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A cultural analysis of Generation Z's perception of individualism and collectivisim in Turkish television commercials through a Hofstedian lens

Hofstede'nin kültürel boyutlar kuramına göre Z Kuşağının TV reklamlarındaki bireycilik ve kolektivizm mesajlarını alımlaması üzerine bir inceleme

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Abstract

Advertisements function as cultural texts that interact with society. A crucial factor influencing advertising and consumer behavior is generational culture. Generation Z, born into a digital age, exhibits distinct cultural characteristics and consumption patterns compared to previous generations. For this reason, understanding how younger generations interpret cultural codes in the digital age is a significant issue in communication studies. Türkiye, with its youthful population and extensive media consumption, offers a valuable context to explore this relationship between Generation Z and advertising. It is seen that the theme of individualism, which was prominent only in Western societies in the predecessors of intercultural studies, has evolved into a general characteristic in current studies on Generation Z. This study aims to understand how Generation Z growing up in Türkiye, which Hofstede defines as a collectivist society, perceives individualist and collectivist messages in advertisements, a cultural text. Television commercials of all Global System for Mobile Communication (GSM) brands serving in the country were determined as the research population. The research was designed in two stages. First, the advertisements identified through purposive sampling were coded as individual/collective through descriptive content analysis. The interactions of the focus group participants, selected by criterion sampling to represent Generation Z, with the advertisement messages were described according to their reception of individualism/collectivism codes. According to the results of the research; contrary to Hofstede's prediction, the participants' preferences, tendencies and approaches were found to be in common in the qualities belonging to individual culture.

Keywords: Advertising, Hofstede, individualism, collectivism, Generation Z

Öz

Reklamlar, kültürel metinler olarak işlev görür. Reklamcılığı ve tüketici davranışını etkileyen önemli bir faktör de kuşak kültürüdür. Dijital bir çağda doğan Z kuşağı, önceki kuşaklara kıyasla farklı kültürel özellikler ve tüketim kalıpları sergilemektedir. Bu nedenle, genç kuşakların dijital çağda kültürel kodları nasıl yorumladıklarını anlamak iletişim çalışmalarında önemli bir konudur. Genç nüfusu ve yoğun medya tüketimiyle Türkiye, Z kuşağı ve reklamcılık arasındaki ilişkiyi keşfetmek için değerli bir bağlam sunmaktadır. Kültürlerarası çalışmaların öncüllerinde sadece Batı toplumlarında öne çıkan bireycilik temasının, Z kuşağı üzerine yapılan güncel çalışmalarda genel bir karakteristiğe dönüştüğü görülmektedir. Bu çalışma, Hofstede'nin kolektivist bir toplum olarak tanımladığı Türkiye'de yetişen Z Kuşağının kültürel bir metin olan

reklamlardaki bireyci ve kolektivist mesajları nasıl alımladığını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Ülkede hizmet veren bütün Mobil İletişim İçin Küresel Sistem (GSM) markalarının televizyon reklamları araştırma evreni olarak belirlenmiştir. Araştırma iki aşamalı tasarlanmıştır. Öncelikle amaçlı örnekleme ile belirlenen reklamlar, betimsel içerik analizi ile bireysel/kolektif olarak kodlanmıştır. Ölçüt örnekleme ile Z Kuşağını temsilen seçilen odak grup katılımcılarının, reklam mesajları ile etkileşimleri, bireycilik/kolektivizm kodlarını alımlamalarına göre betimlenmiştir. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre; katılımcıların tercihleri, eğilimleri ve yaklaşımlarında Hofstede'nin öngörüsünün aksine, bireysel kültüre ait ortak özellikleri olduğuna dair bir izlenim elde edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Reklam, Hofstede, bireycilik, kolektivizm, Z Kuşağı

Introduction

Culture is a dynamic and influential force that shapes individuals' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. This influence is particularly pronounced in the behaviors and tendencies of emerging generations. In the contemporary context, where globalization is increasingly driven by advanced digital technologies, a pertinent question arises: Is it still sufficient to rely on traditional intercultural communication frameworks that emphasize geographical differences (Hofstede, 2001; Sivakumar & Nakata, 2001; Steenkamp, 2001), or are cultural distinctions becoming progressively homogenized within the digital native generation? This study aims to expand the existing body of knowledge by critically examining these issues from a fresh and innovative perspective.

Social scientists widely acknowledge that culture is the defining characteristic that differentiates societies from one another. Consequently, understanding the homogenizing impact of mass culture, propagated by mass media, is crucial for comprehending the transformation of original and authentic cultural identities (Beck, 2014; Giddens, 1998; Simmel, 2003; Adorno & Horkheimer, 2010). Culture and communication are intrinsically interconnected. With the rise of multinational corporations driven by globalization, production-oriented market policies have shifted toward a consumption-driven framework, which, in turn, has facilitated the proliferation of uniform cultural forms, further reinforced by digitalization (Baudrillard, 1996; 1997; Jameson, 1984). The relationship between large-scale transformations in political economy and everyday experiences is shaped by the power of global culture, which serves as the conduit for the symbolic language of communication technologies (Giddens, 1998). Unlike local economic constraints that limit exchanges spatially, cultural symbols can be created and transformed at any time and place (Ritzer, 2002; Castells, 1997; Hardt & Negri, 2011a). This notion that universally derived culture spreads beyond geographical boundaries is further emphasized by the digitalization of the globalized world.

Globalization theories that emphasize the role of culture in shaping meaning within cultural, political, and economic practices suggest that "everything that is symbolized is meaningful" (Mattelart, 1995, pp. 90-98; Tomlinson, 2004, pp. 40-44; Williams, 1995, p. 111). The symbolic structure of language in advertisements leads to the transformation of cultural texts (Williamson, 2001; Saussure, 1990; Rutherford, 2000; Barthes, 2008; Jhally, 2014). Advertising, as a central element in the global circulation of ideological values, serves as a potent tool for disseminating global policies and promoting a

homogeneous culture (Jones, 2004; Wernick, 1996). This is due to the fact that "the exchange of goods localizes, politics internationalizes, and symbols globalize" (Tomlinson, 2004, pp. 33-35). Consequently, the influence of globalization is often more significant in the cultural sphere than in the economic or political domains (Smith, 2022).

Cross-cultural advertising studies provide a valuable perspective through which to examine the transformation of global culture. An analysis of contemporary global advertising strategies reveals a shift in consumer expectations (Kotler, 2021). Advertising is increasingly oriented toward strategies that align with the new consumer profile one that is attuned to universal issues, aware of global events, and holds specific expectations for brands (Mattelart, 1998; Vinerean, 2017). Therefore, understanding the transformation in intergenerational consumer reception within the context of globalization-driven neoliberal policies is of critical importance.

Globalization engages with a variety of academic disciplines, and this study specifically focuses on its cultural dimension. Many globalization theories argue that the West, as the primary driver of technological and economic progress, has shaped the dominant global order, creating distinctions between "developed,""developing," and "underdeveloped" nations (Toffler, 1996). In response to this divisive categorization, the term 'Global South' has emerged as a more critical and inclusive alternative. The countries of the Global South constitute a socio-economic group that reflects evolving dynamics in international relations (Tekin & Dolu, 2020). The term 'South' functions as a conceptual marker of disparities in socio-economic development between countries. Historically, many nations within the Global South have been labeled as 'third-world countries' by industrialized nations. However, with the rise of development studies, these nations are increasingly recognized as "developing countries" or, more broadly, as part of the Global South (Connell, 2007; 2010). The question of whether Türkiye belongs to the South remains contentious, as does the positioning of countries such as Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, South Korea, and Argentina within this framework. Nonetheless, Türkiye is frequently grouped with these nations, collectively referred to as the BRICS or, more broadly, the G20² (Celik, 2016; Demir, 2013; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2010; The Royal Society, 2011).

While Türkiye is primarily included in the Global South due to its geopolitical context, economic characteristics, young and dense population, and developing infrastructure, it is also sometimes classified as a Global North country because of its military alliances and industrialized social structure (Cabana, 2014; Vincenzo, 2014; Dinkel, 2016; Aydın, 2018). Türkiye, as a representative of the Global South, offers a influential case study to examine the homogenizing cultural transformation driven by digital globalization, particularly given its youthful demographic and high levels of media consumption.

Understanding how Generation Z, raised within the digital culture, avoids from regarding advertisements as cultural conveyors represents a critical entry point for analyzing the transformation of cultural dimensions between generations. In this context, Hofstede's 'cultural dimensions theory,' a foundational framework in intercultural studies, is examined. Hofstede categorizes Türkiye as a 'collectivist' society. However, recent cultural research indicates that individualism, a characteristic previously dominant in Western societies prior to digitalization, has increasingly permeated the defining traits of Generation Z, influenced by the homogenizing forces of globalization in the digitalized world (De Mooij, 1998; De Mooij & Hofstede, 2010; Okazaki & Mueller, 2007). The individualism-collectivism dimension remains a central subject of inquiry, particularly in cross-cultural marketing research, as it elucidates the relationship between cultural influences and consumer behavior (Leung & Bond, 2004).

This study is centered around the question: 'How do members of Generation Z, who are raised in a collectivist society like Türkiye, respond to individualist and collectivist messages in advertisements?' The research is designed descriptively, with the aim of closely examining the changes in intercultural communication theories.

A re-discussion of the collective/individualistic cultural distinction in intercultural communication in the context of Generation Z

To delve deeper into the cultural nuances of Generation Z, it is essential to revisit Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory, a foundational framework in intercultural communication which also included Türkiye (Hosftede, 1980; Hofstede, 1990; Hofstede, 2001). Hofstede's theory, particularly the dimension of individualism-collectivism, provides a useful lens for understanding cultural differences. (Triandis, 2001). Because these values seem to be the most determinant cultural difference (Pham, 2022, p.30). This distinction focuses on the importance of individual or group interests. Individualism prioritizes the interests of the individual over the interests of the group. It is related to societies where ties between individuals are loose (e.g. America, Australia, England, the Netherlands, Italy, Scandinavian countries) (Sargut, 2001, p. 185). Collectivist societies are structures in which people are incorporated into strong and cohesive groups from birth, and these groups continue to protect them in return for loyalty throughout life. Group interests often take precedence over individual interests (e.g. Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Pakistan, Latin America and Türkiye) (Hofstede, 1990, p. 51). While some scholars, such as Schwartz (1994), have critiqued Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory, numerous subsequent studies, including those by Yoo, Donthu, and Lenartowicz (2011) and Saylık (2019), have supported its validity and relevance. The theory's dimensions have been further developed and refined over time (Hofstede, 1980; 1983; Schwartz, 1994; Steenkamp, 2001). The study remains the most comprehensive empirical study with 60.000 subjects consisting of International Business Machines employees in 70 countries and 116.000 structured questions (Hofstede 1990, 2001).

Several studies, such as those by Göregenli (1995) and Wasti & Erdil (2007), have applied Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory to the Turkish context. Çelik (2012) further explored the relationship between Hofstede's dimensions, particularly individualism-collectivism, and advertising appeals identified by Pollay. The results of the thesis indicate that the adaptation of language and visual symbols by considering the cultural context increases the effectiveness of advertising. A study examining advertisements from 1929 to 1960 found that these ads often emphasized nationalism, a core principle of the Republic of Türkiye, to foster a sense of national identity and emotional connection with consumers (Aşçı & Çapraz, 2022). Another national study suggests that national symbols and emotions are frequently used especially in domestic brand advertisements (Gündüz Kalan, 2021). The fact that social interests are more important than individual interests in Türkiye has led to the use of the theme of nationalism as an advertising strategy. In other countries with collective characteristics, there are also studies highlighting that the use of nationalism in advertising has a positive effect on purchase and image perception (Li et al. 2020).

A comparative study of USA (United States of America) and Korean magazine advertisements by Han and Shavit (1994) revealed significant differences in cultural messaging, with USA ads emphasizing individualism and Korean ads emphasizing collectivism. However, a study by Zhang (2009) suggests that globalization may be influencing cultural shifts, even in traditionally collectivist societies like China. This study concluded that younger, urban Chinese individuals, exposed to global influences, are increasingly adopting individualistic values, despite the country's collectivist cultural heritage.

Aim and methodology

In the context of Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory, a descriptive analysis was designed and applied on the reception of individualism and collectivism messages in television advertisements by Generation Z.

Aim

To understand this evolving cultural landscape, it is essential to examine Generation Z, the most populous and digitally native generation, born after 2000 (Spitznagel, 2020). The generation also constitutes 1/4 of Türkiye's population (Orun, 2020). The phenomenon of generation, which is related to the concept of consumer, which develops depending on production and consumption relations, defines groups of people born in a certain period of time and affected by similar social, cultural, economic and technological developments. Since the conditions, values, habits and ways of thinking of individuals belonging to the same generations are similar, it gives clues about the behavioral patterns of the group. The rapid pace of technological advancement has led to shorter generational gaps, especially in recent decades. Born into the digital age, Generation Z, often referred to as the "social media generation," values individuality, freedom, advanced technology, and speed more than previous generations (Goessling, 2017). They are characterized by traits such as pragmatism, realism, entrepreneurship, social consciousness, technological proficiency, and a willingness to embrace change. Additionally, they are often described as materialistic, creative, open-minded, flexible, self-confident, educated, liberal, and career-oriented (Cetin & Karalar, 2016; Milotay, 2020; Dolot, 2018; Oral, 2023). Generation Z defines itself as 'worldly' and attaches importance to having global values. In this aspect, it aligns with the nature of global culture. This generation, left precarious by neoliberal policies, loves entertaining content and uses humor as a way to balance their anxieties in the face of difficulties (Seemiller & Grace, 2016). They are sensitive and aware of global issues related to social policies such as ethnicity, gender, animal rights, climate, and environmental issues.

Advertising research focusing on Generation Z reveals a significant shift in consumer expectations compared to previous generations. Grow and Yang (2018) suggests that traditional television content often fails to capture the interest of Generation Z. Munsch (2018) further highlights the importance of engaging digital ads that leverage music, humor, and influencer content to effectively reach this demographic. Hazari and Sethna (2023) underscore the significance of high-interaction content on platforms like Instagram for influencing the choices of Generation Z.

As the new generation of consumers in a globalized market, Generation Z, the "neo-liberal subject" as described by Foucault (2015) and Hardt & Negri (2011a-2011b), is aware of their role as both consumers and products. They define themselves as entrepreneurs in this new world order, recognizing that their only capital is themselves. Seeking economic security, they believe in the power of individual opportunity and risk-taking.

While neoliberal discourse positions them as unique individuals, Generation Z also expresses resistance and critique through their consumption choices. Influenced by the works of Beck (1992) and Bauman (2020; 2023), this generation reflects a decline in trust in societal institutions, particularly the weakened social state of the postmodern era. This cultural shift has contributed to the development of their individualistic character.

The aim of the study is to understand how Generation Z, who grew up in a collectivist society in Türkiye, perceives individualist and collectivist messages in advertisements. As in all descriptive study designs aimed at making sense of cultural processes, the study focuses on the participant's perception, experience and meaning of life. In order to reflect the cultural formation of the society, all GSM (Vodafone, Türk Telekom and Turkcell) operator brands serving in Türkiye with user profiles in all demographic categories were selected as the research population. The advertisements used in the research were selected from the post-2020 advertising campaigns of these operators through purposive sampling.

The research was designed in two stages. Firstly, the adverts identified through purposive sampling were coded as individual/collective through descriptive content analysis. The six adverts selected based on the relevant references were categorised into themes by descriptive content analysis according to individualist and collectivist symbols. The selection of which cultural codes the adverts contain was made accordingly (Triandis, 2001; Singelis, et al. 1995; Pollay, 1984; Çelik, 2012; Gündüz Kalan, 2021).

Commercials used in the research were shown to the focus group participants selected within the scope of criterion sampling and their interactions were evaluated.

Thus, it was described how the participants perceived the cultural codes of individualism/ collectivism in the advertisement messages.

The main questions of the research are as follows;

- How do Generation Z, raised in a traditionally collectivist society like Türkiye, perceive and respond to individualistic messages in advertisements?
- How do Generation Z, raised in a traditionally collectivist society like Türkiye, perceive and respond to collectivist messages in advertisements?
- Is there a correlation between the cultural codes embedded in advertisements and the evolving characteristics of Generation Z?

Method

To delve deeper into the research design, an explanatory sequential mixed-methods approach was employed (Creswell & Creswell, 2021). Initially, a descriptive content analysis was conducted on advertisements, categorizing them based on established theoretical frameworks. Subsequently, focus group discussions were utilized to explore the tacit and subjective interpretations of Generation Z regarding these advertisements. Purposive sampling was employed to select a diverse group of participants representative of Generation Z. Given the exploratory nature of focus group discussions, which prioritize in-depth understanding over generalization (Edmund, 2000; Fern, 2001), qualitative analysis methods were applied.

To ensure the effectiveness of the focus group discussions, a sample size of eight participants was selected. Participants were chosen based on diverse demographic characteristics, including gender, educational level, and school type (state vs. private) to provide a heterogeneous representation of Generation Z. Due to the physical limitations of the study, although all participants were urban dwellers, their family connections in different cities and their ties to their hometowns were taken into consideration. Participants who resided in cosmopolitan metropolises such as Istanbul, yet had the opportunity to experience the cultural codes of rural life through family relationships, were specifically selected for the study. The same heterogeneity was observed in socio-cultural factors including ethnicity, beliefs and political views as in demographic and socio-economic factors. To ensure a diverse range of perspectives, participants were selected to reflect the cultural mosaic of Türkiye. This diversity was aimed to foster a sense of inclusivity and democratic engagement among the participants. To ensure the focus group discussions were effective and ethical, participants were limited to the 18-22 age range. The following table provides a demographic overview of the participants.

Participant	Age	Education	Gender	Residence	Hometown
P1	19	University	Male	Istanbul	Denizli
P2	19	University	Male	Istanbul	Ordu
P3	20	University (State)	Female	Istanbul	Artvin
P4	18	High School	Female	Istanbul	Edirne
P5	21	University (State)	Female	Istanbul	Kocaeli
P6	22	University (State)	Male	Istanbul	Konya
P7	20	University (State)	Male	Istanbul	Erzincan
P8	18	High School	Male	Istanbul	Nigde

Table 1. Demographic information of the participants

During the application of the research design, appropriate reliability and validity criteria for gualitative research were ensured. Initially, a 'focus group interview flow' was created in the light of the literature and basic questions were determined. The interview questions were reviewed by two field experts to ensure their clarity and relevance and necessary changes were performed. The focus group sessions were facilitated by a moderator and a note-taker. The necessary approvals were obtained from Istanbul University Ethics Committee with the letter dated 10.05.2024 and numbered 2556942 before the research. Before the research commenced, informed consent was obtained from all participants. An observer researcher was present during the 120-minute focus group session to capture additional observations. Participants were shown selected advertisements one at a time, and discussions were facilitated after each viewing. The video and audio recordings, which took place in a special meeting room tailored to the needs of the participants, were edited by the researchers themselves. The recorded information was transcribed in the order of the advertisements and the participants' words. The transcripts, along with the focus group protocol, are available for further analysis and presentation.

The advertisements were categorized based on the following themes:

A1.Vodafone-"The world of red experience is full of privileges!"

The advertisements featured themes such as personalized offers (concert tickets, coffee discounts, internet memberships), product promotions, celebrity endorsements, and campaigns tailored to specific interests (e.g., *Netflix, Instagram*, or internet packages). These ads often employed a dynamic and fun aesthetic to appeal to young consumers. Given the emphasis on individual opportunity, privilege, and limitless possibilities, these advertisements were identified as examples of individualistic advertising.

A2. Turkcell "Celebrating a Century of the Republic: A Love That never ends"

The celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Türkiye was chosen as an example of collective advertising because the themes of Atatürk, flag, nation, patriotism, unity and solidarity were used in the visuals and discourse.

A3. Turkcell - "Türkiye's couples: Nature lovers"

The advertisement promoted a new product (Lifebox service) and emphasizes technological superiority, targeting a younger demographic. It highlighted themes of opportunity, seizing the moment, and the benefits of embracing new technology.

A4. Türk Telekom "Eighty-five million all together"

This advertisement, which emphasized the brand's ability to connect people across the country and highlighted themes of national unity, patriotism, flag, longing and reunion, was selected as an example of collectivist advertising

A5. Türk Telekom Prime - "Prime thinking and privileged living"

Advertisements featuring themes like concerts, vacations, parties, personalized gifts from popular coffee brands, and discounts on flights and hotels were selected as examples of individualistic advertising, as they emphasized personal benefits and privileges.

A6.Vodafone "We are here to help you achieve your dreams"

Family phenomenon, social responsibility campaigns (helping stray animals, violence against women, digital inequality, etc.) were selected because they included the participation and cooperation of different segments of society, as well as collective messages such as technological superiority, progress and solidarity emphasis.

The findings of the study were categorized using a thematic analysis framework informed by Korostelina's social identity model (2007, p.41), which provides a relevant theoretical foundation for examining the impact of culture on individual identity, particularly in relation to individualism and collectivism.

Differences	Individualism	Collectivism
The content of the concept of "own"	Individual differences	Social categories
Form of self- actualization	"I do what I want"	"I am not a burden for my relatives"
Values	Independence and individual achievements	Interdependence and group success
Rules	Self-expression, individual thinking, personal choices	Obeying rules, respect for authority, group consensus
Behavior regulation	Personal attitudes and cost-benefit assessment	In-group norms
Roles	Equality in relationships and flexibility in roles	Stasis, hierarchical roles based on age and gender
Goals	Personal goals are more important than group goals	Group goals are more important than personal goals
Differences between groups	Insignificant	Significant
Making sense of the world	The meaning of life is understood in individual formation	Human life is understood in terms of its "meaning"
Property	Private property, individual ownership	Common ownership, group ownership
Form of relationship	Horizontal	Vertical (hierarchical)

Table 2. Differences between	individualism and colle	ectivism (Korostelina, 2007:41).

During the analysis, participants were coded numerically (P1-P8) based on their seating arrangement, with the camera's perspective serving as the starting point (numbered from left to right). To align with the coding of advertisements (A1, A2, etc.), participants' comments were also coded numerically (P1, P2, etc.).

Findings The descriptive data obtained from the focus group are thematised below.

Individuality

The data on the theme of Individuality obtained from the focus group study are given below.

Person- centered approach

In individualistic societies, the individual's personal experience and satisfaction, as well as the pleasure derived from a product or service, are paramount. Consumers base their decisions on their own experiences rather than those of their family or society, and they expect the brand to cater to their individual needs. It was also observed that participants generally expected the opportunities offered by the brand to align with their own desires and experiences (exploration, excitement, travel). For instance, regarding Ad 6, Participant 6 stated, "I was interested in the concert and the hotel... But there's always a limitation to the information. It seems to be valid only for selected hotels and some concerts. This might not suit me." In the same advertisement, Participant 7, who emphasized the importance of entertainment and socializing, said, "Interestingly, I enjoyed the ad. The emphasis on phonetics, dynamics, and sociability attracted me. I prefer face-to-face communication in my daily life. The visual emphasis on socialization caught my eye."

On the other hand, it was observed that participants expressed dissatisfaction with advertising content that did not align with their personal interpretations of experience, leading to a decline in engagement with the advertisements. For instance, regarding the representation of "living in the moment" in A3, participant P6 conveyed discomfort with content emphasizing restriction and categorization, stating: "They categorize thematically, but in doing so, they invariably alienate a particular audience; for example, am I not capturing the moment if I'm walking in the forest with my hands in my pockets and not taking a photo?" This statement reflects a sense of discomfort with content that imposes limiting classifications. In general, participants exhibited a strong tendency to reinterpret and adapt offered opportunities to align with their personal preferences. For example, P4 stated, "With the money I'd spend on *Prime*, I would purchase a coffee of my choice, not the cheap filter coffee they provide—I'd get a coffee I genuinely enjoy."

Personal freedom/independence

In individualistic societies, it is important for the individual to be able to make choices freely. Similarly, Generation Z does not like their freedom to be restricted. Participants were uncomfortable with the limited campaigns in all six advertisements with individual and collective messages. It was observed that they distanced themselves even from advertising messages that they sympathized with and thought appealed to them due to 'campaign limitations' and focused on written and verbal messages explaining campaign limitations. Following an advertisement that he liked and perceived as appealing to him, participant P1 commented:"... But these restrictions ruin everything. Everything has a limit; they say free coffee, but they offer the cheapest coffee, and then charge more for the coffee than for the *Prime* membership." In reference to advertisement A5, which promises exclusive opportunities for young people, P4 remarked, "I wondered why it was limited to just Wednesdays and a quota of 150 TL. After seeing the subtitles, I never felt valued!" Similarly, regarding the same advertisement, P5 noted, "In the scene where it states that there are privileges for all routes, it then specifies 'limited hotels.' It's the same with the coffee—it's always limited."

A similar observation was made by participant P8: "In the message above, it appears as though you move from concert to concert and journey to journey without limits, but then you're disappointed because everything offered is extremely limited." Participant P1 reinforced this emphasis on boundlessness, stating, "The focus on unlimited access and privileges is important to me; the advertisement should have highlighted the concept of unlimitedness earlier, and the ad itself was unnecessarily long."

Individual products/services and opportunities

Another recurring theme in participants' responses was the desire to seize opportunities, a notable trait of both individualism and Generation Z. For example, regarding advertisement A3, participant P3 remarked:

I focus on what the advertisement offers me... Listening to what it might say to me on October 29 (Republic Day)i It offers 10 GB 'shake and win,' but they already give 5 GB every week. They end the ad with 'this love never ends,' but why are they so stingy? Through humor, the participant questions the credibility of the benefit, finding it insufficient. Regarding this advertisement, P5 stated, "The slogan that's supposed to make me feel valued in advertisements doesn't affect me; it doesn't work for me because I am already valuable. What matters is what it offers as a service, that is, the opportunities." With respect to advertisement A1, which emphasizes exclusivity, P6 commented, "Privilege—privilege doesn't give me anything because it's empty."

Individual lifestyle

In the A3 advertisement, which specifically targets young consumers, the target audience is characterized as individuals who 'enjoy capturing every moment and sharing photos on social media. In promoting the Lifebox product, which provides additional memory options, the ad incorporates the themes of technology use and resistance as humorous elements in a dialogue between a couple spending time in nature. Although the ad intended to appeal to Generation Z, participants interpreted it differently. In fact, they aligned with the statement about 'taking photos at the expense of missing the moment,' viewing it as a critique of Generation Z rather than a message in opposition. Participants expressed that the advertisement's portrayal of their identity was inaccurate; they disliked the ad and even found it off-putting, though they agreed that the concept of 'living in the moment' was significant to them. They were displeased with being depicted as a group that constantly misses the moment and incessantly shares on social media, feeling the representation was reductive. Regarding the anti-technology character, P3 noted, "They made the character resemble an elderly person, exaggerating as if being anti-technology is an outdated idea." P7, who felt uncomfortable with the emphasis on 'technology addicts' in the same ad, remarked, "The philosopher type is mocked, which is a significant insult to that lifestyle and the idea of living in the moment. It felt as though we're being criticized for defending such values; I felt marginalized." This participant clearly voiced discomfort with her lifestyle being judged through certain definitions, oppositions, and stereotypes.

Individual interests

In individualistic societies, the individual's interests often take precedence over those of the community. This study observed that, even when presented with advertisements featuring collective emotional messages, participants remained focused on their personal interests, particularly the concepts 'price and benefit.' For instance, P7 noted that the

emotional message of A4, which highlighted 'hometown,' did not affect him, and he considered the emphasis on 'providing services all over the country' unrealistic. Similarly, P3 expressed skepticism about the brand's claims, stating, "They do not bring services to the countryside! Türk Telekom has no signal when we go to our village, for example." P3 emphasized that his primary expectation from a GSM operator was to have reliable signal coverage everywhere." P1 echoed this sentiment, saying, "When making my choice, I first look at the price in terms of price-performance, and then I look at the performance features such as how much signal I have." In response to A1, which emphasized privileges, P8 pointed out, "I would be more impressed if the privilege was related to the price. Zeynep Bastik sang a song without emphasizing the price, it doesn't interest me; the important thing is the price of the product for me." Underscoring how individual interests, particularly regarding cost, took precedence in their reception of the advertisement's message. P8 further reinforced this by stating, "When the price advantage disappears, we look at the features and prioritize price." P2 also echoed a similar perspective, saying, "Performance is more important than price. I buy what works in my school. I don't think about how much the message benefits society because we are not in an ideal world" and "Do I care about contribution to the country? I may or may not. If they all provide the same service, I leave my house and go to the nearest operator; I don't think too much." P4 shared a student-focused view, noting "Price is very important for us students... A friend of mine switched from Vodafone to Türk Telekom and then to Turkcell, which offered a better price." This comment provides valuable insight into the fluctuating brand loyalty of Generation Z, showing how price sensitivity can override previous brand choices.

Similarly, P8's response to A2 highlighted the importance of individual needs: "... I think most of us are competent with *Google*, this service is meaningless since it provides much more storage space. Increases in prices and our budget are important, price is a primary criterion in our brand preference." This further emphasizes that individual interests, particularly price and utility, play a dominant role in shaping their brand preferences, with less regard for collective or societal benefits.

Equality between groups / flexibility in roles

In individualistic societies, the importance of equality over hierarchy is a central value, with individuals often rejecting rigid role distributions. Generation Z, as part of this cultural shift, is particularly sensitive to equal recognition of identities, flexibility in roles, and global issues. This generational sensitivity is reflected in their reception of advertisements

that emphasize social responsibility and equality. For example, all participants in the study appreciated A6, an advertisement that tackled social responsibility issues such as violence against women, equal access to education, the right to technology, and technological advancements. The ad's emotional appeal, combined with transparent and clear numerical information, fostered a sense of trust and alignment with the participants' values. P3 remarked: "I was attracted to it when I saw its benefit to society, its support for women who are subjected to violence, software coding education for children, street animals, all of them touched me." This statement highlights the emotional connection the participant felt, emphasizing that the ad's social impact resonated with their values. Similarly, P7 described the ad as 'romantic' and expressed an emotional connection to the messages conveyed, stating, "...I really felt the emotions they were trying to convey. I found their attitude towards women and animals sincere... ...it was good that they gave information. I think my money was well spent." P7's comments underscore the importance of authenticity and transparency, both of which played a significant role in shaping the participant's positive reception of the ad. These insights suggest that Generation Z not only values emotional appeal but also demands factual clarity and social relevance from the brands they engage with.

Collectivity

The data on the theme of collectivity obtained from the focus group study are given below.

Social connectivity

In collective societies, individuals tend to prioritize the well-being of the society as a whole, making decisions that often reflect communal values. However, the analysis of the study findings indicate that the representation of collective values in advertisements does not foster a strong sense of social responsibility among the participants. The theme of social connectedness appears to be weak, with many participants identifying more with global values such as 'being a citizen of the world' and a focus on universal issues. This suggests that their ties to the specific values of the community they belong to are relatively weak, signaling a shift toward more individualistic and globalized perspectives. Commenting on the socially responsible advertisement A6, P5 remarked: "Normally we always evaluate operators based on price and performance, but in this ad.... I was very impressed by the way it touches people and its inclusiveness." This

statement aligns with the emphasis on inclusivity and social responsibility found in the advertisement, highlighting the significance of universal themes such as accessibility and support for diverse groups.

Emotional connection

In advertisements featuring collective messages, themes such as family, love, longing, and reunion are often employed to evoke emotional responses. While participants reported enjoying these advertisements, they did not identify with the brand, nor did these emotional appeals influence their purchasing decisions. In fact, some participants expressed a sense of insincerity regarding the emphasis on nationalistic or collective themes. For instance, P5 commented on A2: "Even if I like the commercial and watch it, the national messages in the commercials do not affect my brand preference and do not cause me to change the brand I use." Similarly, P4 noted, "I wouldn't get bored even if I watched it several times, the song is a song I already know, I didn't listen to what the main idea of the commercial was, I focused on the song." Regarding the advertisement focused on love, P8 humorously remarked, "Anyway, these campaigns are limited, this love is too little, so I feel like a sucker." Although the 100th anniversary of the Republic and the image of Atatürk in A2 were emotional elements that some participants connected with, it was generally observed that these themes did not evoke a strong emotional response.

Belonging

In collectivist societies, the sense of belonging to one's country or community is predominant, and the emphasis is placed on the collective identity of 'we' rather than the individual identity of 'l.' This collective orientation is intricately linked to feelings of 'patriotism' and 'nationalism,' In response to the use of nationalism as a collective message in advertisements, P7 expressed strong discontent: "I find the emphasis on nationalism in advertising quite disturbing," he said: "I don't identify as a nationalist; I see myself as a global citizen. I feel connected to the world as a whole, not to any one nation, and I don't feel bound by national social ties" and "...They tried to evoke sympathy through the flag, but frankly I'm not impressed... In general, such nationalist themes don't resonate with me." Through these statements, P7 self-identified as a 'global citizen' and explicitly rejected all collective messages, highlighting a clear preference for individualistic or universal themes over nationalistic appeals.

In reference to advertisement A2, P1 remarked: "It evoked a sense of national spirituality and generated enthusiasm; the emphasis on the 100th anniversary of our Republic was significant." However, P1 also noted: "While I felt motivated by the message, the appeal to national sentiment is not a determining factor for me when selecting a brand." Similarly, P2 criticized the message's lack of sincerity, arguing that it was inconsistent with the brand's corporate identity: "I consider myself a nationalist and I carry a picture of Atatürk on my phone case." He said: "Banks like İş Bank are sincere in using national symbols because Atatürk founded the bank. But what connection does Turkcell have with the founding of Turkey? It failed to impress me" thereby demonstrating a critical awareness of the brand's image and its perceived lack of authenticity.

P8, regarding the A4 advertisement, stated: "It says 85 million, it shows two pictures of stone and earth;.... Ads with universal themes, such as nationalism, are made simply because they have to be; there is nothing special about their service. Price/performance is important" In a similar vein, P6 expressed indifference: "Even though I like this kind of commercial, I don't want to watch it again... It's not clear when it was made; it could be an ad from 10 years ago, the message is outdated." Likewise, P5 criticized the brand's message as insincere and insufficient, saying, "The brand says it has been taking technology to the countryside for 10 years. If you still haven't solved this issue, there is a problem." P6 also remarked, "...saying '85 million' doesn't mean anything by itself... I grew up in the countryside; showing a shepherd or a man on a boat doesn't mean anything because it doesn't feel natural." P8 added, "I feel like a sucker in advertisements where such big emotions are emphasized because this promotion isn't for me as a citizen of Türkiye, it's something they give so they can take my money." P7 noted, "... They used local motifs instead of the national theme, they used the countryside and emphasized the hometown, but since I grew up in the city, I couldn't identify with it." These statements collectively demonstrate that they were not influenced by messages of 'belonging' in general. Indeed, P7's self-description as a 'person of the world' encapsulates the shared sentiment of all participants.

Solidarity and shared goals

In collective societies, solidarity, common destiny and unity of interest are important. Solidarity in these social structures is related to the sense of 'we.' Based on the research findings, data related to collective values were elicited when the emphasis on 'solidarity' in advertising messages was aligned with the participants interests or current universal values (such as equality, freedom, justice, etc.) to which they were attuned. Regarding the advertisement with the theme of 'hometown' rather than 'republic,' P8 commented, "Instead of the nation theme, they focused on the countryside and emphasized the hometown. I couldn't identify with it because I grew up in the city, but the other ad had the flag and Atatürk" pointing out the symbols that were more effective for him. P6 stated, "When I think of Türk Telekom, I think of the old, outdated home phones... Since Generation Z doesn't have the economic purchasing power, our parents make these decisions...That's why it doesn't target us." Similarly, P8 remarked, "Scenes depicting the public, such as taxi drivers, minibus drivers, and cultural elements, are more relevant to older generations—at least 10-15 years older—these are symbols of past times and don't hold much significance for us" illustrating that collective symbols hold little meaning for Generation Z.

Social values

In collectivist societies, social values are shared and transmitted by all members of society. However, the participants in this study identified more with messages that emphasized universal values rather than traditional ones. Regarding advertisement A6, P5 remarked: "Seeing which civil society organizations it collaborates with, rather than just generalized messages like 'no to violence' and 'animal rights,' is a sign that it is a real project, which builds trust. This aspect was appreciated" and "...The brand conveyed the message without taking the forefront. All the scenes stayed in my mind, and the emphasis on the relationship between technology and humanity was impactful" highlighting the significance of universal values. Similarly, P1 stated, "...The social responsibility advertisement was effective. I liked the themes of solidarity, unity, equality in education, the relationship between technology and people, and the idea of using technology for the benefit of people, rather than simply for enjoyment." P1's statements are related to the emphasis on technology and social responsibility, which is the main theme of A6, which gained the common appreciation of the participants. This phenomenon explains why A6 emerged as the advertisement with which all participants identified. Participants connected exclusively with this advertisement within the collective category, as its focus on universal issues aligns with Generation Z's entrepreneurial and socially conscious identity.

Discussion and conclusion

Research exploring how individualistic and collectivist cultural codes are perceived remains a relevant topic for social scientists (Nayeem, 2012). Intergenerational studies, in particular, offer new avenues for research in this area. Building on past and current studies, this study provides an opportunity to interpret global culture through the lens of Generation Z. It raises the question of whether collective values still hold meaning in a collectivist society, despite the influence of global culture on this generation. Existing research on the dimensions of individualism and collectivism suggests that individualistic people are success-oriented and prioritize personal gain in their decisionmaking. As a general characteristic of this generation, while diversity in choices is valued, equality and flexibility are emphasized in relationships (Triandis, 2001). Indeed, the results of this study reveal that all participants focused on individual benefit and enjoyment. In contrast, in collectivist societies, the success of the group and shared goals are of greater importance. Relationships and group norms are shaped by authority, and social categorization tends to be more hierarchical and rigid (Korostelina, 2007, p. 41). According to the findings of this study, all participants showed little sensitivity to collectivist advertising messages with these characteristics, instead concentrating on individual opportunities and concrete promises.

Participants primarily identified with the non-hierarchical, egalitarian, pro-technology, and socially responsible community values presented in advertisement A6. This aligns with the characteristics of Generation Z, which is notably defined by a strong sense of social responsibility (Starczewski, 2023). Generation Z is highly attuned to global issues such as climate change, environmental awareness, and sustainability. In the current study, their sensitivity to social policy-related problems is considered an integral part of their identity (Bulut, 2021; Pavlukovic, 2023). These values are reflected in their consumption behaviors, particularly in their purchasing habits and brand choices. Furthermore, it has been observed that Generation Z consumers are more likely to respond positively to advertisements that emphasize authenticity and transparency (Nalanda & Waghmare, 2024). The findings related to the A6 advertisement in this study align with this view. Additionally, their lack of belief in the sincerity and realism of nationalist discourses in collective-themed advertisements can be linked to generational characteristics. For Generation Z, nationalist discourses in collective ads are less significant than the global codes they use to define their identities. Generation Z, which attaches great importance to personal success, focuses on freedom, limitlessness and personal benefit when making decisions. They are also against class in their social relations and seek equality and flexibility. Young people in Türkiye, who are defined as collectivists, display similar characteristics with their peers in the world (Ustaahmetoğlu & Toklu, 2023). Therefore, their reactions to advertising messages and the way they perceive the world are compatible with each other. Therefore, it is important to observe the individualism/collectivism dimension of advertising messages as a cultural element in the representation of Generation Z.

The findings of this study indicate that participants' reception of individualistic and collectivist messages in advertisements was consistent with the responses of their peers globally. In addition to individual benefits, the most prominent theme was the focus on price and performance, while the emotional appeal of the ads was less emphasized. The concept of 'unlimited' emerged as the most significant aspect of the opportunities presented in the advertisements. There was a strong demand for concrete information and statistical data regarding these opportunities. Participants openly expressed their discomfort when such information was not provided. For instance, limited travel or concert tickets presented as privileges, restrictions on the number of days or the specific days for free coffee, and limitations on the selection of hotels and accommodations elicited strong reactions. They considered the imposition of restrictions on their freedom of choice and the expression of limitations as unacceptable. It was evident that all participants paid close attention to the campaign conditions presented in the advertisements, were not easily satisfied with the promises made, and largely did not believe them.

When participants were asked about their favorite commercials, three respondents favored A5 (opportunities aligned with their lifestyles), three respondents preferred A1 (music, entertainment, and opportunities), and two respondents selected A6 (social responsibility, technology, and equality themes). The study reached a highly significant conclusion that participants were not influenced by advertisements with collectivist content aimed at appealing to national sentiments. However, the A6 advertisement was perceived differently from other collectivist-coded ads, as it emphasized technological superiority and demonstrated sensitivity to social policies.

This study is grounded in the question: How do Generation Z individuals, raised in a collectivist society like Türkiye, perceive and respond to individualist and collectivist messages in advertisements? The findings reveal that participants, aged 18-22 and representing Generation Z in Türkiye, identified more strongly with individualistic advertising messages. While they enjoyed emotionally charged, collective-themed

advertisements, they distanced themselves from the collectivist messages (e.g., those emphasizing country, unity, togetherness, land, and flag) and perceived them as distant, unable to relate to them. In response to the question of whether there is correlation between the cultural codes of advertisements and the characteristics of Generation *Z*, the study presents preliminary findings suggesting that such a shift may indeed be possible. Additionally, the results align with those of similar studies in the existing literature (Ustaahmetoğlu, 2023). The representation of this focus group, which clearly demonstrated an individualistic tendency, offers valuable insights for more extensive field research. The impressions derived from the participants' statements suggest that the cultural values of Generation *Z*- who grew up under the influence of globalization and digitalization-have shifted from collectivism to individualism. While it is not feasible to provide definitive answers to these complex questions within the scope of this study, it offers a significant contribution to the literature, highlighting the potential for such a transformation and emphasizing the need for further, more comprehensive research in this area.

In light of the main research questions, the findings indicate that the distinction between the collective and the individual requires re-evaluation, particularly considering the pervasive use of technology by younger generations. Individualism -one of the cultural codes of globalization- constitutes a core attribute of the modern consumer, who has evolved into a neoliberal subject. This cultural transformation thus assumes a global character. Accordingly, the traits of the generation can be understood as expressions of a global cultural framework, extending beyond the economic infrastructure challenges within the country.

ENDNOTES

¹BRICS, an international organisation, takes its name from the acronyms of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. As of 2024, BRICS has grown to nine members, with the inclusion of Iran, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the United Arab Emirates, making it an important geopolitical bloc.

²Group of 20 is an intergovernmental forum comprising 19 sovereign countries, the European Union, and the African Union.

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