discourse of self-responsibility and empowerment, they are only permitted to enforce this power for the benefit of the family rather than their individuality. The same discursive formation of hegemonic femininity which combines the neoliberal individualism with the solidarity discourse of conservative thinking condemns the women for being selfish subjects when they follow their individual desires and choices.

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