

FURKAN ADEM GÜVEN

NATIONALISM SHAPING DATA PRIVACY CONCERNS

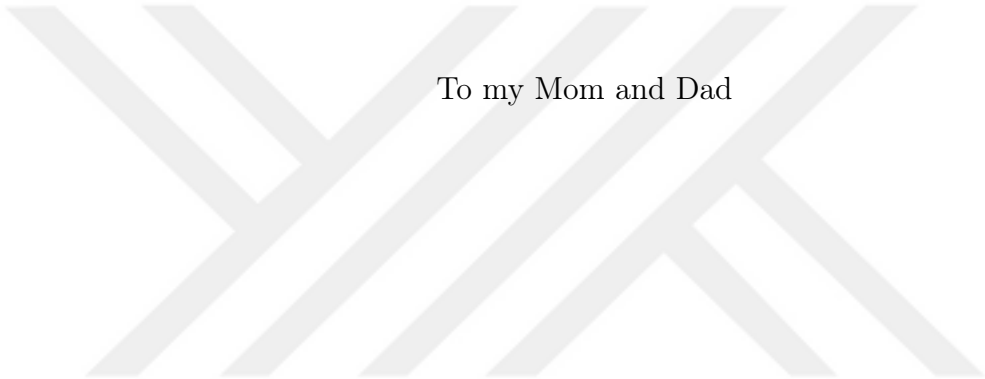
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THE ROLE OF NATIONALISM IN SHAPING
CONSUMERS' DATA
PRIVACY CONCERNS AND REACTIONS TO
THESE CONCERNS

A Master's Thesis

by
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December 2022



To my Mom and Dad

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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ANKARA

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By Furkan Adem Güven

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Business Administration.

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF NATIONALISM IN SHAPING CONSUMERS' DATA PRIVACY CONCERNS AND REACTIONS TO THESE CONCERNS

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December 2022

This thesis examines the role of nationalism in shaping consumers' data privacy concerns and reactions to these concerns. Data privacy concern is a growing issue; yet we do not know much about the role of nationalism in consumers' data privacy concerns. In this thesis, I focus on the case of WhatsApp's new data privacy policy crisis in 2021 in Turkey. In this crisis, consumers discussed data privacy concerns about the local and global brands through their nationalist ideology. I used netnography to collect data from various data sources. In the discourse of nationalism, the findings show that consumers associate various respective local and foreign actors to build trust in local and distrust in global brands by emphasizing the relationship between brands and other actors such as governments, institutions, and politicians. Also, consumers construct data privacy concerns at the collective national level and legitimize the government's involvement in data collection and processing. Moreover, consumers have concerns about global brands' discriminatory data privacy policies and then show consumer resistance to these brands. Consumers also have data privacy concerns due to the domination of global brands in the market and encourage others to use the local app to battle against the dominant global brands. Overall, this study shows that consumers'

data privacy concerns and reactions to these concerns are not only shaped by the relationship between consumers and brands at the individual level but also shaped by social, cultural, and political factors within a particular context at the macro level.

Keywords: Consumer Nationalism, Consumer Resistance, Data Privacy Concerns, Data Nationalism, Data Colonialism



ÖZET

TÜKETİCİLERİN VERİ GİZLİLİĞİ ENDİŞELERİNDE VE BU ENDİŞELERE KARŞI TEPKİLERİNİ ŞEKİLLENDİRMESİNDE MİLLİYETÇİĞİN ROLÜ

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Bu tez, tüketicilerin veri gizliliği endişelerini ve bu endişelere karşı tepkilerini şekillendirmede milliyetçiliğin rolünü incelemektedir. Veri gizliliği endişesi tüketiciler arasında büyüyen bir sorun olmasına rağmen, tüketicilerin veri gizliliği endişelerinde milliyetçiliğin rolüne yeterince ilgi gösterilmemiştir. Bu tezde, WhatsApp'ın 2021'de Türkiye'de meydana gelen yeni veri gizliliği politikası krizine odaklanıyorum. Bu krizde tüketiciler, yerel ve küresel markalarla alakalı veri gizliliği endişelerini milliyetçi ideolojileri üzerinden tartıştılar. Bu çalışmada netnografi kullanarak çeşitli kaynaklardan veri topladım. Milliyetçi söylemdeki bulgular, tüketicilerin yerel markalara güven ve küresel markalara güvensizlik oluşturmak için ilgili farklı yerel ve küresel aktörleri ilişkilendirdiğini göstermektedir. Tüketiciler özellikle markalar ile hükümetler, kurumlar, politikacılar, başka markalar gibi diğer aktörlerle arasındaki ilişkiyi vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca, bulgular gösteriyor ki tüketiciler, kolektif ulusal düzeyde veri gizliliği endişeleri oluşturur ve hükümetin veri toplama ve işlemeye müdahalesini meşrulaştırır. Ayrıca, tüketicilerin ayrımcı veri gizliliği sözleşmeleriyle ilgili endişeleri vardır ve bu ayrımcı sözleşmelerden

dolayı bu markalara karşı tüketici direncini göstermektedir. Ayrıca, tüketicilerin pazardaki küresel markaların hakimiyeti nedeniyle veri gizliliği endişeleri bulunmaktadır ve tüketiciler pazara hakim küresel markalara karşı savaşmak için diğer tüketicileri yerel uygulamayı kullanmaya teşvik eder. Genel olarak, bu çalışma tüketicilerin veri gizliliği endişelerinin ve bu endişelere tepkilerinin yalnızca tüketiciler ve markalar arasındaki bireysel düzeydeki ilişki tarafından şekillendirilmediğini aynı zamanda makro düzeyde belirli bir bağlamda sosyal, kültürel ve politik faktörler tarafından da şekillendirdiğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tüketici Milliyetçiliği, Tüketici Direnci, Veri Gizliliği Endişeleri, Veri Milliyetçiliği, Veri Kolonileştirilmesi

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since consumers' interaction with the digital world and technologies gradually increase in the contemporary consumer culture, they produce more and more data for companies that find massive value in the collection, usage, and sharing. The metaphor of “data is the new oil” is used to indicate the value of data for massively profitable titan corporations in the digital world. Due to the value of data, companies try to enlarge their data collection methods and strategies. Thus, consumers' data privacy concerns have become a serious issue. In this thesis, I study the role of nationalism in shaping consumers' data privacy concerns and reactions to these concerns.

Nationalism as a political ideology lies beyond the field of politics and affects consumer resistance and consumption (Castello & Mihejl, 2018). Today, consumption has become a political statement that consumers can express their national identities by favoring and rejecting goods from other countries (Wang, 2005). Nationalist consumer resistance can take place at the national level via

boycotts and buycotts toward goods from a particular country or all foreign goods (Castello & Mihejl, 2018). To have a solid understanding of nationalist consumer resistance and consumption, we should focus on social, cultural, and political aspects in a specific context at a given historical period (Wang, 2005). Especially since consumers in the Global South have distinct political, economic, and social tensions due to the unequal experience of globalization, we cannot understand the nationalist consumer resistance by applying the theoretical structures that were developed in the Global North (İzberk-Bilgin, 2010). In the Global South, nationalist consumers can resist global brands to protect their local values and strengthen their national identity (Ger & Belk, 1996). Moreover, since the sociocultural factors and globalization experience vary among countries in the Global South, the interpretation of global brands might be different among consumers in the Global South. Particularly, the association of global brands with powerful nation-states can have multiple interpretations, such as a symbol of cultural imperialism and a danger to national sovereignty (İzberk-Bilgin, 2008). For instance, while nationalist consumers in India resist Coca-Cola by perceiving the brand as an icon of neo-colonialism (Varman & Belk, 2009), nationalist consumers in China resist global brands by perceiving them as instruments of domination (Dong & Tian, 2009). In Turkey, Demirbağ-Kaplan (2018) shows that consumer resistance is mostly related to nationalist and/or religious identities. However, we do not know if and how consumers resist digital products regarding data privacy concerns. In my research, I aim to explore how consumers, who are subscribed to the ethno-religious nationalist ideology, resist the global brand WhatsApp and support the local brand BiP regarding their data privacy concerns. Several researchers have studied consumers' data privacy concerns since data privacy concerns have become one of the most critical issues in marketing (Ferrell, 2017; Martin & Murphy, 2017). Consumers' privacy concerns occur in data processing steps, such as data collection, storing, accessing, and sharing

(Wang, 1998). Even though consumers' data privacy concerns are a rising issue, the majority of marketing studies construct the concept of data privacy between consumers and brands at the individual level, such as the use of cookies by companies (Miyazaki, 2008), privacy policies of companies (Vail et al., 2008), and the customization opportunity to disclose information (Mothersbaugh et al., 2012). On the other hand, studies in various fields such as sociology, politics, and anthropology regard data privacy from a broader perspective and indicate that privacy is cultural (Altman, 1977), socially constructed (Kasper, 2007), and embedded within a complex network of social institutions and practices (Shapiro & Baker, 2001). Moreover, rather than following a universal approach to understand consumers' data privacy concerns, several researchers show that data privacy is context-dependent, thus; it must be studied regarding social, cultural, and political aspects in a particular context (Altman, 1977; Martin & Shilton, 2015). However, most data privacy studies in marketing focus on Western societies (Martin & Murphy, 2017). In this thesis, I aim to explore how consumers' data privacy concerns are constructed in the Global South by regarding its specific social, cultural, and political factors. Moreover, there is an ongoing debate between consumers and marketers about the concept of data ownership. While consumers claim an absolute right to ownership and control of their data, marketers argue that they have a legitimate right to possess consumers' data because of the service that they provide (Gabisch & Milne, 2014).

Data privacy concerns are not only a severe issue for consumers but also nations, particularly after the revealing scandal of Facebook- Cambridge Analytica and the disclosure of Edwards Snowden. Since it has become a severe problem for nations, governments worldwide are trying to increase their efforts to protect their citizens' data and promote national security (Stahl, 2007). The efforts of governments, such as data localization requirements to protect national sovereignty interests, are explained through the concept of data

nationalism which is a rising trend all over the world (Daskal & Sherman, 2020). Since consumers' data privacy concerns are context-dependent, the meaning of data nationalism is also different in the Global South than data nationalism in the Global North. Consumers in the Global South have concerns about the anti-competitive behaviors of global brands (Lewis, 2020) and data colonization with the consumption of global brands (Goode, 2021). In this thesis, I aim to explore how consumers' data privacy concerns are constructed in the Global South through the feelings and discourses of coloniality and decoloniality. Moreover, this thesis examines the role of nationalism in consumers' data privacy concerns based on the case of WhatsApp's new data privacy policy crisis that took place in 2021. In this crisis, WhatsApp wanted to implement a new data privacy policy in Turkey that aims to share users' data with Facebook for marketing activities. The consumers in the EU were kept out of this new data privacy policy. Because of the content of this new data privacy and discriminatory approach of WhatsApp, the discussions about data privacy concerns suddenly started in the media and gained the attention of consumers, the government, and politicians. Due to data privacy concerns, millions of people began switching from WhatsApp to another global brand, the Russian app Telegram, and/or to the local brand, the Turkish app BiP. The discussion about global and local messaging apps did not take place only regarding their data privacy policies and technical features but also regarding the meanings of these brands through nationalist ideology.

To address my research question, I used netnography (Kozinets, 2015) to collect data from multiple digital platforms: Google Play and App store, YouTube, and Ekşisözlük, which is similar to Reddit. Since the advantages and disadvantages of each platform are different, choosing three platforms helped me to have a solid understanding of the relationship between nationalism and data privacy concerns.

The thesis is structured as follows: In the next chapter, I review consumer

resistance and consumer nationalism literatures by highlighting the role of nationalism in consumer resistance, particularly in the Global South. Then, I go over consumer data privacy concerns literature and data nationalism studies and highlight the relationship between consumers' data privacy concerns and nationalist ideology. In the third chapter, I give details about the empirical context and methodology of the thesis. In the next chapter, I provide details about my findings by indicating how in the discourse of nationalist ideology, consumers' data privacy concerns are constructed and how consumers react to these concerns regarding social, cultural, and political factors. In the final chapter, I discuss the theoretical contributions, implications, and limitations of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, I will talk about two sets of literatures that help us understand and conceptualize the role of nationalism in shaping consumers' data privacy concerns and reactions to these concerns. This section will consist of two main parts: consumer resistance and consumer nationalism, and consumer data privacy concerns and data nationalism.

In the first part, I will start discussing consumer resistance studies in marketing. Then, I will discuss the role of consumer nationalism in consumption, including the relationship between national identity and consumer nationalism. Within this section, I will also go over the concepts of consumer ethnocentrism and country-of-origin effects and why these concepts are not good enough to explore the relationship between nationalism and consumption at the ideological level.

In the last part, I will discuss how consumer nationalism and consumer resistance shape consumption in Global South by highlighting the tension between the Global North and the Global South that has an influence on

consumption.

In the second part, consumer data privacy concerns and data nationalism, I will begin with the discussion of consumer data privacy concerns from marketing studies. In the next section, I will discuss the socio-cultural aspects of data privacy. In the third section, I will go over the concept of data nationalism which explains the relationship between nationalism and data privacy. In the last section, since consumers in the Global South have fears of coloniality in the tech market, I will talk about data nationalism in the Global South with an emphasis on the notion of data colonialism.

2.1 Consumer Resistance and Consumer Nationalism

2.1.1 Consumer Resistance

Penaloza and Price (1993) define consumer resistance as a strategy of group appropriation of individuals and groups against structures of domination. The nationalist ideology can motivate consumers to resist particular brands or products regarding their national interests. This rejection can occur against hegemonic global brands in developing countries, for example, resistance against Starbucks in Turkey (İzberk-Bilgin, 2008) and the anti-consumption movement against Coca-Cola in India through nationalist ideology (Varman & Belk, 2009).

Consumer resistance also has a significant role in consumers' identity.

Consumers do not only negotiate their identities through a particular kind of consumption but also through their resistance efforts, such as abandoning and avoiding specific products (Thompson & Haytko, 1997). If a brand is ascribed to an undesirable identity or a negative reference group, consumers reject to consume the brand because of their identity concerns (Demirbağ-Kaplan, 2018). Similarly, Sandıkçı and Ekici (2009) show that in politically motivated brand rejection, consumers reject to consume a particular product and a brand to

avoid a negative reference group since consumers aim to oppose an ideology rather than indicating their lifestyles.

This resistance can even take place at the national level through boycotts and buycotts. While boycotts refer to the rejection of brands tied to a particular nation or all foreign brands, boycott means the consumption of domestic goods rather than foreign goods to support domestic brands (Castello & Mihelj, 2018). Buycotts usually occur through buy domestic campaigns that are supported by the government, state agencies, political parties, and various actors in the market (Castello & Mihelj, 2018). In my study, there is a similar kind of resistance in which the government, political parties, media, and opinion leaders initiated and maintained consumer resistance against WhatsApp.

There are some studies that focus on the relationship between nationalism and consumer resistance in Turkey. Consumers may refuse to consume brands because of the political ideology that is attached to brands, like predatory globalization, chauvinistic nationalism, and religious fundamentalism (Sandıkçı & Ekici, 2009). In this resistance, Sandıkçı and Ekici (2008) show that when Turkish consumers perceive the brand with the hegemonic dominance of the West, they prefer to reject the consumption of the brand or product rather than a local appropriation by giving the example of Coca Cola which is regarded as a symbol of the US through the veil of globalization. İzberk-Bilgin shows how Starbucks, the hegemonic coffee brand, comes across with resistance in Turkey when it is perceived as a threat to Turkish coffee (2008). In my research, I focus on how consumers resist the global dominant brand WhatsApp due to their data privacy concerns.

2.1.2 Consumer Nationalism

The concept of consumer ethnocentrism is important to explore the role of nationalism in consumption. The broader concept of ethnocentrism as a

sociological concept shows a universal tendency for people to see their own group as the center of the world, interpret other social groups through their own perspective, and reject people and groups who are culturally dissimilar from them (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Consumer ethnocentrism as a marketing concept refers to the beliefs of consumers about the appropriateness and morality of buying foreign products (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Ethnocentric consumers have a moral disposition or even an obligation to support domestic products regardless of the superiorities of foreign products compared to domestic products (Lee et al., 2014). The appropriateness and moral disposition of the consumption of domestic products are usually explained through the protection of the national economy and citizens' jobs (Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015; Fischer & Zeugner-Roth, 2017). Moreover, consumer ethnocentrism mainly focuses on the construction of difference through us versus them, in other words, in-groups and out-groups (Wang, 2005). This construction creates a bias against products from out-groups (foreign products) and leads people to consume in-group (national) products (Zeugner-Roth et al., 2015). Regarding the construction of us versus them, Klein (2002) shows that consumer ethnocentrism is specifically relevant if consumers have to make a choice between local and global brands. Although foreign products seem more favorable and even superior to local alternatives, consumers still choose local brands because it is appropriate and morally acceptable (Fischer & Zeugner-Roth, 2017).

Another concept that sheds light on understanding the relationship between nationalism and consumption is Country-of-Origin (COO). Fischer and Zeugner-Roth (2017) show that the COO of products influences interact with national identity, particularly when the foreign country has a higher product ethnicity. Thoughts, beliefs, and feelings that consumers hold about a country regarding its economics, political background, history, and culture have an impact on consumer perception of the products of countries (Oberecker & Diamantopoulos, 2011; Ger, 1991). In other words, when consumers use the

COO of products to make a decision, they do make not only a rational evaluation, such as its features and quality, but also an evaluation based on their feelings, emotions, and sociocultural factors (Zeren et al.,2020). The country images of products are constructed at both macro-level (countries' general technological, social and political situation) and micro-level (consumers' individual evaluation of the country) (Oberecker & Diamantopoulos, 2011). Similarly, Ger et al. (2018) recommend that global consumer culture researchers ought to confront macro and microstructures to achieve a better understanding of consumption. The meanings attached to products and their place of origin are context-specific and must be determined in relation to the imagery of the local market and consumption pattern (Askegaard & Ger,1998). Also, we should not only look at face value of products and countries to understand the meanings attached to products and countries because these meanings involve a lot of connotations and stereotypes (Askegaard & Ger, 1998).

While consumer ethnocentrism and country-of-origin effect concepts are helpful in understanding nationalist consumption, they cannot completely capture the sociocultural forces because of their construction at the individual level. Similarly, Ger et al. (2018) suggest that researchers should study consumer practices and objectification of social relations through historical and current social, cultural, and political relations between the North and South, the dominant and the dominated, or the center and periphery. Thus, I will approach the concept of consumer nationalism to understand nationalist consumption at the ideological level. Consumer nationalism can be defined as the efforts to define consumption as a political statement via resisting consuming the products from the offending country and consuming one's own nationally produced products and services (Gerth, 2011). Wang (2005) also states that consumer nationalism has been conceptualized as consumption behavior at the interplay of nationalism, globalization, and consumer culture. It is different from the perspective of political science because the marketing

approach emphasizes consumers' nationalist discourses in the social, political, and consumption fields (Wang, 2005).

The various practices and discourses of consumer nationalism fall into diverse relations to political and cultural aspects of social life. Castello & Mihelj (2018) highlight two kinds of consumer nationalism to discuss these aspects: political consumer nationalism(PCN) and symbolic consumer nationalism (SCN). PCN is a type of political consumerism that incorporates supporting the consumption of national products to help their nation's economy and attacking a specific nation politically (Castello & Mihelj,2018). On the other hand, SCN highlights acts and discourse which do not focus on achieving political ends but cultural ends, specifically the reproduction of nationalism through the consumption of national products (Castello & Mihelj, 2018). However, Li and Whitworth (2022) argue that rather than regarding SCN and PCN as separate entities, consumer nationalism takes the hybrid form between PCN and SCN. Similarly, in this study, we see both political consumer nationalism(PNC) and symbolic consumer nationalism (SCN) in the consumption of BiP and resistance against WhatsApp, but PNC is seen as more weighted and apparent than SCN.

Moreover, consumer nationalism is an important concept for understanding the role of national identity in consumption. In the contemporary consumer culture, individuals constantly pursue, form, develop, transform, and retain their identities through their consumption choices (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Gabriel & Lang, 2008). In other words, today's consumers can be regarded as identity seekers and makers (Arnould & Thompson,2005). In this consumer identity formation process, consumers perpetually reproduce and transform symbolic meanings embedded in brands and material goods to communicate their identities (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). However, we cannot fully understand the concept of consumer identity by looking at the concept of identity at the individual level. It is necessary to shift our focus from the individual to the interactions between individuals, society, and the sociocultural

context because consumption is an essential area where both individual and collective identities are formed, performed, and contested (Larsen & Patterson, 2018). Similarly, Castello and Mihelj (2018) show that consumption is a sort of instrument that provides both identification and differentiation who want to highlight their relationship to certain social groups and their position in society. Larsen and Patterson (2018) argue that since neoliberal globalization is in crisis, some ethnicized discourses around consumption are often veiled. Thus, we cannot fully understand consumption by ignoring consumers' national identity. Moreover, consumer nationalism derives its specificity from its connection with a specific kind of national identity and the discourse of nationalism associated with it (Castello & Mihelj, 2018). Wang identifies consumer nationalism as "the invocation of individuals' collective national identities in the consumption process to favor or reject products from other countries" (2005). In other words, consumer nationalism is evoking and expressing one's national identity via the consumption process. However, to have a deep understanding of consumer nationalism and national identity, we should look at political, economic, and cultural aspects in a specific country at a given historical moment (Wang, 2005). In this study, I focus on how consumers discuss the global and local apps regarding social, cultural, and political factors in Turkey with an emphasis on data privacy concerns.

2.1.3 Consumer Nationalism and Consumer Resistance in the Global South

Rapid globalization all over the world causes resistance and tension between the West and East, the Global South and Global North, and the center and the periphery have been highly studied in various disciplines, including marketing. Barber (1996) shows this resistance through the concept of "Jihad" which provides solidarity and identity protection against global forces. Similarly,

Appadurai (1990) indicates that cultural transactions between social groups can be restrained by active resistance to interaction with the Other.

Nationalism also has a vital role in consumer resistance against globalization. Nationalists consider globalization a threat that endangers the loss of confidence and pride in local goods (Ger & Belk, 1996). Although nationalism is a threat to globalization worldwide, we cannot understand the impact of nationalism in the non-West on consumption by applying the structure of Western-oriented nationalism. Parekh (1995) argues that nationalist discourse in non-Western countries has a very complex system because they borrowed some Western ideas but embraced and combined them within their own context regarding social, cultural, political, and historical factors. Similarly, Jafari et al. (2012) illustrate that since consumption does not occur in a social and economic vacuum and should be studied in its sociocultural context, theories developed in some societies cannot simply be applied and generalized to other contexts. For instance, Liu et al. (2017) demonstrate the complex structure of consumer nationalism in developing markets by giving the example of China, where consumers' nationalist beliefs contain both pride and a sense of supremacy in local culture as well as a strong passion for having a great success in the global market.

Consumers in non-Western societies do not experience consumer culture like consumers in Western societies (Jafari et al., 2012). In consumption studies, the societies outside the West were named "Third World", "non-Western societies", "emerging markets", "underdeveloped countries", and "developing countries" (Iqani, 2016). The description of the societies outside the West is problematic since it represents, maintains, and strengthens the global power hierarchy. Sandıkci (2022) shows that the scalar configurations, such as Third World, non-Western, and emerging markets, are not neutral or transparent descriptions but political and social constructions that privilege some representations and meanings over others. These privilege configurations serve to confirm the place

of Euro-American theories and concepts as universal ways of understanding consumption (Sandıkci, 2022). Because of the issues related to these terms, I will use the term “Global South” in this thesis. Global South refers to neither place, such as countries that are located the south of the equator, nor poverty, such as the countries that experience evident poverty (Demir, 2017; Iqani, 2016). It refers to “ continents, countries, and cultures that were historically interlinked with western power by imperialism yet whose populations did not profit as uniformly from colonial exploitation and its legacies, and where poverty, social ills, and inequality are acutely visible in counterpoint with pockets of wealth, privilege and development “ (Iqani, 2016). The notion of the Global South helps to capture the histories of exploitation and produced inequality that has formed and identified the current complexities and issues faced by post-colonial societies (Iqani, 2016). Overall, by choosing the concept of “Global South”, I aim to explore how consumer resistance is formed against WhatsApp due to data privacy concerns regarding social, cultural, political, historical, and colonial factors in Turkey. The theoretical structure of consumer resistance, which was constructed in the consumptionscapes of the Northern societies, cannot be simply extended to Southern societies because the non-Western societies have apparent economic, political, economic, cultural, and social tensions that reflect the issues posed by unequal globalization (İzberk-Bilgin, 2010). Notably, countries with a history of colonization might indicate a fruitful ground for nationalist and patriotic resistance, especially against Western consumer culture and products (İzberk-Bilgin,2010). The association of global brands with strong national states can cause various consumers’ interpretations of these brands, such as a symbol of cultural imperialism and a threat to national sovereignty (İzberk-Bilgin, 2008). For instance, Varman and Belk (2009) show how nationalist anti-consumption movements were formed against Coca-Cola in India due to the fears of neo-colonialism. In India, in the nationalist discourse of swadeshi, people regard Western corporations as an icon of oppression and

forces of neo-colonialism; thus, they showed consumer resistance against the multinational company Coca-Cola. Dong and Tian (2009) also show how consumer resistance against Western brands is formed via sociohistorical forces in China. They illustrate that consumer resistance takes place toward Western brands since Chinese consumers perceive the West as an imperialist Oppressor and also the Western brands as instruments of domination, weapons of cultural dominance, and weapons of military dominance.

Accordingly, while the notion of the Global South helps understand some similarities of countries in terms of their cultures, economics, and political histories, such as the racial oppression of China and India by the Global North, the notion of the Global South also emphasizes the unique and distinct characteristics of the Southern countries (Iqani, 2016). Thus, I focus on consumer resistance in Turkey that occurs regarding its specific socio-cultural, political, and historical factors as in any country. İzberk-Bilgin(2008) shows that the discourse of cultural imperialism has a significant role that affects consumers' narratives of resistance in Turkey and indicates that global brands are interpreted as colonizers and infidels. She demonstrates that consumers' anti-imperialist narrative of resistance is striking since Turkey did not experience any direct colonial rule. Moreover, Demirbağ-Kaplan (2018) indicates that in most of the boycotts in Turkey, nationalist and/or religious character was very heavy, and these boycotts served consumers to represent their ethno-religious identity. Moreover, consumer resistance towards global homogenizing forces can strengthen national and community identity (Ger & Belk, 1996). In Turkey, consumers can strengthen their belongingness with a social group formed around a particular ideology, such as religious and patriotic (Demirbağ-Kaplan, 2018). In my study, an ethno-religious -Turkish Islamic-nationalism has been expressed in the crisis of WhatsApp. Thus, I focus on how consumers resist the global brand WhatsApp due to their data privacy concerns regarding their ethno-religious ideology.

2.2 Consumer Data Privacy Concerns and Data Nationalism

2.2.1 Consumer Data Privacy Concerns

With the rise of consumers' interaction with technologies, consumers constantly produce enormous amounts of data every second that can be stored, monitored, analyzed, and transferred to third parties by companies. Today, data have become a regular currency for citizens to pay to use communication services (Dijk, 2014). In this information age, data is particularly very valuable for marketers to identify their prospects, customize their promotion and marketing strategies, strengthen customer loyalty, and create better future plans (Phelps et al., 2000). Regarding the importance of data in today's businesses, companies have become greedier in collecting and analyzing consumers' data. The desire of businesses to obtain more data has even increased with the rapid development of data collection, storage, and analysis technologies. Thus, companies acquire more consumers' data than past. At the same time, since consumers have more awareness of the importance of data privacy thanks to mainstream and social media, they want to have control over what their information is collected, is shared with whom, and how this information is used and will be used in the future (Wang et al., 1998). Data privacy concern is an important topic in various social sciences, such as management (Sutanto et al., 2021; Fortes & Rita, 2014), tourism (Afolabi et al., 2021), and economics (Wang et al., 2021). Similarly, due to consumers' feelings of having little or no control over their data, data privacy concerns have become one of the most crucial issues in marketing (Ferrell, 2017).

The ways that companies invade consumers' data have varied in this information age. Data used to be a currency for consumers to pay for online services has turned into an invisible asset-metadata- that is used without consumers' awareness (Dijk, 2014). Consumers feel unguarded against companies' privacy

invasions which include improper collection -to collect consumers' data without notice or their acknowledgments, improper monitoring-to monitor consumers' activities without notice and their acknowledgments -, improper access- to access consumers' private information without notice and their acknowledgments, improper analysis – to analyze consumers' data without notice-, unwanted solicitation -to transmit consumers' data to other consumers' without their permission-, improper storage- to store consumers' data in a non-secure manner, and improper transfer- to transfer consumers' information to other businesses without notice or their permissions-. (Wang, 1998).

Moreover, although it is a rapidly growing issue, there is still no consensus on how these various invasions are perceived on a legal basis. Kshetri (2014) shows that due to a lack of regulations, these invasions of companies on consumers' data are not interpreted and accounted for as illegal activity. Because of the rising voices of consumers on data privacy, various actors are involved in data privacy issues to reduce consumers' concerns. For instance, anonymity and encryption technologies in messaging apps provide confidential communication between parties. Also, awareness about data privacy has been created in society through mainstream and social media. With this created awareness about data privacy, consumers want to know more about what companies know about them, how they got their personal information, how they use and will use the information, and how accurate this information is (Phelps et., 2000). Despite the efforts of multiple actors to protect consumers' data, various recent studies show that consumers' concerns about data privacy have been rapidly increasing. KPMG's Data Privacy Survey in the US shows that 86% of consumers say data privacy is a growing issue for them., 68% have concerns about the data collection of companies, and 40% are concerned about how data will be used (Lucas et al., 2021). Another survey about consumer data privacy demonstrates that consumers have concerns about their privacy, personal information, and online activities that are usually automatically tracked and processed without

their knowledge and consent (Hampson & Bricker, 2018).

In this rapidly changing digital environment, the reasons behind consumers' privacy concerns and the types of data privacy invasion vary, which makes it challenging to discuss data privacy invasion on a legal basis. A common debate has been taking place around the concept of data ownership between consumers and companies. Gabisch and Milne (2014) show that the discussion over who owns and controls consumer data in the digital world is growing as a significant issue as consumers share more personal information with marketers to get services and benefits. Information ownership basically refers to the legitimate right to control the access and distribution of information (Lipinski & Britz, 2000) and is conceptualized as the ratio of how much information belongs to consumers or companies (Constant et al., 1994). In this discussion, the consumer-favored group argues that consumers have an absolute privacy right to their personal information, so thus consumers believe that they have the right to know what information the companies collected, how they collected it, and how they will use this information (Gabsich & Milne, 2014). On the other hand, marketers believe they have a legitimate right to own the data they collect by spending their resources and providing consumer services or products. Thus, they argue that they can control, use, and distribute data since they own the data (Gabsich & Milne, 2014).

In sum, the majority of the privacy and data privacy concerns studies in marketing regard the concept of data privacy as an individual issue between consumers and companies. This narrow understanding disregards the role of socio-cultural factors in consumers' data privacy concerns. Without knowing the socio-cultural factors, we cannot completely understand consumers' data privacy concerns and provide solutions to these concerns. Similarly, Puntoni et al. (2021) highlight that little is known about how consumer privacy concerns are constructed and developed systematically and how cultural and institutional factors influence privacy concerns in a systematic manner. Thus, it is vital to

explore how consumers' understanding of data privacy is constructed regarding its particular sociocultural contexts to widen our knowledge of data privacy. In the next section, I will discuss sociocultural aspects of data privacy.

2.2.2 Sociocultural Aspects of Data Privacy

The rise of a networked society has brought with it intense control over the personal implications of databases in digital platforms that are capable of instant searching, rapid distribution, and easiness of combination with other data sources to produce more comprehensive records of individual attributes and activities (Cohen, 2000). Within this networked society, privacy norms are influenced by a broader environment which includes the demands of groups from individuals and the surveillance of the states and corporations (Anthony, 2017; Nissenbaum, 2009). Similarly, Shapiro and Baker (2001) show that privacy issues with the interests of institutions and practices are embedded within and are limited by their socio-political context. The amount of privacy that an individual feels the need or desires depends on the sociohistorical context that the individual lives in (Kasper, 2007). Regarding the sociocultural factors in a specific context, if companies follow consumers' privacy norms, they believe that their privacy is protected. If they feel that their privacy norms are violated, they might feel invaded by companies. Rather than regarding data privacy as a universal concept, we should regard it as a culturally specific concept constituted by consumers' interactions with their particular environment. In this environment, data privacy does not only have effects on individuals but also has broader effects on groups and communities, such as forming collective action, strengthening the ties of group members, and constructing solid boundaries between in-group and out-group (Anthony, 2017). Moreover, Shapiro and Baker (2001) show that privacy interests and obligations are socially constituted within and by a complex network of social institutions

and practices. Likewise, Kasper (2007) regards privacy as a social good and demonstrates that the need for privacy is socially constituted. In sum, the studies argue that the concept of data privacy should be studied by looking from a broader environmental perspective and regarding particular social, political, and historical factors of the context. In my thesis, I aim to explore how consumers' data privacy concerns are constructed through socio-cultural forces in the discourse of nationalism.

Moreover, as the new technological developments for data collection increase, it is unclear what data collection and usage will be tolerated by consumers in different cultures. The marketing studies identify various reasons that influence the tolerance of consumers for data collection, such as products' technical features (Bart et al., 2005), data privacy policies (Martin, 2015; Vail et al., 2008), and ability to customize to disclosure information (Mothersbaugh, 2012). The marketing studies neglect the role of culture in data privacy, although cultural environments can have an impact on how individuals perceive the fairness of data privacy collection (Caudill & Murph, 2000). Privacy is a cultural but not a universal cultural concept because the understanding and management of privacy vary across cultures (Altman, 1977). Similarly, studies show that individuals' privacy expectations are context-dependent and are shaped by cultural values and social norms within a specific context (Martin & Shilton, 2015; Altman, 1977; Milberg et al., 2000).

Overall, the studies show that data privacy is constructed regarding socio-historical, sociocultural, and socio-political factors of the context. Rather than claiming the existence of a homogenized online population because of the efforts of globalization and global corporations, it is essential to macro-level national differences to understand consumers' data privacy understanding (Cho et al., 2009). However, even though there are calls to explore and understand data privacy approaches and concerns in developing countries, most marketing studies on data privacy are limited to Western samples (Martin & Murphy,

2017; Hong et al., 2021). It is also problematic to understand data privacy in non-Western cultures by applying the Western-focused data privacy approaches to understand consumers' data privacy understanding and concerns. Studying data privacy perception in non-Western cultures regarding its specific sociocultural factors will not only fill the gap in marketing but also will help us to have a better understanding of data privacy. Moreover, according to the UNESCO Chair of AI, Shawe Taylor, there is a cultural bias in data collection. "It is Western data-informed with the Western way of seeing and doing things ..." (Peng & Zhang, 2019). Except for the Global North, the regions are underrepresented in data privacy studies. This narrow understanding not only causes limitations for data studies but also reflects and creates global imbalances between the West and the East in the development and discourse of data privacy.

2.2.3 Data Nationalism

In 2018, a big scandal, Facebook-Cambridge Analytica, came out in which Facebook shared the personally identifiable information of 87 million users with British consulting firm Cambridge Analytica to be used for political advertising. With the revelation of this scandal, the discussions about the impact of technology on society and concerns about citizens' privacy rights on both personal and national levels have been fueled (Isaak & Hanna, 2018). This data privacy violation case shows that consumers' data acquired by brands are not only used to promote financial objectives but also political objectives (Stahl, 2007). This scandal has also increased the ongoing debate on how data should be protected (by ethics, the market, and the laws) or who should be responsible for protecting data (the state, the companies, or the organizations) (Stahl, 2007). The uncertainty about data privacy protection forces governments to play a major role in protecting their citizen's data

(Lewis,2020). With these concerns about data privacy, governments all over the world tend to limit privacy rights to promote security for their citizens. (Stahl, 2007; Milberg et al., 2000). The rising data protection efforts of governments have also been accelerated by the rise of nationalism worldwide. Manning (2019) shows that with the rise of populist nationalism, there is a clear trend from techno-globalism to techno-nationalism by creating a set of policies that support national brands and create obstacles for foreign brands in tech sectors. Generally, technological and political boundaries are different but state usually bring them into line by controlling the movement of things across borders (Edgerton, 2007). Among the movement of things, data has become a significant thing in this information age.

Because of surveillance and access reasons, governments force specific data protection and privacy regimes to control the flow of information about their citizens to other countries and to better protect national sovereign interests (Daskal & Sherman, 2020). The increasing efforts of governments to protect national interests are explained via data nationalism which can be defined as the efforts of nation-states to control citizens' and residents' data for security, privacy, and economic reasons (Daskal & Sherman,2020). Data localization is also on the rise in many countries with the rise of data nationalism, which forces corporations to store and process data within a country such as Russia and some Asian countries – India, Indonesia, and Vietnam- try to adopt Chinese kind of data localization strategies (Manning, 2019). Moreover, the reasons for data nationalism vary across countries, such as the pursuit of national security, consumers' data privacy concerns, foreign threats, and uncontrolled information flow (Daskal & Sherman, 2020). In my study, I focus on consumers' data privacy concerns are shaped via data nationalist discourses.

2.2.4 Data Nationalism in the Global South

Another data privacy scandal was revealed in 2013 by Edward Snowden who is an American former intelligence worker. He leaked highly classified information from National Security Agency. This information shows how NSA constructed many global surveillance programs which enable the NSA to collect billions of data from all over the world via Google, Apple, Facebook, and other companies. Snowden's confession made a big noise in different parts of the world about the acceptance of sharing personal information with companies. In general, companies accept that they share consumers' information with third parties for the purpose of customized marketing activities in exchange for free service. However, until this confession, many people were not aware that the third party with which tech companies share their customers' information might be an intelligence agency (Dijk,2014). These disclosures of Snowden have increased the questions about the American tech companies' relationship with governments and showed that the US tech companies are not operated in a vacuum (Dijk,2014). Since consumers' concerns about the digital world have been increasing and the nationalist ideology has been resurging around the world, the trust in the global corporations created by the US and its Western allies has been decreasing (Lewis, 2014). In this new trend, data nationalism questions a serious threat that is constructed by the big tech companies which are supplied by Silicon Valley (Kuner, 2014). Moreover, consumers are also concerned with the anti-competitive behavior of a few large companies, particularly American tech firms, that highly dominate the market (Lewis,2020). The hegemony of the US tech brands in markets causes the concern of colonization that is explained via the concept of data colonialism. Within this concept, states are portrayed as volunteer agents of colonization when they become the main clients of global corporations (Goode,2020). Similarly, Daskal and Sherman (2020) show that many countries all over the world have data privacy concerns and want to resist

the data colonialism of American tech companies. They give the example of India, where consumers have serious concerns about the domination of Western technologies and have faith in data localization that might offset the power imbalance between Indian tech companies and the US tech giants like Google and Facebook. Thus, the studies show that data nationalism has not gained a moment only because of the global concerns about data privacy but also the power imbalance between the Global North and the Global South.

Overall, the studies show that nationalist efforts to protect citizens' data and national interests are on the rise (Kuner, 2014; Lewis, 2020; Goode, 2020; Daskal & Sherman, 2020). Data nationalism is a particular concept to understand governments' nationalist efforts in data protection. Daskal and Sherman (2020) highlight that data nationalism is not only a short-term political phenomenon around protectionist sentiments but also the expression of a deep concern with the increase of globalization and the increasing uncertainty in society about carrying national borders on the digital space. Although data nationalism is an essential topic in political science to understand nationalist ideology in data protection, it has not been studied in marketing to explore how it shapes consumers' understanding of data privacy. Moreover, data nationalism studies are interesting in developing markets where various actors discuss the power of Western brands, particularly the US tech companies, including the power imbalance between Western brands and local brands and the concerns about the enormous data collection of Western companies. In my study, I focus on consumers' data privacy concerns are constructed due to the dominant power of global tech brands in the Turkish Market.

Figure 1: The Position of This Research in Data Privacy Literature

Data Privacy Literature		
	Marketing Literature	Extent Social Science Literature
Brand-Consumer (Micro) Studies	✓ (Miyazaki, 2008 ; Gabsich & Milne, 2014 ; Vail et al., 2008)	✓ (Afolabi et al.,2021 ; Fortes & Rita, 2014 ; Sutanto et al., 2021 : Wang et al., 2021)
Social-Cultural (Macro) Studies	?	✓ (Anthony, 2017 ; Kasper,2007 ; Altman, 1977; Shapiro & Baker ,2001)
Global South Context Studies	?	✓ (Goode,2020; Kuner, 2014)

✓ It shows that this dimension has been studied.

? It shows that this dimension has not been studied, and my study aims to fulfill it.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Context

3.1.1 Context: Whatsapp's New Data Privacy Policy

In January 2021, WhatsApp decided to change its data privacy policy in the non-EU (European Union) countries that enable sharing users' information with Facebook to improve their marketing activities. This new policy caused a crisis since consumers worried about what kind of data will be collected and how it will be used. In addition to the consumers' concerns about data privacy, consumers were not happy because of the unequal treatment of the company between the EU and non-EU countries. This crisis suddenly gained the attention of the public, including consumers, brands, government, politicians, journalists, etc., and was heavily discussed in mainstream media, social media, and the internet. The worries and unequal treatment caused a big crisis, and

millions of people switched from WhatsApp to other instant messaging apps. This movement is called “the largest digital migration in history” by Telegram’s CEO. There was a similar reaction to this crisis in Turkey since WhatsApp is the third most used social media platform after YouTube and Facebook and the leader in terms of cumulative time spent on mobile apps (Kemp,2021).

Therefore, people and institutions started discussing WhatsApp’s alternatives in Turkey, which were mainly Telegram -a Russian app-, Signal- an American app-, and BiP -a Turkish app-. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey’s president, called Turkish people and institutions to take action against WhatsApp and to move to the national apps by saying, “We have to stand together against digital fascism”. During the crisis, particular attention was paid to, and 5.6 million people downloaded the app in the first ten days of the crisis, which is an almost 200% increase in the number of its users (Habertürk,2021). The discussion during the crisis was interesting because global and local brands were not only discussed regarding their privacy policies or technical capabilities of the apps to protect data but also were discussed through the understandings and meanings of the brands in the sphere of politics, particularly nationalism. The discussions of local and global brands and the switch to the local brand are instances of the role of political ideology in consumers’ data privacy concerns.

The context of the research made visible the potential harm of discriminatory data privacy policies; thus, it was a focusing event in Birkland’s concept. A focusing event can be defined as an event that is unexpected; relatively unaccustomed; can be harmful or have the potential to be detrimental in the future; gain the attention of a specific geographical area or community, and is known by policymakers and the public (Birkland, 1998). Since the harms of a focusing event are done in a particular region rather than throughout the world, its harms are more visible (Birkland,1998). In the context of this research, since WhatsApp’s s new data privacy policy as the focusing event is implied only in non-EU countries, the harms of this event became more visible to the public.

Birkland (1998) also shows that focusing events are socially constructed and easily gain attention in society because they touch compelling problems and have symbolic value. Wang (2005) demonstrates how the concept of “focusing events” can be implied to understand consumer nationalism crises. Wang (2005) argues that focusing events form its focal power to obtain consumers’ interest and imagination, convert itself into an international company concern, and mobilize consumers to represent their national identity through their consumption. In brief, Wang (2005) perceives focusing events as “the catalyst for consumer nationalism crises”. In this research, consumers’ data privacy concerns, as a compelling issue in contemporary society, suddenly gained the attention of Turkish people on both mainstream and social media with the new data privacy policy of WhatsApp. This unprecedented event was not only discussed in an “objective” way, such as technical issues of the apps or the privacy policies of the apps but discussed via consumers’ data privacy concerns around nationalist ideology. Overall, regarding my context, the concept of “focusing events” helps us to achieve a better understanding of the research context.

3.1.2 Nationalism in Turkey

Turkey is a developing country that is culturally and historically connected to both the East and the West. Turkey experienced rapid globalization between the late 1980s and early 1990s with the political party ANAP, which won the election with Turgut Özal in 1983. Turkey went through a transformation from a state-controlled economy to a liberal market economy and opened itself to the world economically and socio-culturally in 1983 (Ger et al.,1993). As the leading player in this rapid globalization, ANAP, was a solid liberal-conservative party, had a conception of Turkish-Islamic -Western synthesis, and repeatedly used Turkish right-wing vogue words such as “great Turkey” and “powerful

Turkey” (Bora,2003).

Since the rapid globalization of Turkey made upset the structure of Turkish nation-state tradition, nationalism accelerated between the late 1980s and early 1990s in Turkey (Bora, 2003). Nationalism had a serious momentum in the early 1990s and is still a significant ideology that shapes feelings, beliefs, and understanding in Turkish society. Also, Turkish nationalism is not a homogeneous or static discourse but consists of various series of discourses that have evolved with different political-economic conjunctures such as leftist, Kemalist, pan-Turkist, Islamist, etc. (Bora, 2003; Yeşil,2020). The type of nationalism in this research context is the blend of Turkish Islamic nationalism, which is the blend of Turkish nationalism and Islamism, regarding the current political environment of Turkey. Within this type of nationalism, Turkey is regarded as the potential leader of the Islamic world, and nostalgia for the Ottoman past can become a nationalist fantasy (Bora,2003). This Islamic nationalist ideology emerges in the 1970s with MSP (Milli Selamet Partisi-National Salvation Party), which is a right-wing nationalist movement against the threat of leftism and communism (Yeşil, 2020). This movement, known as the National Vision (Milli Görüş), emphasizes Islamic ideology in Turkish identity. An anti-Western worldview is a central ideology of this movement since they believe the West has a purpose of disintegrating and weakening Turkey. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who has been in the government for the last 21 years, was an important figure in this movement. Throughout the period of the AKP, while Erdoğan still held some thoughts from the National Vision ideology, he transformed this ideology according to his political agenda. Yeşil (2020) explains the current the Islamic nationalism in this way “Erdoğan and the AKP have constructed and exploited a specific blend of rightist, Islam-focused nationalism not simply as stemming from their National Vision ideology but also to offset the tensions brought on by their neoliberal policies.”

The concept of Yerli ve Milli (Local and National) is important to understand

the blend of Turkish -Islamic nationalism within this context. This concept was first stated by the president of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, in the campaign for the upcoming election, which is the Turkish constitutional referendum. Erdoğan called Turkish voters to elect 550 members of parliament who are local and national and will work for Turkey with their hearts and souls (BBC News, 2015). In this election, AKP and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) announced their cooperation with AKP to change the constitution. Since then, the concept of local and national became the official catchphrase of AKP and is used to attack people and institutions who are against the policy of AKP (Şengül, 2021). The concept of local and national has been widely used in various markets in Turkey, such as national defense, automobile, technology, and so on. Thus, when I say “nationalism”, I mean an ethno-religious nationalism, Turkish Islamic Nationalism.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Data Collection

To address my research question, I collected data from multiple sources by conducting netnography, specifically non-participant online observation (Kozinets, 2015), that focuses on meanings, contexts, and cultural understandings of the texts (Belk et al., 2012). To collect data, I chose three digital platforms: YouTube, Google Play and App Store (mobile operating systems), and EksiSözlük. Through the collection of data from different platforms, I aim to enhance the trustworthiness of the study with data triangulation (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989) since the user profiles and affordances of the platforms are varied (Gibson, 1979). Each platform has advantages and disadvantages in terms of what each can give and cannot give. Since each platform offers data that the other platform(s) does not provide, I could have a

balanced understanding of the relationship between nationalism and data privacy. Overall, through YouTube, I could obtain expert consumer opinions with different ideologies, the discussions of reviewers from the same and opposing groups, and the interaction between reviewers and YouTube influencers. Moreover, via the mobile operating systems, I could acquire the opinions of authentic identities whose thoughts are also shaped by their experience with the local app and the interaction between the consumers and the brand. Lastly, thanks to EksiSözlük, I could attain the opinions of anonymous identities who are less likely to feel social desirability and political pressure. In addition to this, the collection of data from multiple sources shows that research issues can be approached from various angles or conceptualized in different ways (Resende, 2013). Although each data has its own limitations, they together provide a solid basis to have an understanding of cultural meanings enacted in a specific cultural context (Arnould & Wallendorf, 1994). On YouTube, I collected a total of 2300 comments on 228 pages from two videos that discuss which app consumers should use and shared by two different YouTube channels with different ideological positions. Moreover, I collected the reviews of BiP from Google Play and App Store, consisting of almost 20000 reviews on 925 pages. Lastly, I collected the comments from EksiSözlük by choosing the entries that are related to the WhatsApp crisis and BiP. I selected more than 15 entries(topics) that are on 228 pages. The duration of the data collection starts from January 2021, when the WhatsApp crisis came out, to February 2022.

On YouTube, I picked two videos that discuss the instant messaging apps with a focus on the WhatsApp crisis and represent two opposing opinions: encouraging and discouraging to use the local instant messaging app. The first video is shared by one of the most popular Turkish tech YouTube channels by its owner, Hakkı Alkan, who is a tech influencer known for his affinity for government and usually produces content in favor of local brands and technologies. The video

title is “What is the BiP, which is the app people move from WhatsApp to? How can it be used? We reviewed everything!”. In the video, he acts like a brand advocate who encourages his followers to move to BiP from WhatsApp by emphasizing its safety on data privacy and explaining its features that the other apps and WhatsApp do not have. Since it is a tech YouTube channel, it is likely that the followers have knowledge and interest in data privacy issues. On the other hand, the second video is shared by a journalist, Cevheri Güven, who is known for his oppositional position against the government and is a wanted journalist in Turkey. Currently, his channel is inaccessible in Turkey. The title of the video is “BiP’s and Telegram’s users are in trouble”. In this video, he warns people to avoid using BiP because of data privacy concerns. He compares the safety features of each of the four instant messaging apps- BiP, Telegram, WhatsApp, and Signal. The video’s name and content illustrate that he argues BiP is unsafe because of its data privacy policy and the risk of sharing users’ data with the Turkish government. Although his channel is not a pure tech channel, the video content educates and informs watchers on data privacy issues in detail. For instance, he explains what end-to-end encryption is in messaging, how it provides consumer security, and which apps do have this feature.

Overall, thanks to the comment under these two videos, I acquire technology expert consumer opinions from different ideological positions. It is crucial to collect expert consumer opinions because their views were not only formed through their ideological stances but also their knowledge of technology, such as the security features of the products or the data privacy issues of the apps. Moreover, the platform enables the interaction between reviewers and YouTube influencers and the interaction among reviewers through comments, such as replying to someone’s comment. The interaction under the comments is valuable to see the discussion within the same and between opposing groups.

The second platform is mobile operating systems, specifically Google Play and App Store. Since most nationalist arguments during this crisis took place

around BiP, I collected the reviews of the app on these platforms. These platforms provide valuable data in two ways. Firstly, reviewers on these platforms are connected through their Google and Apple accounts; thus, they mostly have an authentic identity that is non-anonymous with a tie to their real names and real connections. It is precious to obtain data from authentic identities because authentic identity is “an aggregated version of their offline past, the online present and their combined future” (Krotoski, 2012). I can say that most reviewers are likely to be the app’s consumers, such as sharing their pleasures or disappointments with some technical features of the app. Thus, I acquire consumer reviews of the local app that are not only shaped by their ideological position but also their interaction and experience with the app. It is important to acquire the reviews that are formed between the consumers’ engagement with the app and their ideological stance. Secondly, reviewers aim to communicate with the brand to express and convey their thoughts, emotions, and suggestions. For instance, reviewers give recommendations to the brand, such as adding and removing some features to compete with other apps. There are two ways of interaction between the brand and users. For example, the brand’s representatives can also respond to reviewers’ questions by replying to their reviews. On the other hand, the platforms have some disadvantages. They do not allow interaction between users except to evaluate someone’s reviews, valuable or not. This lack of interaction between reviewers is an obstacle to understand how consumers with nationalist ideology, who have different experiences with the app, communicate with each other.

The last platform is Ekşisözlük which is Turkish social news aggregation and discussion website. It is comparable to Reddit. The platform possesses many advantages in terms of the deepness of content and the identity of content creators. Firstly, users with different political ideologies and backgrounds can create an entry and share their views on any entry without restrictions, such as the number of words or content. Thus, I can acquire intense, long, and detailed

comments through this platform compared to data collected from YouTube and mobile operating systems. The discussions in the entries are constructed, fed, and controlled by users. The platform also enables me to see all the comments and entries of each user. With this feature, I have a broad understanding of users on different topics that help me to understand and interpret their opinions, thoughts, and emotions on data privacy. Secondly, since the users have anonymous identities on the platform, they are less likely to feel social desirability and political pressure when they express their opinions. The other platforms- YouTube, Google Play, and App Store- have anonymous identities but not as much as Ekşisözlük has. Besides, the main disadvantage of the platform is lacking interaction between users. The interaction can only occur by putting the links of other comments and writing your own opinions referring to the link. However, this interaction method is not very prevalent.

3.2.2 Data Analysis

I employ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to understand the role of nationalism in shaping consumers' data privacy concerns and reactions to these concerns with an emphasis on power, ideology, and knowledge which are interconnected and interrelated. In addition to CDA, all data from various platforms were coded with grounded theory procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The two analysis methods -CDA and grounded theory- were applied together in order to take advantage of each other. While Critical Discourse Analysis helps to explore ideology, knowledge, and power in Turkish Islamic nationalist discourse, grounded theory helps to explore the themes related to the discourses via its advanced coding techniques.

Discourse refers to groups of statements that structure how a thing is considered and how we act based on this thinking. In other words, it is specific knowledge about the world (Rose,2001). Gee (2011) uses Discourse with capital

D and defines it: “Discourse with a capital is composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and often, too, writing/reading coupled with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing, with other people and with various objects, tools, and technologies, so as to enact specific socially recognizable identities”. Discourses do not only represent but also construct the social world; therefore, they are constitutive and dialectical (Rogers,2011). With discourse, social actors form knowledge, situations, identities, and interpersonal relations (Maufahim et al., 2007). I particularly chose CDA rather than any other perspective of discourse analysis (DA) because it is not only interested in describing social processes but also in interpreting them regarding their socio-historical context (Resende, 201).

Context is very significant in CDA since CDA assumes a dialectical relationship exists between discursive events and the contexts in which they are embedded (de Cillia et al.,1999).

CDA particularly focuses on power, ideology, and knowledge dynamics that encompass discursive processes (Maufahim et al., 2007). Power, as the main concept in CDA, is articulated through and within discourses (Rogers, 2011). Power is not something positioned from the top of society to the bottom. It is everywhere; thus, discourse is everywhere, too (Rose, 2001). Power results in domination and oppression because of its role in differentiation and selection, inclusion and exclusion (Rogers, 2011). In a Foucauldian sense, when there is power, there is resistance. Thus, there are many discourses that contend and compete (Rose,2001). Since discourses are powerful, they produce objects, places, scenes, and relations in a way that they understand the world (Lakshmanan,2011). In this research, I focus on nationalist discourse shape and is shaped by power relations between global and local.

CDA argues that discourses are both expressions of social practices and ideology (Maufahim et al.,2007). Ideologies organize the actions and thoughts of individuals in a way that allows them to form a sense of collective identity,

coordinate socially essential functions, and maintain social order (Thompson & Haytko, 1997). Fairclough explains the concept of power and ideology in CDA by writing, “Discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains and changes power relations and the collective entities between which power relations obtain. Discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations” (1992). Regarding my research, nationalist discourse as an ideological discourse shapes the actions and thoughts of individuals on instant messaging apps with a focus on data privacy.

The other concept is knowledge. In a Foucauldian sense, the dominance of power does not come only from the location of discourse in a socially powerful institution but also from the claim of discourse on absolute truth (Rose, 2001). The most potent discourses depend on their claims that knowledge is true and the particular grounds on which assumed truth constitutes a “regime of truth” (Rose, 2001) which is “noticing and naming structures, conditions, and manifestations of domination”. In this study, I look at how nationalist discourse forms its truths on data privacy and global-local brands.

Text can also influence the ways of understanding reality and forms of social action by shaping the viewpoints of people who read or consume them (Resende, 2012). Texts can also contain a range of social, material, and political effects that might cause changes in a person’s beliefs and attitudes, actions, and social relations (Fairclough, 2011). Texts are embedded in the social conditions that connect them to ideologies and power relationships (Maufahim et al., 2007) and can have an impact on inculcating and maintaining ideologies (Fairclough, 2011). The text in CDA is important because I analyze texts from multiple sources. With CDA, I explore how nationalist ideology with a focus on data privacy concern is embedded in the texts and shape the texts.

In grounded theory procedures, I first started with open coding, in which I broke my data into and developed categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). To keep

my connection between data and categories, I used the constant comparative method, which constantly makes comparisons between data, between categories, and between data and categories. In the second stage, axial coding, I read over my categories and interconnected the categories that I found with open coding. In selective coding, I found the core categories to explain the role of nationalist ideology in shaping consumers' data privacy concerns and reactions to these concerns. Two methods – discourse analysis and grounded theory coding procedures- were used to take advantage of each other. While discourse analysis helped to focus on the concepts of knowledge, power, and ideology to understand the relationship between nationalism and consumers' data privacy, grounded theory procedures provided a systematic data analysis to have a deep understanding of this relationship. Moreover, I use an iterative framework in all research processes rather than following specific research stages in a sequential manner because my analysis is not a repetitive mechanical task but a reflexive process (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009).

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Association of Various Respective Foreign and Local Actors to Build Distrust in Global and Trust in Local Brands

In the nationalist discourse, when consumers construct their data privacy concerns, they link local and global brands with various market actors, such as governments, politicians, brands, and institutions. With the association of global brands with foreign actors, they increase their data privacy concerns and build distrust in global brands. On the other hand, they reduce their data privacy concerns and build trust in local brands by amalgamating local brands with local actors.

4.1.1 Association of Various Foreign Actors to Build Distrust in Global Brands

With this association, the nationalist discourse emphasizes the country of origin of global instant messaging apps and highlights that the consumption of global brands will provide data not only to these brands but also the foreign governments. In the nationalist discourse, consumers believe that global brands are not independent of their government and there is a data flow between global brands and governments. Thus, the nationalist discourse underscores data privacy concerns towards global brands since it is believed that global brands share their users' data with their respective governments. Their data privacy concerns are towards all global brands rather than a particular brand or country. For instance, consumers especially highlight the relationship between WhatsApp and the US and Telegram and Russia. The users from Google Play/App Store and YouTube (discouraging to use the local) express their concerns as:

I am begging you to download the local app. Telegram is not different from WhatsApp. The founder of Telegram is perceived as Facebook in Russia. No one trusts Telegram except us. (Play/App Store)

It is clear that the American military and intelligence service is behind the digital industry, such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Google. You shouldn't be deceived by Mark Zuckerberg or Jack Dorsey because they are just puppets (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Since consumers' data privacy concerns are towards all global brands in the discourse of nationalism, in the nationalist discourse, consumers criticize other Turkish consumers who switch from the foreign app WhatsApp to another foreign app, Telegram. They do not see any difference in switching from a global to another global. They put emphasis on potential data privacy threats in the future, such as selling data in case of using global apps. The users from different digital platforms state their concerns as follows:

In the future, the users of Telegram will stop using it, but it will be too late. WhatsApp is stealing your data, but it was just revealed recently. However, they don't delete your data. In the future, when it is revealed that Telegram also steals your data, it will be too late, and you will regret it. Also, your data will be sold again and again by these companies. Switching from WhatsApp to Telegram is similar to killing a thief in your house but then welcoming another thief to your home. However, neither the dead thief nor the new thief will give back your data. I am warning you right now this example is the same thing as switching from the American brand WhatsApp to the Russian brand Telegram. (YouTube, encouraging to use the local)

BiP is a great app. I can't understand why people are switching from a foreign brand to another foreign brand. We should use and support local apps. How can we be sure that Telegram will not sell our data in the future? (Google Play/App Store)

Interestingly some people suggest Telegram is controlled by the Russian government. Many Russian apps, particularly Yandex, are under the control of the Russian government. (Ekşisözlük)

Moreover, the nationalist discourse highlights the relationship between global brands and intelligence services to build distrust in foreign apps. Within this discourse, consumers believe that foreign intelligence agencies control global brands and thus, the use of global apps also helps foreign intelligence agencies to acquire more data from Turkish consumers. When BiP is criticized by other consumers with an emphasis on the relationship between BiP and the current government and MIT (Turkish Intelligence Service), consumers subscribing to nationalist discourse advocate the local brand against anti-local consumers. The users from Google Play/App Store and YouTube (discouraging to use the local) express their concerns as:

It is significant to use the national app. It might not be good as the foreign ones but will be better in the future. The foreign apps are under the control of the CIA and Mossad. (Google Play/App Store)

By encouraging the consumption of foreign apps, you clearly state that you should give your data to the American CIA rather than Turkey. (YouTube discouraging to use the local)

Turkish government secures their civil servants' data. What is wrong with that? I know you are upset because the CIA and Mossad cannot get data from BİP. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Consumers subscribing to a nationalist discourse highlight the data privacy scandals of foreign brands that recently happened to express their current and future worries about using global brands. They mainly refer to the scandals of Edward Snowden and Cambridge Analytica to demonstrate how governments and these brands control users' data and manipulate their behaviors. These scandals indicate both the power of the US government on American tech brands and the power of American tech brands in society. The users from YouTube (discouraging to use the local) and Ekşisözlük show their data privacy concerns due to past privacy concerns as:

Cevheri (the owner of the channel), you are a liar because Edward Snowden disclosed that the US government tracks social media and controls these social media companies with a law. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

It doesn't matter as much as it is local and national. We saw what they (refer to Facebook Cambridge Analytica Scandal) did against Donald Trump. The biggest weapon of Zionism is data sources. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Turkish people tried to prevent the second Cambridge scandal. It is a victory for data privacy. (Ekşisözlük)

To build distrust in global brands, particularly WhatsApp, people state the past data privacy scandals of Facebook, which purchased WhatsApp in 2014. They also highlight the owner of these brands, Mark Zuckerberg, since he has been coping with many data privacy violation lawsuits. The bad reputation of Facebook and Mark Zuckerberg building distrust in WhatsApp is emphasized in the nationalist discourse. This association of global brands with its owner and parent company indicates the interrelatedness of market actors in the construction of data privacy concerns in the nationalist discourse. The users from YouTube (discouraging to use the local) and Ekşisözlük state their concerns as follows:

Do you think that WhatsApp sells data only to companies? They provide data to predict and manage the behaviors of people. It might be either a seller or a government. The record of Facebook is dirty on this issue. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Facebook is a criminal. Since they sold Facebook' users' information in the past, we can't be sure that they won't sell WhatsApp' users (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

It is important to create a campaign against data privacy violations to start a change in data privacy. We have to wipe off all companies like Facebook, which is the adversary of data privacy. (Ekşisözlük)

The nationalist discourse also clearly underlies religious discourses to build distrust in global brands by identifying them as infidels, unbelievers, and Jewish. Although neither WhatsApp nor Telegram is not an Israelian app, consumers in the nationalist discourse still emphasize the control of the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad in these apps. This association arises from consumers' religious identity, which perceives Israel as an enemy and a friend of the USA. The perception of the USA and Israel as an “enemy” has been prevalent in Islamic -Turkish nationalist discourse. The anti-American and anti-Israeli discourses are particularly intensified due to political tensions in the Middle East, such as the invasion of Iraq by the USA and the ongoing tension between Israel and Palestine. These political tensions also shape consumers' data privacy concerns towards WhatsApp because the consumption of WhatsApp is like supporting your “enemy” by giving data and helping them to earn money. The users from Google Play/App Store and YouTube (discouraging to use the local) emphasize the infidelity of the foreign brands and states data privacy concerns as:

Please, use the local app rather than an infidel app, WhatsApp. America, you should watch out because Turkish people are coming. (Google Play/App Store)

Facebook and WhatsApp belong to Jewish people. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Jewish institutions won't have any difficulty reaching data from WhatsApp even after ten years. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

4.1.2 Association of Various Local Actors to Build Trust in Local Brands

In the evaluation of data privacy concerns for local brands, the nationalist discourse links various local actors with local brands to build trust in local brands, such as the Turkish government, government agencies, the president of Turkey, and Turkish courts.

In the nationalist discourse, consumers build trust in local brands by highlighting the endorsement of the Turkish government and government agencies to switch from global brands and start using local brands. Since consumers subscribing to nationalist ideology are pro-government consumers and, thus, trust the government and government agencies in this study, the recommendations and choices of the government are perceived as trustable and credible sources. The users from Google Play/App Store and Ekşisözlük express how they trust local apps thanks to their trust in the government:

My teacher told me to download the local app. The Ministry of National Education switched to the local app. If they chose this app, it must be really good. (Google Play/App Store)

The support of the state for the local and national apps is amazing. I support their strategy. I have full trust in the calls of my government and authorities. Today, there are lots of manipulation and disinformation on social media. Thus, the state should educate the citizens to support local and national apps (Ekşisözlük)

The nationalist discourse also highlights the relationship between the local brand and the government to build trust for BiP by expressing their trust in the government and the power of the government to keep users' data safe. BiP is the product of Turkcell, which is the most popular Turkish telecommunication company in Turkey. More than a quarter share of the company was bought by the Turkish Wealth Fund, which belongs to the Republic of Turkey. Thus, there is a relationship between the local brand and the government. Since the government is perceived as more powerful than any institution regarding its

legislative, executive, and jurisdiction powers, the relationship between the government and the local brand reduces data privacy concerns and builds trust in the local brand. The users from YouTube (both encouraging and discouraging to use the local) express their trust in the local app as:

BiP is under the assurance of the Turkish government. What else do you want? (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Turkcell (the owner of BiP) is transferred to the wealth fund. So, it is a state-owned company now. (YouTube, encouraging to use the local)

I don't think BiP will sell our data, but I still cannot be sure about that. However, I think they won't do anything, such as selling data without the permission of the state. Do you think that anyone except the government can see our data? (YouTube, encouraging to use the local)

Consumers build trust in the local brand through the thoughts and suggestions of people who are aligned with their nationalist ideology. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the president of Turkey, and Selçuk Bayraktar, who is son in law of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, are the most salient persons that consumers trust in this crisis. Selçuk Bayraktar is also an important figure among pro-government consumers in technology since his company produces national defense goods such as combat drones (IHA, SIHA) or battle tanks (Altay) which are often mentioned by nationalist people to highlight the success, advancement of Turkish technology, and the success of the government in the tech market. These links demonstrate that politicians, tech leaders, and other national technologies can be used as a source to build trust in local brands. Moreover, the nationalist discourse underlies trust in Turkish engineers who developed the local app by indicating the difference of us versus them such as our engineer.

The users from various platforms express their trust in the local app:

If Selcuk Bayraktar tells us to use the local app, it should be right to use it. Since he is an expert on GPS and GPS systems, his produced IHAs (combat drones) became very well known in the world for their safety in data privacy (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

I cannot be silent on this issue since our president points out the consumption of BiP (Google Play/App Store)

I use and trust the local app, BiP, since it was developed by Turkish engineers (Google Play/App Store)

Moreover, in the nationalist discourse, consumers express their data privacy concerns about the data flow from Turkey to abroad. They trust the local app because they believe that the local app will keep data within the boundary of Turkey. They particularly highlight the data center of the local brand, which is located in Kocaeli, Turkey. This concern also demonstrates that storing data within the country is not only a concern at the state level, such as data localization efforts of the state, but also a concern at the individual level. The users from Google Play/App Store show the importance of storing data in Turkey and express their trust as:

Using a national program means that our data will not be transferred abroad and will stay in Turkey. (Google Play/App Store)

It is great that the data center of BiP is in Turkey (Google Play/App Store) Why should Turkey's data be in California? The data center of BiP is in Turkey.

Lastly, the data privacy protection laws in the Turkish constitution and their confidence in Turkish courts are highlighted in the nationalist discourse to build trust in the local brand. Consumers indicate that the accessibility of Turkish courts and laws is vital if the local brand commits data privacy violations. They emphasize not only their own accessibility but also the government's accessibility in case of any data privacy violation by the local brand. In addition to accessibility, consumers also emphasize their familiarity with local data privacy rights and laws. They are more aware of what they can and/or cannot do in case of any data privacy violation by local or global brands. Overall, the accessibility and familiarity of local legal sources empower consumers, which leads to reducing their data privacy concerns for the local brand. The users from YouTube (both encouraging and discouraging to use the local) express their trust in the local brand as:

Neither WhatsApp nor Telegram has a representative in Turkey. Thus, if any data privacy violation happens, it is

difficult for the state to intervene. However, BiP is the app of Turkcell and has a representative in Turkey. If any data privacy violation happens against the constitution, the state can easily intervene. (YouTube, encouraging to use the local)

The interlocutor of BiP is Istanbul courts. Does WhatsApp offer that? You can permanently delete all of your data via the Turkish Data Protection Authority (KVKK). (YouTube, encouraging to use the local)

If something goes wrong, I can easily apply to a Turkish court and fight. Will we be able to fight against the USA or others? (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

4.2 Construction of Data Privacy Concerns at Collective National Level and Legitimization of Government's Involvement in Data Collection and Processing

Some people highlight the unimportance of Turkish users' data for WhatsApp. For instance, they indicate the worthlessness of users by asking Turkish users who you are and who will need your data since you are an ordinary a Turkish citizen. However, in the nationalist discourse, the underestimation of ordinary Turkish citizens' data is highly criticized. Consumers argue that our data might be trivial at the individual level but is very important and worthy at the collective level. They emphasize that since global brands know the value of our data at the collective level, they come up with this kind of data privacy policy. The users from Eksiözlük express the importance of data at the collective level as:

An individual's data might be worthless. However, when they collect everyone's data, they are very worthy. Think in that way; no one will get rich by taking one dollar from an individual. However, if you take one dollar from everyone in the world, you will have 7 billion dollars which is huge.

You can underestimate the data of people who earn 3226 TL per month. However, big data is constructed little by little and doesn't care about how much you make. Big data just focuses on the transformation of your data into a sellable good.

With this data privacy, although you don't use Facebook, everyone can easily access your data. Then, you lambently make jokes about the CIA and FBI. However, you don't know that Facebook will keep following you and even affect the minutes of your phone calls.

In addition to the emphasis on data privacy on the collective level, data privacy concerns are constructed at the collective national level in the discourse of nationalist ideology. Consumers show the importance of data privacy at the collective national level by emphasizing the data privacy scandals at the national level, such as the manipulation of American elections by Facebook. They demonstrate how global brands have massive power with the possession of the data of millions of people that can manipulate the masses and decide the future of the nations. The users from Ekşisözlük express their concerns:

Today, privacy is power. The more data you have, the more powerful you are. They cannot do anything with your data, but they can do lots of things with the data of millions of people. They can control and manipulate masses with data. For instance, in the Facebook scandal, we saw how they influenced the US presidential election.

You should search about how the data that you underestimated played an enormous role in Obama's and Trump's elections. There are some stupid people who still ask why they need your trivial data. Since your data is valuable, they force you to sign their data privacy policies. We are a product.

Moreover, since data privacy concerns are constructed at the collective national level in the discourse of nationalism, the government's involvement in data collection and processing is legitimized by highlighting the inevitability of data privacy violations and the value of national data for the government to provide national security and sovereignty.

Consumers subscribing to nationalist discourse indicate that it is impossible to have data privacy on digital platforms. One way or another, somebody will collect, store, and share our data. They believe since this process is inevitable, at least our state should have our data rather than foreign brands, intelligence

agencies, and governments. This preference also indicates their pro-government identity because since their ideology aligns with the current government, they do not worry about the government's involvement. Moreover, the preference for the government's involvement in data collection due to the inescapability of data privacy violations sheds light on one of the most prevalent data privacy concerns of consumers: Data is collected by whom? The users from YouTube (both discouraging and encouraging to use the local) express the inevitability of data privacy and legitimization of the state in data collection:

WhatsApp is the CIA's favorite app. It is okay when the American government sees data, but it isn't okay if the Turkish government sees data. It is just an abdication of reason. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Wherever you go in the world, more or less data privacy issues exist. At least, our state should have our data. (Discouraging to use the local)

As a Turkish citizen, I prefer that the Turkish Republic should have my data rather than the US. As if the CIA wouldn't reach users' data in WhatsApp. It doesn't matter whether BiP shares my data with the Turkish Republic or not; I will still choose BiP and invite people to use BiP. (YouTube discouraging to use the local)

The role of data in national security is constantly emphasized in the nationalist discourse. Consumers argue that government should also have data to promote national security by identifying Turkey's enemies and battling with these enemies. In the nationalist discourse, consumers see data as a kind of resource that they can give to the government to protect the nation's interests. Consumers subscribing to the nationalist discourse explicitly underline that government does not care about the daily conversations of users with their friends unless there is a national security threat to the sovereignty of the nation and citizens. The users from YouTube (both encouraging and discouraging to use the local) emphasize the importance of the government's involvement in data collection:

I think the state should collect, and we should take risks. Due to the platforms such as YouTube, foreigners have our data. We must give power to the state to fight with these platforms. (Encouraging to use the local app)

Of course, we will use BiP. My state and my people should have data rather than Americans and Russians. Unless there are attempts to support terrorists and threaten national unity and integrity, how will the state use your confabulation with your friends? The state has nothing to do except track your conversations with your lovely. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

The citizens who want to live peacefully in this country shouldn't worry about the data acquisition request of Turkish intelligence service from the local brands. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

Moreover, the government's involvement in data collection and processing is legitimized in the nationalist discourse by emphasizing that as we are Turkish citizens, we have nothing to hide from the government. They state that people who are defined as traitors, terrorists, and adversaries should worry about the government's access to citizens' data. The discourses to express these people align with the prevalent discourse of the current government, such as "vatan haini" (traitor) and "fetöcü" (people who are a member of the Gulen Movement that is perceived as a terrorist organization in Turkey). Thus, with the consumption of the local brand, they also express their pro-government identity. The users from YouTube (discouraging to use the local) legitimize the involvement of the government in data collection and processing as:

If you are not a member of FETÖ (a terrorist organization) or any organization who do things against the state, why do you worry about the government's access to your data? (YouTube, discouraging to the local)

I have nothing to hide from the state. Traitors hide themselves from the state (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

You said that the state would use BiP's data in security intelligence. There is nothing to be scared of for people who love their country and are not dangerous to society (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

4.3 Data Privacy Concerns about Global Brands' Digital Discriminatory Policies and Consumer Resistance to These Brands

The concerns due to global brands' discriminatory data privacy policies were emphasized in the nationalist discourse. With these data privacy policies, consumers believe that global brands do not treat Turkish consumers in the same way that they treat consumers in the Global North. The nationalist discourse underlies how the discriminatory practices of global brands represent the global hierarchy between the Global South and the Global North.

Consumers emphasize that if we accept their discriminatory practices, we also acknowledge the global inequality between the Global North and the Global South. These concerns indicate that consumers' data privacy concerns are also shaped by the power relations between the Global North and Global South.

The users from YouTube (discouraging to use the local) and Eksişözlük express this unequal treatment as:

WhatsApp sees us as a loser and forces us to accept their new data privacy, which wasn't sent to the users in the EU. We also accept this new data privacy policy by acknowledging that we are loser. With the acceptance of this policy, our own security is violated. Thus, this issue is now a national issue. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

While WhatsApp respects European users' data, they see us and our data as garbage. They force us to do everything that they cannot do in Europe. (YouTube, discouraging to use the local)

It is unskillfulness of our government not to be able to join the EU. However, it doesn't require being treated inhumanely. If WhatsApp applies the data privacy standards to Turkey as they do in Europe, we won't have an issue. (Eksişözlük)

Moreover, since consumers subscribing to the nationalist ideology believe that global brands unequally treat Western and non-Western consumers with their discriminatory digital policies, they encourage people to resist global brands or support other consumers' resistance. Even though some consumers neither

encourage nor support resistance, they acknowledge that people have a right to form a consumer resistance on this issue. Also, consumers criticize the Turkish people who accept and legitimize this discriminatory policy of WhatsApp by highlighting that they are equal human beings like people in the West. The users from Ekşiözlük highlight their resistance due to the discriminatory policy of WhatsApp.

Some people criticize this resistance by asking, " Do you think you are European? ". No, we think we are equal human beings like everyone. However, we couldn't be understood by people like you who have a psychology of inferiority. We also know that no app is safe but reacting to this discrimination is better than doing nothing.

We are sick of being treated like a third-world country. Thus, people have started reacting from somewhere.

It is a fair reaction because WhatsApp doesn't see any harm in forcing us to accept their new data privacy policy that they cannot impose on the citizens of prosperous countries.

It doesn't matter who is going to process my data because, in the worst scenario, someone will acquire our data. My reaction is to discrimination. What does it mean to discriminate against people like in Middle Ages? I encourage all users to stop using WhatsApp for human dignity.

Moreover, while the nationalist discourse encourages and supports consumer resistance to the global brand, some consumers in the nationalist discourse encourage others to start using the local app. They define the behaviors of WhatsApp as digital fascism, digital discrimination, and digital terrorism. Thus, consumers see the local app as a savior that saves them from the discriminatory and fascist behaviors of WhatsApp towards Turkish users. Moreover, the notion of "digital fascism" was first used by Recep Tayyip Erdogan against WhatsApp during the crisis. That indicates how the discourses of the government affect consumers' discourses in the nationalist discourse. The users from Google Play/App Store state the reasons for resistance to the global and support to the local brand:

I reject the treatment of WhatsApp for us as Third World citizens. Thus, I deleted WhatsApp and switched to the local and national app BiP.

Even though BiP is a bad app, it is still our app. We need this app to get rid of foreign apps, which are data sources of foreign intelligence services, fight against digital terror and fascism, and keep our national integrity.

Since the double standards and data spying of WhatsApp have been revealed, we have to protect the app that we made with our own means and feel safe to use it. Also, if there are some issues and inadequacies with BiP, we have to patiently wait to be resolved.

4.4 Data Privacy Concerns due to the Domination of Global Brands in the Market and Supporting Local Brands to Battle against These Brands

In the nationalist discourse, consumers' data privacy concerns were constructed because of the domination of global brands in the market. Consumers state that they do not feel free and independent anymore because of the domination of global tech brands such as WhatsApp. They highlight that their dependency arises from their social environments in which people regard WhatsApp as the main communication channel. Users from Ekşisözlük and Google Play/App Store tell their concerns as:

Can you ask yourself if you can delete WhatsApp right now? I asked myself and understood that I am addicted to WhatsApp. Even if I want to stop using WhatsApp, I cannot because all of my friends are there. However, the feeling of dependency bothers me so much. I can't tell that I am completely free and feel like being in a lattice. Thus, I decide to stop using WhatsApp. (Ekşisözlük)

They integrated all the apps by buying different platforms. Freedom, anonymity, and independence are just a lie. (Google Play/App Store)

When I bought my phone, I deleted three apps from my phone, which were Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp. People see me as a crazy person and ask me how I live without these apps. I can live without them because I don't trust these apps. They give the app free, like drugs. Then, you believe that you cannot survive without it. Since you become addicted to the app, you have to accept whatever they say. They establish rules. (Ekşisözlük)

Moreover, the discourse of nationalism underlies how the domination of global tech brands might cause problems for nations in the future. In the nationalist discourse, it is stated that since these tech brands hold a huge power, they might be more powerful than countries, establish rules in markets, and control everything within and between countries. When consumers think about what giant global tech brands can do at national and global levels regarding their current power and potential power in the future, they feel terrified and frightened. They also underscore that this data power is not only held by a company but also by an American company. Thus, by emphasizing the origin of the giant tech brands, they want to draw attention to the severity of the issue. The users from Ekşisözlük highlight the future threats of the domination of the global tech brands as:

After 50 years, Facebook or any other company will know everything about the leaders of countries s. I think it is a terrifying issue that every nation should think about.

Is the domination of WhatsApp normal? Isn't it risky that a US company controls all water supply networks in a county? Because of their power, they will establish water prices and schedule to provide water. You cannot do anything at all. If a crisis happens, they stop giving water, and you will be without water.

Now, the tech giants hold enormous power, and this power is frightening for the future e. For instance, the former US presidents were wiped from all the platforms s. It doesn't matter if they are right or not. It is scary that they have such vast power. For instance, if Google wants to send a message to everyone in the world, it may do it. This power has never been given to anyone in history.

Moreover, the nationalist discourse emphasizes how deeply global tech brands are embedded in society, from private life to business life, to show the domination of global tech brands. It is underscored that WhatsApp is even used in the communication of government agencies. The embeddedness of WhatsApp in every part of life raises consumers' data privacy concerns regarding the amount and type of data that WhatsApp has. The users from Ekşisözlük state the domination of global brands in everyday life:

Families, school groups, companies, and many different groups communicate through WhatsApp, and its popularity has been increasing from day to day. When someone says send me a message, the first and only platform that comes to mind is WhatsApp in Turkey.

In many government agencies in Turkey, the relationship between civil servants and superiors takes place on WhatsApp. The official correspondence comes after two or three days in government agencies.

Government agencies even use WhatsApp in communication. We don't know what data they have and will know in the future. God knows!

Moreover, due to the domination of WhatsApp in the market, consumers feel to be forced to use it. Since consumers worry about this social obligation, they start using the local brand. However, the consumption of the messaging app also depends on the consumption of other people. If other people don't use it, it is meaningless to have the app. Thus, they encourage others to start using the app to battle the domination of WhatsApp. Moreover, in the nationalist discourse, the consumption of local brands is perceived as a civic duty that every Turkish citizen should support the local brand to battle against global brands. In the nationalist discourse, consumers even express their gratefulness to the local app since the local brand saved them from using the global brand. The users from Google Play/App Store show their support for the local brand to compete with the dominant global brand:

Thanks to our local and national app, we won't worry about the imposition and caprice of the global brands. It is a win against the brands who think they are indispensable.

It is better than WhatsApp and is a local and national brand. If we support it, everything will be better. I thank for people who developed this app. If we don't support today, we won't have the right to tell why we cannot develop such apps. The developers did their job, so we have to support it.

I recommend the local app to everyone I know w. There are some minor issues, but they can be resolved in time. We have to support it to get rid of the foreign source dependency. Thank you, Turkcell.

In sum, in the discourse of nationalist ideology, consumers link various respective foreign and local actors together to build trust in local and distrust in global brands. Their knowledge and truth on data privacy and local-global brands are formed through nationalist discourses. Moreover, consumers construct data privacy concerns at the collective national level. With this construction, consumers relate data privacy issues to national security issues; then, they legitimize the government's involvement in data collection. They highlight that whoever has the data has the power. With this understanding, rather than giving power to foreigners, consumers want the government to have their data to promote national security by fighting with enemies inside and outside the country. Thus, the nationalist ideology shapes consumers' data privacy concerns regarding who owns their data. Also, in the nationalist discourse, consumers underlie the discriminatory data privacy policies of global brands in the West and the East. They state that these policies indicate and sustain the power imbalance between the West and East. Thus, they resist the global brands for equal treatment. Moreover, consumers underscore the dominance of global brands, particularly the power imbalance between the local and global brands in the Turkish tech market. Due to this power imbalance, consumers have concerns about the amount and type of data that Western global brands hold about Turkish consumers. The consumption of these global brands will increase the data power that they hold and cause severe issues in the future, such as controlling and manipulating the masses. Thus, consumers encourage to support the local app to battle against the dominant messaging app WhatsApp. Moreover, while different data privacy concerns are discussed under different sections, they are not independent concerns from each other. These concerns are interdependent and interconnected. For instance, the association of WhatsApp with the USA cannot be thought of separately from the fear of data colonization that consumers feel due to the discriminatory data privacy policies of global brands.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will start the theoretical contributions of this research by discussing the findings of the thesis through the theoretical framework that I constructed in the literature review section. Firstly, I will discuss the contribution of this thesis to data privacy studies in marketing. Secondly, I will discuss the contribution of this thesis to consumer nationalism and data privacy studies in the Global South. Lastly, I will show the methodological contribution of the thesis through the concept of focusing event. In the next section, I will go over the managerial, policy, and societal level implications of the thesis. In the final section, I will discuss the limitations of the thesis and future research directions.

5.1 Theoretical Contribution

Consumer data privacy is an important topic among researchers, marketers, and policymakers. In marketing, the plethora of research has examined data privacy by regarding data privacy as a construct between consumers and brands, such as the information customization opportunity of the brands (Mothersbaugh et al., 2012), the privacy practices of the companies (Culnan & Williams, 2009), and the privacy policies of the companies (Vail et al., 2008). However, the findings of this thesis show that rather than following the narrow understanding of data privacy concerns that are formed between consumers and brands, the findings show that consumers' data privacy concerns have a more complex structure that is constructed by the relations of various actors in the market. In this complex structure, the market actors are perceived as interdependent entities rather than independent entities. The nationalist discourse highlights the relationship and the existence of data flow between global brands and foreign actors, such as foreign governments, intelligence agencies, and other foreign brands, in order to build distrust in global brands. On the other hand, the relationship between local brands and local actors, such as the government, politicians, and government agencies, in order to build trust in local brands. In this complex structure, data privacy concerns are constructed through the intersection of the past (i.e., data privacy scandals of global brands in the past), the present (i.e., the perceived current relation of global brands with other actors), and the future data privacy concerns (i.e., the fears of data privacy invasions by global brands in the future). This construction extends the consumer research studies that show consumption is mediated by consumers' understanding of the past, present, and future (Varman & Belk, 2009; Dong & Tian, 2009). Overall, this study contributes to data privacy studies in marketing by showing that data privacy concerns are constructed in a complex structure in which the relationship between market actors and data privacy

concerns for the past, present, and future are emphasized.

Through the resistance to the global and consumption of the local, this study supports consumer nationalism studies that regard consumption as a political statement that consumers indicate their identities by resisting consuming foreign products and consuming their own nationally produced products (Gerth, 2011; Wang, 2005; Castello & Mihelj, 2018). Similarly, Zeugner-Roth et al. (2015) show that consumers construct differences such as us versus them or in-group versus out-group through the consumption of local brands over global brands. This study supports that consumers subscribing to nationalist discourse indicate their national identity through the consumption of the local app over the global apps. This study also extends the identity expression of consumers through the consumption of local and global brands by showing that consumers also illustrate their pro-government identity through the consumption of local brands. In other words, the consumption of local brands over global brands is a way for consumers to express their pro-government nationalist identities and distinguish themselves from anti-government consumers. Overall, this study shows that the consumption of local brands is not the only way to demonstrate their national identity against foreigners but also their political ideology against consumers with the opposite political ideology in the same country.

The other theoretical contribution that this study makes to data privacy studies in marketing is data ownership. There is a prevalent debate in data privacy about who owns and controls data regarding its accessibility, storage, processing, and sharing. The marketing studies follow a narrow understanding of the discussion of data ownership regarding the construct between consumers and brands (Gabisch & Milne, 2014). While consumer claim to have an absolute right to know what information is collected by companies, how information is used, and who can access it (Gabisch & Milne, 2014), marketers claim to have a legitimate ownership right on the use and dissemination of data since they spend their resource to collect data (Sheehan & Hoy, 2000). On the other hand,

the second approach claims that both consumers and marketers have a right to ownership of data; thus, the rights of ownership can be traded between consumers and marketers in the market (Rust et al., 2002). However, the findings of this research show that consumers add a third actor to the debate of data ownership: the government. Consumers legitimate the government's involvement in data collection and processing. They believe that it is inevitable to avoid data privacy issues; thus, at least my government should have our data rather than foreigners. Moreover, consumers construct data privacy concerns at the collective national level and legitimize the involvement of the government in data collection and processing by indicating that data will be used by the government to promote national security, such as fighting against terrorists, enemies, and betrayers. Overall, this study extends data ownership studies in marketing by showing that consumers subscribing to nationalist ideology add a third actor-government- and legitimize its role in data collection and processing. This study also contributes to consumer nationalism and data privacy studies in the Global South. Many data privacy studies from different disciplines highlight that data privacy should be studied within a particular context regarding its sociocultural, historical, and political aspects (Milberg et al., 2000; Anthony, 2017; Altman, 1977). However, the majority of data privacy studies in marketing focus on Western societies (Marin & Murphy, 2017; Hong et al., 2021). This study does not only fill the gap in the literature by working in a Non-Western context but also widens our understanding of data privacy. Moreover, although data nationalism is a growing approach all over the world (Daskal & Sherman, 2020; Manning, 2019), we do not still know what the role of data nationalism in consumers' data privacy concerns in the Global South is. The findings of this study show that consumers have concerns about the colonial practices of global brands in the Global South, such as discriminatory data privacy policies of global brands. Consumers in the Global South state that global brands do not equally treat their data as they treat consumers in

the Global North. They feel that their data are perceived as garbage, and they are treated as a Third World citizen. Thus, consumers in the Global South perceive data nationalism as a form of resistance against the colonial practices of global brands. This resistance also supports that consumers reject the brands regarding broader social and political concerns, which is colonial practices of the global brands in my research (Sandıkçı & Ekici, 2009). Overall, this study contributes to nationalism and data privacy studies in marketing by indicating that consumers' data privacy concerns are also constructed at the macro level, which is the power imbalance between the Global North and the Global South in this research.

Moreover, consumers in the Global South have concerns due to the domination of Western brands in the tech market. Consumers feel like addictive and dependent on these brands due to their domination. They believe that these giant global brands hold massive power in terms of data by collecting data from consumers' private life to business life. The data collection practices of the global brands everywhere and every second in the Global South are perceived as a sort of colonization, in other words, data colonization. Since data nationalism is perceived as a way to resist data colonization, consumers in the Global South encourage other consumers to support local brands to battle against the domination of global brands. Regarding consumer resistance to global brands due to their domination in the tech market, Sandıkçı and Ekici (2009) state that Turkish consumers reject a brand due to its perceived association with the economic dominance and cultural imperialism of the United States. Similarly, İzberk-Bilgin(2008) global brands can be interpreted as colonizers and resisted since they are perceived as a symbol of cultural imperialism. This study goes beyond the economic and cultural dominance of global brands by indicating that consumers reject Western global brands due to their data dominance in the tech market. In this rejection, consumers highlight the power of data in the information age and underscore how this power enables global brands to control

and manipulate the behaviors of individuals and societies. In the nationalist discourse, while consumers resist global brands due to their domination, they also give new meanings to local brands. In this study, the local brand was perceived as a savior who rescues consumers from dependence on global brands. The perception of the local brand as a savior against the domination of global brands in the market supports Holt's argument that consumers pursue personal sovereignty through brands(2002). This study also extends his assumption by showing that the local brand was perceived as the commodification of national sovereignty, which will save the Turkish nation from dependence on foreigners in the tech market.

Moreover, WhatsApp's new data privacy policy crisis encompasses many characteristics of a focusing event, such as happening unexpectedly, gaining attention in a specific region, being unpredictable, and being known by policymakers. (Birkland, 1998). This study also agrees with Wang(2005), who perceives focusing events as "the catalyst for consumer nationalism crisis" that usually includes international relations conflicts. This study makes a methodological contribution by explicating empirically how a focusing event was constructed, spread, and maintained on digital platforms around the issue of the power imbalance between the Global North and the Global South, particularly due to the discriminatory data privacy policies of global brands in the Global South. Focusing events are also facilitated by the creation and circulation of symbols (Birkland, 1998). This study demonstrates how the symbols are constructed and circulated regarding the sociocultural factors in the Global South. In this study, while global brands were perceived as a symbol of domination of the Global North, local brands were perceived as a symbol of salvation from global brands' domination.

5.2 Managerial, Policy, and Societal Level Implications

Data privacy concern is a growing issue in society, and various stakeholders are trying to take a role in reducing data privacy concerns in society. However, there is no consensus on the solution to the issue. The studies show that data privacy concerns have been increasing rather than decreasing (Lucas et al., 2021). This study indicates valuable insights and proposes implications for businesses and policymakers to reduce consumers' data privacy concerns.

Firstly, for businesses, data security technologies such as end-to-end encryption, open-source software, and data privacy policies have a significant impact on consumers' trust in instant messaging apps. However, this study shows that they are not enough to build trust in the apps because consumers' data privacy concerns are constructed and shaped by various actors and socio-cultural in a complex structure. Consumers have concerns about what data will be collected, will be used, where it will be stored, and with whom it will be shared.

Particularly, consumers have data privacy concerns due to the accessibility of foreign governments, institutions, and brands. Thus, global brands should clearly communicate with consumers by showing their data processing system, from data collection to data destruction. Also, they should have transparent communication with consumers if any different actors are involved in any step of data processing.

Secondly, this study offers precious insights for policymakers. This study shows that consumers have concerns about the data privacy policies and practices of global brands. They think that they do not have the power to take action against these brands in case of data privacy violations. Thus, policymakers should inform consumers about what data privacy rights they have and how they can take action against any kind of data privacy violation. Knowing what consumers can do in case of any data privacy violation will empower them to protect their privacy rights and reduce their data privacy concerns. In addition,

this study offers significant insight into the government's involvement in data collection and process. Consumers, who subscribe to nationalist ideology and have a pro-government identity, legitimize the government's involvement for the sake of national security, such as by identifying terrorists and fighting against traitors. Thus, to reduce consumers' data privacy concerns in the case of government involvement, policymakers should clearly explain what data will be collected, how it will be processed, and for what purposes it will be used. Lastly, at the societal level, this research focuses on one of the most important issues that society worry about: data privacy. This study indicates that consumers construct their data privacy concerns in a very complex structure. Some essential steps should be taken to reduce consumers' data privacy concerns. Firstly, global brands should have established data privacy that can be applied to all of their consumers worldwide rather than developing discriminatory data privacy policies for the Global South and the Global North. Moreover, to think of a better future, some global rules and standards should be established to prevent consumers from data privacy violations of the brands. Unless necessary steps are taken at the global level, consumers' data privacy concerns will grow, and the data nationalism practices of the policymakers in the Global South will be sharpened.

5.3 Limitations and Future Research Directions

This study has several limitations. First of all, this study focuses on a specific market which is the instant messaging app market. In the context of this research, the global brand dominates the market by far. To have a solid understanding of the role of nationalist ideology in shaping consumers' data privacy concerns, researchers can study different markets with different characteristics, such as the markets in which there is tight competition between local and global brands. In addition to it, this study focuses on the Turkish

context regarding its particular social, cultural, historical, and political aspects. This study can be expanded to different contexts, such as the role of nationalism in consumers' data privacy concerns in markets where administrative and longer colonization was experienced, nationalism does not overlap with religiosity, or a left-wing anticolonial nationalism exists. Moreover, there are some methodological limitations in this study. In data collection, I used netnography by collecting data from YouTube, Google Play, App Store, and Ekşisözlük. Although I choose different digital platforms to overcome methodological limitations and increase trustworthiness, there are still some methodological obstacles to having a holistic understanding of consumers' experiences. First, I focus on the content that was generated in the digital world. We still do not know how the interaction of different actors in traditional media and the offline world shape consumers' data privacy concerns. Secondly, this study focuses on digital content generated in a specific time period in which most of the content was generated in the first weeks of the crisis. Thus, we do not know how consumers' thoughts, emotions, and practices evolved after the crisis. For instance, we do not know to what extent consumers maintain their resistance against WhatsApp. Overall, netnography offers valuable insight into exploring the relationship between nationalism and consumers' data privacy concerns, and its limitations can be overcome with the combination of different methodological such as interviews and ethnography.

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