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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sinem Onar



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Publishing Coordinator: Yusuf Yavuz (yusufyavuz@egitimyayinevi.com)

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PREFACE

Communication, which has been one of the primary interests of scientists since the earliest periods of history, has gained a different dimension both socially and individually, with new communication and information technologies. The transformation in question causes the phenomenon of communication to evolve into an academically privileged topic of discussion and highlights it as an important element in daily life practices. As an effective and important force in every field from sociology to psychology, from politics to economy and health, communication is also of great importance because it is an interdisciplinary field. The importance of communication becomes more evident especially with media tools and new media environments. As a very broad concept, media transforms communication methods and processes as a very dynamic tool that covers both traditional and new environments. It is noteworthy that these transformations encourage different perspectives and studies in the academic field. Hoping to contribute to the literature by bringing a different perspective to the studies in the field of communication and media.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR SİNEM ONAR

REGARDING THE HAPPINESS OF CELEBRITIES¹: THE FOLLOWER TERROR ON SOCIAL NETWORK SITES²

Bilgen AYDIN SEVİM³

INTRODUCTION

*"I heard a voice in my head, saying 'do it, do it, do it'"*⁴
(The man and his murderer, 2014)

With the dominance of digital communication, especially in the last two decades, the personal sphere of homo sapiens constructed within the evolutionary process of hundreds of thousands of years is exposed to an interference which has not been experienced before. This interference reveals its aggressive face in the communication between the celebrities who share details about their lives on social network sites and

- 1 This title has been inspired from Susan Sontag's work titled *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003). The concept of "happiness" in the title has been used to involve the "positivities" which Byung-Chul Han conceptualizes as the new form of violence.
- 2 While this study was being prepared, the construction of a legal framework to regulate the social media sphere was a current issue in Turkey. The libellous comments posted on social media about Başak Demirtaş who is the wife of Selahattin Demirtaş-the ex-leader of People's Democratic Party and about Esra Erdoğan Albayrak and Berat Albayrak who are respectively the daughter and son-in-law of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan-the President of the Republic of Turkey set a precedent and a bill was submitted to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey to regulate this sphere. This bill led to many discussions regarding "social media law" and "social media ban". "The Law Amending the Law on the Regulation of Publications on the Internet and Suppression of Crimes Committed by means of Such Publication" (Internet Ortamında Yapılan Yayınların Düzenlenmesi ve Bu Yayınlar Yoluyla İşlenen Suçlarla Mücadele Edilmesi Hakkında Kanunda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun) was enacted and published in the *Official Gazette* dated 31 July 2020.
- 3 Assistant Professor/PhD, Sakarya University, Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture, Department of Visual Communication Design, bsevim@sakarya.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0002-3799-1173
- 4 Mark David Chapman explains the motivation behind murdering the legendary Beatles singer John Lennon, of whom he was a fan, with these words.

their followers who comment on these posts. In this form of communication, the boundaries between the intimate, personal, social, and public distances described by the anthropologist Edward Twitchell Hall (1990) are violated. The conceptual framework drawn by Byung-Chul Han in his books *The Agony of Eros* (2017a); *Saving Beauty* (2018a); *Psychopolitics: Neoliberalism and New Technologies of Power* (2017b); *The Transparency Society* (2015b); *Topology of Violence* (2018b); *The Burnout Society* (2015a); and *The Scent of Time* (2017c) constitutes a discussion ground for understanding the psychology created by the digital age. Han analyses the violence created by the state of “excessive positivity” in neoliberal control society within the scope of neuronal illnesses such as “depression”, “burnout syndrome”, and “attention deficit”. The violence of positivity emerges as a consequence of the distancelessness created by the process of excessive communication on active social network sites such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube which work on performance basis. This crisis created by the excessive communication on digital platforms can be referred as “follower terror.” Based on Han’s perspective, this study analyses the follower terror that celebrities who use social network sites as an extension of their show business are exposed to through a holistic multiple-case design. Alişan-Buse Varol Tektaş; Demet Akalın; Derya Uluğ; Didem Soydan; Eser Yenenler-Berfu Yenenler; Larissa Gacemer-Burak Gacemer; Merve Özbey; Pelin Akil Altan-Anil Altan; Pinar Altuğ Atacan-Yağmur Atacan; and Seda Sayan who are followed by a great mass of followers whose number reaches millions have been selected through deviant case sampling. Within this framework, the study seeks for the answers to the following questions:

1. What are the general characteristics of digital communication psychology?

2. What kind of a psychology is created by the excessive communication process between the celebrities and their followers?
3. How is the communication between the celebrities and their followers affected by the violence of excessive positivity?
4. How does follower terror on social network sites occur?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Excessive Positivity as the New Form of Violence

In her book titled *Regarding the Pain of Others*, Susan Sontag (2003) touches on “compassion fatigue” which is created by the individual’s look at the images of war and violence. The twenty-first century has been a century in which the bombardment of not only negative images but also positive images has been undergone on social network sites. The active use of social network sites has created a psychology of communication pertaining to the digital age. The human of the digital age is an addict who wants to live nonstop positive feelings such as joy, cheer, and happiness. The illusion created by social media in the twenty-first century has created a positivity addiction just like drug addiction. In the research titled “Social media and young people’s mental health and wellbeing” published by Royal Society for Public Health (RSPH) in 2017, it was revealed that social media is much more addictive than cigarettes and alcohol. The word “like” is one of the most important signs of ignoring negativity on active social network sites. In his work titled *Psychopolitics: Neoliberalism and New Technologies*, Byung-Chul Han (2017b: 13) considers “like” as “the digital Amen”. “Like” which is also considered as the general consensus of the society of positivity by Han (2015b: 7) serves for communication to be perfect: “Further communication occurs more quickly following ‘Like’ than

‘Dislike’. Most importantly, the negativity that rejection entails cannot be exploited economically” (8). Han (2018a: 7) starts his work titled *Saving Beauty* with the following words: “The smooth is the signature of the present time.” He considers smartphones as one of the examples of the aesthetics of the smooth:

The LG *G Flex* is even covered with a selfhealing skin which makes any scratch, that is, any trace of an injury, disappear within the shortest of times. It is invulnerable, so to speak. The artificial skin of this smartphone keeps it smooth at all times. It is also flexible and bendable, with a slight curvature so as to perfectly follow the contours of the face and back pocket. This adaptability and absence of resistance are essential characteristics of the aesthetics of the smooth. (Han, 2018a: 7)

“Like” and “sharing” are means for smoothening digital communication (Han, 2018a: 7). While being digitalized, the beautiful, freed from any negativity, is exhausted in the command “Like-it” (Han, 2018a: 11). This argument corresponds with “the compulsory influence of the search for excellence” and “the unsatisfied desire for recognition from others” which are indicated by Vincent de Gaulejac (2013: 127) in his work titled *The Society Sick of Management*. “Management ideology”, which echoes in De Gaulejac’s (2013) metaphor as “Business is war” (117), influences the psychology of not only the organizational structures but also the users of social network sites. While “the capitalism of ‘Like’”, in which the expectation is “like” in Han’s (2017b: 15) description, creates conformism in providing “communication through consuming”, it is freed from hostility because domination can only be possible with being liked and creating addiction. To De Gaulejac’s (2013) “war” metaphor, the concept of “game” in Han (2017b) should be added as “excitement” gets involved (32). The means for smoothening are also the means for the game: This is where human communication is destroyed (32). In *Homo Ludens*,

Johan Huizinga (1980) indicates that “tension”, “mirth”, and “fun” are the fundamental components of the nature of play (3). In this sense, the perfection created by play – although temporarily – creates an absolute order (10). Conceptually, the “only pretending” quality of play becomes prominent (8). An anecdote conveyed by Huizinga will help us understand Han’s argument regarding the gamification of communication: “[A father] found his four-year-old son sitting at the front of a row of chairs, playing ‘trains’. As he hugged him the boy said: ‘Don’t kiss the engine, Daddy, or the carriages won’t think it’s real’” (Huizinga, 1980: 8). In their work titled *Sanal Dünyada Gerçek Kalmak*, Kemal Sayar and Berna Yalaz (2019) point out that we have turned into “pretending actors” with the concept of “virtual falsity” on digital platforms. A “player self” who plays the game according to the rules emerges on social network sites (15). Hatice Turhan (2017) states that in *Black Mirror* series, in the episode titled “Hated in the Nation”, the users sent tweets like “This is not real, it’s a game” (130). This is a positivity sphere where common sense is lost (132). However, as Gülşah Sarı and Gökhan Gültekin (2020) emphasize, this psychology can lead to a lynch culture that creates a scapegoat.

The player side of the self reminds of the character called Holden Caulfield created by Jerome David Salinger in *The Catcher in the Rye* which was published in 1951. Caulfield complains about all phony behaviour and words in daily life:

“Life *is* a game, boy. Life *is* a game that one plays according to the rules.”

“Yes, sir. I know it is. I know it.”

Game, my ass. Some game. If you get on the side where all the hot-shots are, then it’s a game, all right – I’ll admit that. But if you get on the *other* side, where there aren’t any hot-shots, then what’s a game about it? Nothing. No game. (Salinger, 1958: 12)

After the novel was published, one of the readers said to Salinger:

“I am Holden Caulfield. How do you know so much about me?” Salinger, in a gentle voice, told him that Holden was just a fictional character and that he was only a fiction writer, and started to walk away. Then, the young man who claimed to be Holden said: “But I am Holden... Holden is me... (Salinger slowly walked away) You are phony too... Just like everybody else...” (Uğur, 2019: para. 10)

In this context, besides the enchanting function of play in Huizinga’s (1980: 10) approach, his argument concerning the “spoil-sport” should also be mentioned. In this sense, Huizinga places “lability” (21) among the characteristics of play:

By withdrawing from the game [the spoil-sport] reveals the relativity and fragility of the play-world in which he had temporarily shut himself with others. He robs play of its *illusion*—a pregnant word which means literally ‘in-play’ (from *inlusio*, *illudere* or *inludere*). Therefore he must be cast out, for he threatens the existence of the play-community. (11)

In his work titled *Topology of Violence*, Han (2018b) considers the concept of “excessive positivity” as a new form of violence. Violence is “protean” (vii); varying its outward form, it withdraws into “capillary and neuronal space” (vii). The individuals who surveil each other for twenty-four hours through an omnioptic gaze and compare what they do encounter neuronal illnesses as well. This turns into a violence that is internalized and psychologized (ix). In *The Burnout Society*, Han (2015a) refers to neuronal violence as “terror of immanence” (6). Excessive positivity results in burnout, depression, and hyperactivity (2018b: 92). Rates of anxiety and depression in young people have increased by 70 per cent in the last twenty-five years (RSPH, 2017). This picture supports Han’s (2015a) evaluations: The individual of the digital age is “tired” (51). “It *wears out* in a rat race it runs *against itself*”

(51). The neuronal illnesses that Han draws attention to stem from excessiveness and distinguish his approach from Alain Ehrenberg's: Ehrenberg considers depression as a sign of individual's failure to become himself or herself. He overlooks "impoverished attachment" and "systemic violence" (2015a: 10).

The state of excessive positivity leads to an ersatz psychology. The happiness created by this psychology is like aromatized drinks which give an artificial and fake satisfaction. However, life cannot be lived completely through positivities. At this point, as discussed by Terry Eagleton (2003) in *Sweet Violence*, the statement as "especially in tragedy, the fundamental goodness of man and world are reaffirmed" gains significance (33). Eagleton notes that Walter Kerr who considers tragedy more optimistic than comedy "sees the spiritual evolution of humanity as necessarily involving destruction. For man to become 'more than man', the creature as we know him must be dismantled" (36). Although negative feelings such as unhappiness, pain, distress, trouble, and grief are considered as germs that should be kicked out of human being's life in the digital age, they should be considered as an inseparable part of the life experience of homo sapiens. The modal verb that dominates the society which Han (2018b) names as "the society of achievement" is not "should" but "can" (23). Furthermore, it is difficult to perceive "can" as violence. This "neural" perspective draws apart from the "viral" (81) approach of Jean Baudrillard (1993) who states that "cosmetic surgery [is performed] on the negative" (81). Compulsion to achieve more creates a more destructive violence than negativity (Han, 2017b: 23). Particularly, "[n]o-longer-being-able-to-be-able" leads the achievement-subject to a fight with itself; and as a depressive personality, it will be wounded in this fight (Han, 2015a: 11) because the communication in

question is, in Han's (2018b) words, "poor in otherness and its resistance" (31). Therefore, the communication provided through consuming results in burnout. At this point, Han's perspective distinguishes from Michel Foucault's disciplinary society approach as the society of positivity "[frees] itself from all external compulsions" (36). "Antagonism of dissent" leaves its place to "conformity of consensus" (62). The "hell of the same", which Han emphasizes with reference to Jean Baudrillard, is in fact a particular form of violence (62). In other words, positivity which penetrates everywhere creates a "terror of the same" (74). Experiencing the world "from the point of view of two" (22), which Alain Badiou (2012) underlines in *In Praise of Love*, is not possible here.

In Han's (2015b:2) point of view, a "smooth" communication process occurs in which foreignness or otherness is eliminated. The digitalization of communication also neglects the negativities that a character should have, that is, the qualities that make the character powerful. In this context, Han (2018a: 49-50) identifies the qualities of the "ideal consumer" which corresponds to "characterless smoothness" in the digital communication environment:

The digital medium resembles the characterless sea on which no fixed lines and markings can be engraved. No fortresses, no thresholds, no walls, no moats, no boundary stones can be erected on the digital sea. Stable characters are difficult to network. They lack connectivity and communication. (50)

That is why Han considers Facebook, which is a platform where the users are proud of not the quality but the quantity of friends, as "a characterless market" (49). Likewise, Zygmunt Bauman exhibits a critical approach regarding the quality of relations between users on social network sites: "A dedicated 'active user' of Facebook boasted recently that he managed to make 500 new friends in a day – that is, more than I've managed in all my 86 years of a long life" (Bauman & Lyon,

2013: 39). Bauman (2003) refers to a quotation which makes us see this situation the other way round as well: “You can always press *Delete*” (65). According to Bauman (2003), this situation makes potential relationships stand on a knife’s edge: On one edge, there are “sweet dreams” and on the other, “nightmares” (viii). In an interview, Han (2011) explains that Burger King launched the “Whopper Sacrifice” project and promised a free Whopper to everyone who deleted ten friends on Facebook. On social media, friends worth just a few grams of ground meat (Han, 2011). The final point Han (2017b: 14) reaches is the “contradiction” the individual is in. The friendly appearance of this contradictory structure presents its “permissivity” as the way to eliminate all negativities.

The Distancelessness Created by Excessive Communication

The individual of the digital age is in online communication twenty-four hours a day via smartphones. Byung-Chul Han (2015b) considers this “hypercommunication” environment of the twenty-first century as a “digital panoptic” structure. This point of view reduces communication to the acts of “surveillance” and “control”. However, on digital platforms, unlike Benthamian panopticon, the inhabitants who are in intensive communication with each other are on stage, not the isolated prisoners of the disciplinary society (46). According to Han (2017b: 27), “everyone is his or her own panopticon.” This quality makes digital communication problematic. On active social network sites, everything is in the service of communication and visibility in an obscene way (Han, 2018b: 103).

Similar to Han’s conceptualization of “excessive communication”, Hal Niedzviecki (2009) uses the concept of “overshare”. In his book titled *The Peep Diaries*, he indicates that the aforementioned concept was chosen as the Word of the Year (2008) by the editors of *Webster’s New World Dictionary*

and *Thesaurus*. Overshare is defined as “to divulge excessive personal information, as in a blog or broadcast interview, prompting reactions ranging from alarmed discomfort to approval” (as cited in Niedzviecki, 2009: 1). As set forth by Niedzviecki (2009: 4), “[w]e’re all learning to love watching ourselves and our neighbours.” The change in the collective consciousness is reflected in his words: “Peep is a portal into a collective consciousness no longer content to sit on the sidelines and watch: We want to *do*” (Niedzviecki, 2009: 18).

Whether it is named as “excessive communication” or “overshare”, “digital communication fosters the immediate release of affect” (Han, 2017b: 28). Insulting comments which are named as “shitstorm” by Han is a typical example for this (28). This evaluation reveals a new behaviour model peculiar to the digital psychopolitic age: The symbol of disciplinary society is the labourer mole from closed spaces, whereas the neoliberal control society is symbolized with the snake which is an animal with high mobility (Han, 2017b: 16). With excessive communication, human soul can be peered into from every perspective and “blind spots” are eliminated (Han, 2017b: 35). In this aperspectival sphere, the soul as well as the body is laid bare (Han, 2018a: 33). Han (2018b) claims that Bauman’s Cartesian formula is no longer valid. Bauman (2013: 110) adapts Descartes’ “I think, therefore I am” to our age as “I am seen (watched, noted, recorded) therefore I am” in *Liquid Surveillance*. In *Consuming Life*, he mentions another revised version: “I shop, therefore I am” (2007: 17). Han (2018b: 107) turns it into “I am, therefore I shop. *I am, therefore I dream, I feel, I love, I doubt, I even think; sum ergo cogito. Sum, ergo dubito. Sum, ergo credo, and so on.*” This “post-Cartesian I-am” (107) approach of Han is a consequence of the distanceless communication which corresponds to his conceptualisation of “close-up society” (2018a: 16). This

distancelessness refers to the neglect of the distinction between the four distances (intimate, personal, social, and public) described by the anthropologist Edward Twitchell Hall (1990) in *The Hidden Dimension*. The concept of “proxemics”, coined by Hall (1990), is related to how distances are perceived, and it is not static (2). Intimate distance is the distance of comforting and protecting in which there is high physical contact (116). In personal distance, there is a sphere that an organism protects between itself and others (119). It is assumed that there is social distance between people who are attending a casual social gathering (121). Public distance can be noticed in every space open to public (125). The distances that Hall identifies taking into consideration several aspects from body temperature to visual details draw boundaries and build walls between individuals, and set rules for communication. In *The Silent Language*, Hall (1959) considers communication as culture and culture as communication (218). He argues that spatial changes peculiar to culture give a tone to communication (204).

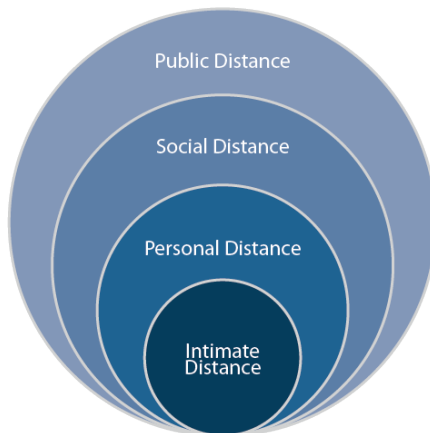


Figure 1: Communication Distances According to Edward Twitchell Hall
Source: (Proximity and Distance, n.d).

According to Han (2015b: 3), with digitalization, “the ideology of postprivacy” surrenders the private sphere in

the name of “transparent” communication. This, at the same time, creates a naked communication environment where there is no distance and shame (4). Body and soul are put on display pornographically (12). Grace disappears (23). Intimacy psychologizes everything tyrannically and the meaning of public sphere changes (35). Leaving its place to “publicizing a persona”, the public sphere does not allow any communal action (35). In this “digital vicinity”, one encounters only oneself; change is not possible; and criticism is dismantled (35). This is where communication is accelerated and hesitation is eliminated because “[c]ommunication reaches maximum speed *where the same answers the same, where a chain reaction of the same takes place*” (Han, 2018b: 100). In this case, everything that slows communication down should be eliminated. Han’s discussion serves as an answer to Milan Kundera’s (1995) critical question “[w]hy has the pleasure of slowness disappeared?” (6). In his work titled *The Scent of Time*, Han (2017c: 39) asserts that a life without slowness will be, despite several experiences, short. For this reason, the time which he defines as “the age of haste” is “cinematographic” (46). There is no place for contemplation in this up-tempo life. In *The Agony of Eros*, Han (2017a: 40) argues that perception can only be completed in a peaceful environment where there is contemplation. The individual of the twenty-first century lacks the time he or she can be on his or her own. Humankind needs gaps to be able to think deeply about life. As Gilles Deleuze (1995: 129) remarks in *Negotiations*, “it’s not a problem of getting people to express themselves but of providing little gaps of solitude and silence in which they might eventually find something to say.” Complaining about a world without deep sensation, Gündüz Vassaf (2020) points out in *Cehenneme Övgü* that communication can only be multiplied by silence: “Silence is the peak point of all that is perceived

by the senses. The uttered word is an interference in silence, a rape of wholeness” (39). In this sense, digital communication is a big attack on silence.

METHOD

This qualitative study titled “Regarding the Happiness of Celebrities: The Follower Terror on Social Network Sites” has been conducted as a holistic multiple-case study. As stated by Robert K. Yin (2012) in *Applications of Case Study Research*, this type of research starts with “the desire to derive a(n) (up-)close or otherwise in-depth understanding of a single or small number of ‘cases’” (4). First of all, the case to be studied should be defined: “A ‘case’ is generally a bounded entity (a person, organisation, behavioral condition, event, or other social phenomenon)” (Yin, 2012: 6). The way followed for the case study applied in this research has been based on the conceptual framework put forth by Byung-Chul Han. Social network sites work with positive shares and likes; yet, there are also followers who make “negative” comments on celebrities’ posts. Yin (2012: 5) indicates that case study is an appropriate method when the research seeks for the answers to the questions of “[w]hat is happening or has happened?” or “[h]ow or why did something happen?” Directed with the question of “How?”, this study can be considered as an effort to understand “the violence of positivity” which emerges in the process of “excessive communication” between the celebrities who share posts about their lives on social network sites and their followers who comment on these posts.

Yin (2012) attaches crucial significance to the answer to the question of “[w]hat makes a case special?” (7). It should be determined whether the case is “extreme”, “unique”, “revelatory” or “distinctive” (7). While getting thousands of likes for their posts on active social network sites such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube, celebrities are

exposed to some negative comments as well. In the current study, ten cases occurred in 2020 have been selected for the analysis of the behaviour which has been conceptualized as “follower terror”. The data regarding the communication between Alişan-Buse Varol Tektaş; Demet Akalın; Derya Uluğ; Didem Soydan; Eser Yenenler-Berfu Yenenler; Larissa Gacemer-Burak Gacemer; Merve Özbey; Pelin Akil Altan-Anıl Altan; Pınar Altuğ Atacan-Yağmur Atacan; Seda Sayan and their followers on social network sites has been used. The data includes, as stated by Yin (2012: 4), cases “set within their real-world context” on social network sites. Since some of the celebrities were exposed to “follower terror” together with their spouses, both names have been included in the study. The followers’ personal information has not been used. No distinction has been made between the social network sites which constitute the natural environment of the cases selected as samples. At this point, the limits of the cases have been determined by the comments except the shares that are based on likes. These comments which had been subject to news reports on different media and disclosed by the celebrities constitute the basic documents of this study. Instead of making participant observation on the social network sites used by the celebrities selected as samples, the analysis of these documents have been included. Conducting a multiple-case study instead of a single case is significant in terms of the variety of the data. Yin (2012) emphasizes that preferring multiple-cases provides greater confidence and certainty in the findings (9). The table below is based on the multiple-case table given by Yin (2012):

Table 1. Ten Samples Selected for Holistic Multiple-Case Study

Case 1 Alişan-Buse Varol Tektaş	Case 2 Demet Akalın
Case 3 Derya Uluğ	Case 4 Didem Soydan
Case 5 Eser Yenenler-Berfu Yenenler	Case 6 Larissa Gacemer-Burak Gacemer
Case 7 Merve Özbey	Case 8 Pelın Akıl Altan-Anıl Altan
Case 9 Pınar Altuğ Atacan-Yağmur Atacan	Case 10 Seda Sayan

A qualitative research has been conducted by making use of “categorical information” the significance of which is emphasized by Yin (2012: 11). These categories have been determined as “the proxemic crisis in digital communication” and “the fragile smoothness of digital communication”. Focusing on the problem defined in the beginning and the questions of which the answers were sought, the ten cases which have been considered through a holistic perspective have been transformed into findings. Arranging the data in a logical order makes the study analytically strong (Yin, 2012: 15). “[P]attern matching, explanation building, and time-series analysis” (15) are among the analytic techniques noted by Yin (2012). This study tries to explain the behaviour which has been conceptualized as “follower terror” with regard to Han’s arguments centring on “excessive communication” and “excessive positivity”.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

One of the dramatic changes in the digital culture occurs while social media users are surveilling every last detail of celebrities’ lives. The ones who follow the social media accounts of celebrities make comments about these posts. The posts on social network sites including likes or insults create a cacophony of communication in which useful and useless;

beautiful and ugly; and true and false are intertwined. The “burnout society” conceptualized by Byung-Chul Han, at the same time, brings out a behaviour that can be named as “follower terror”. This behaviour results in a mutual tiredness on social network sites: On one side is the tiredness that the celebrities whose personal spheres are under constant interference suffer, and on the other side is the tiredness of the followers who follow the lives of celebrities in all details and make comparison with their own lives.

The Proxemic Crisis in Digital Communication

It has been observed that even in times when social network sites have not yet been invented, the communication between celebrities and their fans had an ambivalent character. While strengthening their communication with their fans through populist discourses like “it is you who have made me exist”, celebrities have also felt the need to be protected from possible dangers their fans may cause at the same time. For celebrities, being constantly followed by their fans is a psychologically difficult situation to cope with. Müslüm Gürses, who is one of the singers having a unique fan group in Turkey, was subjected to a knife attack in a public concert when he let people approach him more than necessary. As the attacker apologized, Müslüm Gürses did not sue him (Müslüm Gürses..., 2019). On the other hand, John Lennon (1940-1980), the singer of The Beatles, was shot dead by Mark David Chapman who was a fan obsessed with Lennon. In the audiotapes NBC shared, Chapman tries to explain himself with these words:

I was under total compulsion. I’m thoroughly convinced in my, in my conscience and in my heart that there was nothing I could do beyond that point to help myself, totally convinced of that... it was like a train, a runaway train, there was no stopping it. No matter... nothing could have stopped me. There was a successful man who kind of had the world on a chain, so to speak, and there I was, not even a link of that

chain, just a person who had no personality. And something in me just broke. And I remember thinking perhaps my identity would be found in the killing of John Lennon. (The man and his murderer, 2014)

Chapman had been reading Jerome David Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye* when he was arrested: He believed if he killed Lennon, he would take on the soul of Holden Caulfield, the protagonist of the novel, and declared that the reason for Lennon's murder was to promote the reading of this novel. He had even tried to change his legal name to Holden Caulfield (15 Things You Probably Don't Know About Catcher in The Rye, 2015: para. 6). It can be asserted that Chapman violates the rules of the game with a psychology that can be named as "Holden Caulfield psychology". Holden Caulfield is bothered that everything around him is expressed with standard words and positivities. He complains about the phony behaviour of the people he closely observes (Salinger, 1958: 97).

It is a radical transformation that the word "follower", which was certain to have an ordinary position in pre-social media days, has almost replaced the word "fan" in the digital age and celebrities have started to desire to be followed. Now, in order to be followed on social media, celebrities exhibit their private lives themselves. Social media is a safe environment against possible physical attacks from fans; however, it is extremely vulnerable to verbal attacks. For celebrities, being visible on social media requires taking the risk of encountering verbal attacks. Otherwise, not being seen on social media means giving up being a celebrity and the advantages it brings along. It is interesting that Lady Diana became aware of this fact as soon as she joined the royal family. In the documentary titled *Diana: Tragedy or Treason?* (Cronin, 2017), she expresses her state of mind along with her husband Prince Charles's with the following words:

When I started my public life, I understood the media might be interested in what I did. I realised then their attention would inevitably focus on both our private and public lives. I had a long time to think about it; I knew the pressure was on both of us.

Lady Diana is a person who experienced the psychology of being a celebrity at the cost of her life: “I have it on very good authority that the quest for perfection in society can leave the individual gasping for breath at every turn” (Cronin, 2017). Although the facts about Lady Diana’s death in 1997 have still not been revealed, it was claimed that she died while she was running away in paparazzi chase. Lady Diana’s brother Charles Spencer whose eulogy for her sister is included in the aforementioned documentary puts forward the difficulties of being a celebrity in the digital age as well as in the past with the following words: “a girl given the name of the ancient goddess of hunting was, in the end, the most hunted person of the modern age.” Lady Diana’s funeral is among the most watched live television events. This ceremony is the messenger of a transformation. Lady Diana was farewelled with applause, which made people say, “there has never been applause in an Anglican church” (Cronin, 2017).

Today, celebrities exhibit their lives of their own free will on social media which has already replaced the press. The system Han (2017b: 15) conceptualizes as “the capitalism of Like” needs digital applauses and everything is unveiled and revealed. In this regard, the dialogue between Didem Soydan, who has become famous on social network sites for her bold posts, and one of her followers constitutes an interesting example. Her follower writes “Hi, how are you? Are you coming to Antalya? Dear, I’m crazy for you. I don’t want to die before I have sex with you” under one of Soydan’s posts. To this, Didem Soydan responds as “I have bad news for you, you will die without having sex with me” and discloses this

comment (Didem Soydan olay mesajı ifşa etti!, 2020). In this context, Han's (2018a) conceptualisation of the twenty-first century as a "close-up society" (16) offers an important route to interpret this situation. This route invites us to reconsider the distances in culture and thus in digital communication in the light of the theory put forth by Edward Twitchell Hall (1990). Digital communication crisis is actually a kind of proxemic crisis. This situation can be interpreted with an elevator analogy: Let's assume that social network sites are an elevator and celebrities and their followers are in the same elevator. The trip in a real elevator has an end, so you get off. However, in the elevator in the virtual environment, despite all the problems they face, celebrities have to continue their trip which is an indispensable part of their career. The dialogue between Seda Sayan, who is the host of the television show *Yemekteyiz*, and one of her followers shows how much the limits are pushed in the social media elevator:

If only she hadn't displaced onur just because of a pissing contest with Zuhale Topal people enjoyed watching and also the rating wasn't bad but they asked for it and thought seda sayan would be watched she would leave zuhale behind but zuhale made them eat the dust and seda wasn't watched people grew tired of seeing seda on the screen they didn't understand this and no matter how much they deny it people didn't believe that onur quit yemekteyiz of his own free will. (Seda Sayan Takipçisine Küfürle Cevap Verdi, 2020)

Seda Sayan responds to this comment with the following words: "You're both following me and commenting like a numbskull. You wouldn't believe if Onur said I quit fifty times. May Allah protect this nation from people like you. Now f.ck off from my page." (Seda Sayan Takipçisine Küfürle Cevap Verdi, 2020). The expectation in this media is that the one who moves within the boundaries of your personal sphere should share posts in favour of you and send you digital

applauses. As in the example above, considering the negative comments that a celebrity who has a large number of followers is exposed to as an “occupational accident”, “what should be done” is done and the trip continues. In this sense, it is quite a radical decision for a celebrity to leave the social media elevator. It means to terminate the visibility in the digital world. It is almost the equivalent of professional suicide. Upon experiencing similar situations, the other celebrities included in this study have also been observed to be continuing their posts on social network sites. If they preferred to act otherwise, they would be terminating their personality on social network sites. In fact, we feel uncomfortable if someone we do not know gets in our intimate sphere on social media as well as in real life. The crisis arises when followers who should be at social distance or public distance are included in celebrities’ intimate or personal sphere. When a person who could hardly be even in the fourth circle gets involved in the first circle, a “distanceless” communication, which Han (2011) refers to as “transparency”, emerges. The first circle conceptualized by Edward Twitchell Hall (1990) contains only a limited number of people. Sometimes you even do not include your first-degree relatives in this first circle. According to you, he or she does not deserve to be there. On the contrary, there are also situations in which someone from the third circle is rewarded for his or her positive act and included in the first circle. These decisions are mostly ruled by subjective criteria.

Moreover, there is a secondary circle in which friends with whom the person has close relations are included. As in intimate distance, person’s choices are determinative in personal distance as well. The third circle indicates the sphere the person is in as a consequence of his or her roles in professional life or as a member of an association. The fourth circle indicates the distance between other people and us when we are in public

sphere. An interference in your intimate sphere from this sphere causes uncomfortableness. In this sense, you draw a boundary between the first circle and the second circle. Therefore, where the first circle ends is very clear. Transition from the second circle to the first circle creates certain problems. People who cannot build these relationships properly encounter some problems. The individuals who build healthy communication are expected to show regard to the aforementioned distances.

Nevertheless, there may be several exceptions in terms of the transitivity between circles. A sailor in the crowds gathered at Times Square in New York to celebrate the end of World War II (1939-1945) kissed a nurse who was a total stranger on her lips with the excitement of the moment. Photographers immortalized that moment. The kiss of sailor George Mendonsa and nurse Greta Zimmer Friedman became a symbol of the end of World War II.



Figure 1. The Photograph that Symbolizes the End of World War II
Source: (İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın Sembolü 'Öpüşme Fotoğrafi'ndeki Hemşire Öldü, 2016).

Nobody criticized this intimacy of two people in the fourth circle who came together in the public sphere for a big celebration. The six-year war which was the cause of the disability and deaths of millions of people was finally over. An intimacy that can only occur under extraordinary circumstances in real life has become a routine on social media, especially in the communication between celebrities and their followers. The distanceless communication on social media ignores the distance layers that homo sapiens constructed within the evolutionary process of hundreds of thousands of years. The individuals who should be in your third or fourth circles in normal circumstances interfere in your life without meeting any obstacles like your intimate ones in your first circle. This interference corresponds to Han's (2018a: 16) conceptualization of "close-up society". The comment below sent by one of their followers to Pelin Akil Altan and Anıl Altan, who is a couple sharing posts about their twin daughters on social network sites, shows to what extent this type of interference can lead:

You're a very nice person. Don't you ever think, why do you separate Lina, always love and care for Alin, what you're doing is a sin, Allah wouldn't approve. They made Alin walk, prepared her for their birthday. And they're lying saying 'she walked first, she surprised us'. A child who is taking her first steps can't walk like that everyone knows this, and also how can a mother share such a post as 'at the birthday while Alin surprised us with her walking Lina attacked the cake vigorously'. This is simply an act of a STEPMOTHER. When Lina grows up tomorrow, she will see this, and she'll be very upset. SHAME ON SUCH. (Pelin Akil O Karşılaştırmaya İsyen Etti, 2020)

Pelin Akil Altan voices her reaction to this negative comment with a video she shares. She is extremely annoyed with this interference in the most private sphere in her life. She doesn't accept the blame; but she is affected by the comment so much that she reconsiders her motherhood:

I keep watching the videos I recorded to see if it's really the case. I don't know if I record Alin more and Lina less. I was touched, but a mother discriminating between her kids, it's not even a matter of discussion. It's not. A mother can't do such a thing even if she wanted to. They're both my dearest. I was enraged by that woman's impudence. She blamed me for being remorseless and merciless, may my curse fall upon her. [...] [...]. I would die for both of them. I was really touched. I don't know. Maybe it just happened that way at that moment. I recorded Alin. Then... After I turned it off I did the same thing to Lina. But discrimination is out of the question. If you think that way please block me okay? (Pelin Akil'i Ağlatan Yorum, 2020)

Celebrities as the subjects of the neoliberal control society make their presence felt in the excessive communication sphere where all the curtains are drawn. Han (2017b: 11) states that in this sphere where freedom is intensively used, the individual lays himself or herself bare voluntarily. In the digital environment where communication is reduced to surveillance and control, there is a "naked" sphere which Han discusses by referring to Agamben's thoughts. Here, the individuals feel free, which cannot be possible in George Orwell's surveillance state (Han, 2017b: 27). Han (2015b: 23) remarks that in this freedom sphere, grace disappears as well. The negative comment from one of Merve Özbey's followers about the wedding eve photos she shared on social media serves as an evidence for this situation: "One would eat like a bird when they're about to become a bride Merve. Sit and cry about your double chin." Addressing to her follower within the boundaries of politeness, Özbey replies as:

"Instead of crying about my double chin, I'm going to pray for you to have a pretty heart. May Allah help you!"

Yes I'm used to it, most of us are... to everyone's having the right to say anything they want. It's interesting, I'm trying not to say a bad thing about anyone, not to think badly of anyone.

It shouldn't be this easy just sitting in front of a screen and commenting about people...I am human, I gain weight, I lose weight. It's my own free will. But it's a sin to make fun of me lacking it, don't do it! I might be strong concerning these topics but any comment of yours for others may lead to a trauma. Don't make anyone curse your being... Don't say anything bad for anybody. By the way, yes I have a double chin. But thank God none of what I ate was haram... With love and respect. (Merve Özbey'den..., 2020)

Upon sharing her holiday photographs on social media, another celebrity, Derya Uluğ receives comments from her followers as "Look at those ribs! Hunger's made you all skin and bones! Bag of bones". She replies as:

It is a big irony that while you're talking about people's weights and making fun of them, you're calling me 'a bag of bones' because I am thin :) While I'm thanking God because I am healthy, I really don't care what you think :). ('O Kaburgalar Ne?' Yorumuna Sert Yanıt, 2020)

These dialogues correspond to the concept of "intimacy" which Han (2015b: 35) describes as the "psychological formula of transparency". As the individuals reveal what is intimate, their souls get transparent (35). The system which works with the ideology of intimacy tries to reveal all secrets of celebrities. Model and actress Larissa Gacemer's and her husband basketball player Burak Gacemer's followers who pay close attention to the couple's posts on social network sites curiously insist on asking why the couple does not have kids. Larissa Gacemer feels the need to make an explanation. Holding back her tears, she responds to her followers' intimacy with a video she shares on her Instagram account:

Lovely people... I wasn't going to make this video; but I am. Because I felt like I had to. Really bad comments were made. I don't know why either. Why won't you have a child? Why don't you have a kid? Lovely people! I was born with

this problem. I can't have kids [...] Knowing this we tried with Burak, years ago. It doesn't happen. Burak accepted me like this. I accepted myself too. I made peace with myself. Okay you can't do it. What are we going to do? Okay. Then we should travel. Go on trips. Do something. I accepted it. God created me like this. But you're writing incredibly bad comments to me. Not only to me, you write everybody such things. You can't know what people are going through. Please do as I do okay? No one else should write a bad comment. I accepted it. You see I'm happy. This is not fake. I love you so much. Kisses. (Larissa Gacemer'den..., 2020)

In spite of the fact that Gacemer finishes the video smiling and sending kisses, the neuronal violence and psychological pressure created by intimacy, as noted by Han, is evident. When a celebrity lays open to followers an issue that should be kept private, it is almost considered as getting rid of a load. Like the body, the soul is also laid bare explicitly. This laying bare does not allow silence and does not leave gaps. The followers expect the celebrities on social media to express their opinion about every occurring development. Silence is intolerable on social media.

The Fragile Smoothness of Digital Communication

Digital platforms promise a “smooth” communication. Smoothness makes the society of achievement productive. “Sharing” and “like” are means for smoothening. Considered as “the digital Amen” by Han (2017b: 13), “like” creates a new form of violence. Everything that is a means for smoothening is also a means for the game. For this reason, Han (2017b) attaches great importance to the concept of “game”, which is discussed theoretically by Huizinga (1980), as “excitement” gets involved (32). Communication is gamified with the help of “likes”, “friends” and “followers” (32). When the communication between the celebrities and their followers is considered from this point of view, live broadcasts, photographs, videos, and

stories shared on social media result in an approach that can be interpreted as “*like* is a war game”. This game puts real life in parentheses. Pain, grief, and unhappiness are ignored. The ideal is that the system would produce “digital amen”. However, you can bring forward such an idea that it may contradict with the value judgements of the society in that period. For instance, if there had been social network sites in the United States of America in the first half of the nineteenth century and you had made an explanation as “all slaves should be freed”, most probably, a clear majority in southern states would not give you “likes”. In the twenty-first century, on social media, the more “likes” an idea gets, the more validity it gains. In the digital age, social media has become a power that can even influence the mechanism of justice. The criminal cases on the agenda of social media are prosecuted in a more serious way by police forces and judicial authorities.

In order to gain the adjective “smooth” which is conceptualized by Han, celebrities as the subjects of the neoliberal control society who are constantly in the eye of the public need the approval of social media. They are the “digital beaut[ies]” of social network sites. The positive comments about their posts reinforce and empower this beauty. Han (2018a) underlines that the concept of “digital beauty” does not contain any “tear” (27). In addition to the perfect bodies of the celebrities which are under surveillance, their lives which are always happy, peaceful, and wealthy make everyone sense smoothness in each track. The fundamental need of the performance system which works with “Like” is this smoothness. Accordingly, the pace of communication increases. As noted by Han (2018a: 7), “[w]hat is smooth does not injure”. Yet, it leads the way to “follower terror”. The follower who gets involved in the celebrities’ personal spheres compares his or her own life with the lives of the celebrities

which he or she watches. A dialogue between singer Alişan and his wife actress Buse Varol Tektaş and their followers shows where such a comparison can lead to:

They even criticize the posts we share at home. We started getting nervous about posting. What was it? We live in a huge house while they are living in small ones. I worked hard for 23 years nonstop. What is it to you if I live in a big house? Whose business is it, the house that I live in? I wish everyone could make money under the same conditions. But it's not me to be blamed for the inequality in the world. (Alişan ve Buse Varol'un Sosyal Medya İsyanı, 2020)

Besides this explanation made by Alişan, his wife also feels the need to share the message “it is also painful to be explaining this” (Alişan ve Buse Varol'un Sosyal Medya İsyanı, 2020). This type of comparisons which are often on the agenda on social media reveal the lack of empathy between celebrities and their followers. Followers are exhausted with the excess of smoothness. At this point, it becomes a matter of “psychic insolvency” (Han, 2017a: 11). As highlighted by Han, in digital communication, there is no place for neither contemplation nor hesitation. Contemplation refers to the individual's staying on his or her own and reviewing his or her life. A reflection of this is the detox camps opened by the South Korean government to save teenagers from smartphone addiction (The teenagers so addicted to cellphones..., 2019). Followers seem to be indifferent to the destruction that will be created by the negative words in the relatively liberal environment. Actress Pınar Altuğ Atacan encounters a similar problem with her followers after celebrating her husband Yağmur Atacan's birthday with a video of them dancing together. She shares her best wishes on her Instagram account: “Let us always dance like this my husband, happy birthday” (Pınar Altuğ..., 2020). Then one of her followers comments as “my 5-year-old daughter saw this. Change it mum are they perverts, she said”. This comment is

discussed in the television show *Söylemezsem Olmaz* on Beyaz TV on 21 May 2020. The follower who made this comment connects to the live show and says “I regret it. I want to apologize”. Seren Serengil, one of the hosts of the show, asks “why are you apologizing?” and the follower answers:

She’s getting on well with her family. [...] I didn’t write it with a bad intention, so I wanted to delete it the next day. I said to myself what have I done. I said Allah Allah. I said why did I write that. I like her very much.

Following this, Serengil responds as “people who make such bad comments also become unhappy themselves. Like you are right now. We really need to look at other people’s happiness with kindness”. Being exposed, the follower says she has deactivated all of her social media accounts and tries to justify her behaviour saying, “I wasn’t thinking when I wrote that, I guess that’s why.”

On digital platforms, since “management ideology” requires productivity, it needs stability. A follower making negative comments who can be considered a “spoil-sport” suddenly opens a place for himself or herself in the sphere which Huizinga (1980: 21) calls “ordinary life”. The negative comments made by the followers about the posts of celebrities are just like making a scar on a beautiful face. The smooth is scratched, but this time it is not possible for the skin on this face to heal itself as it is not selfhealable as a smartphone’s. Therefore, a “fragility” emerges in the sphere to which Han (2018a: 7) refers as “having no resistance”. Pınar Altuğ Atacan’s words as “I wish you taught her what love is and she would be happy in the future. By the way, a five-year-old shouldn’t be looking at Instagram anyway. Just a little note” are aimed at responding to the follower’s comment in a calm way. Hence, the system in social media which is based on performance is not interrupted. Although the follower’s negative comment damages the

“smooth communication”, “management ideology” keeps on working.

The number of followers has become one of the parameters for celebrities’ professional success. This mass is measurable, which makes celebrities earn money. Thus, it is possible to view all parameters in social network sites on www.boomsocial.com. Detailed measurements are done in many issues ranging from the daily, weekly, and monthly increase in the number of followers to which post received how many likes, comments, and shares. Social media users are able to reach their own performance reports.

Table 2: An Example of Performance Parameters

Overview		Performance		
Fan Count	1,793,534	Daily Fan growth	1,052	0.06%
People Talking About This	42,601	Weekly growth	7,039	0.39%
Industry	Media > Journalists	Monthly growth	21,671	1.22%

Source: (boomsocial.com, 2021)

As emphasized by De Gaulejac (2013), these all exhibit that “the understanding of management has become the dominant ideology of our time” (9). The number of followers works in accordance with the fundamental parameters of De Gaulejac’s (2013) definition of “the society sick of management”. It will be necessary “to exclude the ones who show the least performance” (169). Han (2017b) remarks that excitement is set free to increase this “performance” (30). Celebrities generally prefer to act in a controlled way in the uncanny environment of social media; however, there are also situations in which the boundaries are violated. In this respect, digital platforms turn into an environment of affect. When singer Demet Akalın shares a photo with her friend and her daughter on her social media account, one of her followers makes this comment: “you look like a Romani.” In respond to this comment Demet Akalın shares this post: “I *am* a gipsy my love. Half tatar, half laz, half bosnian, half gipsy. Eat Romani a.. and may you choke to death

on it. Okay.” (Demet Akalın’dan takipçisine ‘küfürlü’ cevap, 2020).

The instant affect on social network sites may turn into a “shitstorm”⁵, as stated by Han, (2017b: 28) with the insulting comments coming one after the other. Beauty queen Berfu Yenenler and her husband comedian Eser Yenenler release their show titled *Ev Modu* dated 12 February 2020 with the tag “Bizi Linçleyenleri Linçliyoruz” (Lynching the Ones Who Lynched Us). They read the comments from their followers one by one, except the digital applauses, and respond to them. After reading a follower’s comment as “learn how to sit properly first Eser”, Eser Yenenler jokingly says “I think people shouldn’t sit.” Another follower makes a comment about Berfu Yenenler: “dude she is actually crazy, Eser may Allah help you you can’t spend a lifetime with her.” The couple laugh at this comment together. When Eser Yenenler asks “are you crazy?”, Berfu Yenenler answers “yes”. One of the followers shares this comment:

It’s not because Berfu has bad intentions. I don’t think she is so smart. That’s why she keeps making remarks like that. Eser Yenenler bro, excuse me for making a negative comment about your girl but I couldn’t stand you getting dragged.

Eser Yenenler, in a humorous way, says to his wife: “he suggests you don’t have bad intentions, you’re a moron.” One of the cruelest comments is about Eser Yenenler’s weight: “Eser do you have any idea about your getting gradually bigger?” Then, Eser Yenenler reminds them of other comments concerning his weight. He states that especially the comment as “walking margarine” still upsets him: “It really hurts”. A follower asks, “Am I the only one bothered by Eser’s socks?” The famous couple also read the comments like “two love birds, I felt sick because of so much love...”; “you really are

5 The dialogues between celebrities and their followers can get out of control in some situations and be brought to court.

a stupid couple, I hope such unqualified useless people like you won't reproduce"; and "guys you are really disgusting, we don't talk like that in our house can you please be politer?" Upon this criticism, Eser Yenenler says, "we are really sorry. How do we talk? What do we do? What misbehaviour of us have you seen?" Eser and Berfu Yenenler respond to followers' negative comments smilingly, which pulls all posts to the excessive positivity sphere. As Han (2018a: 11) argues, the ugly is smoothed out as well as the beautiful for the sake of consumption and enjoyment. This is what internalizes violence and makes it invisible (Han, 2018b: xi). Expressing negative words in a humorous language on social media turns into the mask of "follower terror".

CONCLUSION

With the active use of social network sites, the twenty-first century has created a communication psychology pertaining to the digital age. Social media has brought new standards in the communication between celebrities and their followers. In the "excessive communication" environment created by digital platforms, celebrities have to put up with the comments which they cannot stand in face-to-face communication. This psychology is closely related to the violence brought about by "excessive positivities". As a matter of fact, life makes sense with the troubles, stresses, and problems we have to get over and the pleasure and satisfaction we get along with these. A life consisting of a nonstop pleasure process consists merely of a big illusion. In the current study which is based on Byung-Chul Han's "neuronal violence" hypothesis, upon the analysis of the "follower terror" that famous names are occasionally exposed to in the communication environment which can be considered as "smooth" through a holistic multiple-case design, a two-sided tiredness has been revealed.

With social network sites, the word “fan” seems to have been replaced by the word “follower”. Followers move in the safe sphere created by social media in “the society of achievement” in which “fan-metre” or “follower-metre” mechanisms are used. Virtual environment brings along certain problems in terms of digital communication psychology. Apart from thousands of likes they get for their posts on active social network sites such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube, celebrities from time to time are exposed to negative comments as well. It is a natural consequence of the evolutionary process for a person to be cautious about strangers. Everybody is not included in the intimate sphere. However, social network sites pave the way for followers’ possible interferences in celebrities’ personal spheres. Followers get the opportunity to make a comparison between their lives and the lives of the celebrities whose shares they follow. This act of surveillance and control directed towards the intimate sphere, from time to time, results in unwanted dialogues between celebrities and their followers. While everybody and everything gets in the service of visibility in the digital panoptic system, a new behaviour peculiar to the digital age emerges. A proxemic crisis is experienced on digital platforms where all the boundaries are removed. The communication process between celebrities and their followers can be considered as a distanceless, intimate, and ungracious experience without contemplation and hesitation.

Positivity which Han regards as the new form of violence results in tiredness in the communication between celebrities and their followers. “Tiredness” should be considered together with neuronal illnesses such as “depression”, “burnout syndrome”, and “attention deficit”. A reaction has developed against “likes” which is the locomotive of perfect communication in the digital age. According to this “neural-based” point of view, the individual, who is the achievement-subject, is led to “auto-

aggression". Free from any external instance of domination, this violence stemming from excessivity is revealed in "a smooth communication" process. Digital communication ignores all the negativites in the character, no matter it is a celebrity or a follower; it graces the "ideal consumer" and the acceptable "communication environment" with smoothness. This is a fragile smoothness. It includes not only "the beautiful" but also "the ugly". In fact, in the digital communication environment which is shaped by "excessive communication" and "excessive positivity", making comments ranging from "likes" to insults or making a friend and deleting him or her has become possible with just a click of a key. This behaviour which can be named as "follower terror" is among the characteristics of the digital panoptic age in which communication has gained pace.

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