DESIGNING EFFECTIVE ANTI-SMOKING PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS BASED ON THE INDEPENDENT AND INTERDEPENDENT SELF-CONSTRUALS OF SMOKERS

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ABSTRACT

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The self-construal concept, which describes the self as separate from others or as connected with others, basically divides the self into two aspects as independent and interdependent. Considering the individualistic and collectivistic dimensions of culture, the self-construal concept has been well documented in many cross-cultural studies. However, the literature is mostly dominated by quantitative studies. This study differentiates from other studies in terms of applying two qualitative research methodologies to the subject as semi-structured in-depth interviews and art-based methodology.

This thesis applies the self-construal concept to understanding behaviors of smokers in terms of a social marketing perspective. For this reason, it focuses on anti-smoking public service announcements (PSAs) as a tool for social marketing. More specifically, this thesis analyzes the effectiveness of different message contents used in anti-smoking PSAs for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals. Due to the limited number of studies which consider both concepts

together, this research aims to contribute to the literature by suggesting effective contents for anti-smoking PSAs.

In order to understand the relationships between smokers' self-construals and their smoking behaviors, semi-structured interviews and personal drawings of the participants were analyzed. The findings demonstrate that individualistic message content can be effective for smokers with independent self-construal, while collectivistic message content can be effective for smokers with interdependent self-construal to increase their quitting intentions. Furthermore, three effective themes for both message contents emerged according to the analysis of the participants' reflections. The implications of this study are important for public policy makers and nonprofit organizations which aim to improve public health.

Keywords: Social Marketing, Self-Construal, Smoking, Anti-Smoking Public Service Announcements

ÖZ

SİGARA İÇENLERİN BAĞIMSIZ VE KARŞILIKLI BAĞIMLI BENLİK KURGULARINA BAĞLI OLARAK ETKİLİ SİGARA KARŞITI KAMU SPOTLARI TASARLAMA

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Benliği, diğerlerinden ayrı ya da diğerleriyle bağlantılı olarak tanımlayan benlik kurgusu kavramı, benliği temelde bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı olarak ikiye ayırır. Kültürün bireycilik ve toplulukçuluk boyutları göz önüne alınarak, benlik kurgusu kavramı birçok kültürlerarası çalışmada belgelenmiştir. Buna rağmen, literatüre çoğunlukla nicel çalışmalar hâkimdir. Bu çalışma, konuya yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler ve sanat temelli metodoloji olarak iki nitel araştırma metodolojisi uygulaması açısından diğer çalışmalardan ayrılmaktadır.

Bu tez, sigara içenlerin davranışlarını sosyal pazarlama perspektifi açısından anlamada benlik kurgusu kavramını kullanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bir sosyal pazarlama aracı olan sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarına odaklanmaktadır. Daha spesifik olarak bu tez, bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına sahip sigara içenlere yönelik sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarında kullanılan farklı mesaj içeriklerinin etkinliğini analiz etmektedir. Bu iki kavramı birlikte değerlendiren sınırlı sayıdaki çalışma nedeniyle bu çalışma, sigara karşıtı kamu spotları için etkili içerikler önererek literatüre katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Sigara içenlerin benlik kurguları ile sigara içme davranışları arasındaki ilişkileri anlamak için, katılımcıların yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeleri ve kişisel çizimleri analiz edilmiştir. Bulgular, sigara içenlerin sigarayı bırakma niyetlerini artırmak için bireysel mesaj içeriğinin, bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip sigara içenler üzerinde etkili olabileceğini; kolektivist mesaj içeriğinin ise karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip sigara içenler üzerinde etkili olabileceğini göstermiştir. Ayrıca, katılımcıların görüşlerinin analizi neticesinde her iki mesaj içeriği için üç etkin tema ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları, halk sağlığını iyileştirmeyi amaçlayan kamu yetkilileri ve kâr amacı gütmeyen kuruluşlar için önem arz etmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Sosyal Pazarlama, Benlik Kurgusu, Sigara İçme, Sigara Karşıtı Kamu Spotları

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

COPD	Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease
EU	European Union
FCTC	Framework Convention on Tobacco Control
IBM	International Business Machines
INDCOL	Individualism-Collectivism
KOAH	Kronik Obstrüktif Akciğer Hastalığı
OECD	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSA	Public Service Announcement
RTÜK	Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu
SCS	Self-Construal Scale
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
TAPDK	Tütün ve Alkol Piyasası Düzenleme Kurumu
TL	Turkish Lira
TPB	Theory of Planned Behavior
TSI	Turkish Statistical Institute
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The idea of social marketing which was initially described by Kotler and Zaltman (1971) suggests that marketing can be used for social benefit by influencing the behaviors and attitudes of individuals (Fox & Kotler, 1980). In this regard, society is seen as the primary beneficiary from social marketing practices and with the help of social marketing efforts, societal gain can be achieved (Kotler & Lee, 2008). Since improving public health is one of the major aims of the governments and nonprofit organizations, this thesis applies a social marketing approach to smoking, which is an important public health problem for the society.

The fact that smoking is responsible for the early death of millions of people across the world makes it an important area worth studying. Therefore, governments and nonprofit organizations are interested in developing interventions to dissuade people from smoking. Especially, World Health Organization (WHO) has been considering smoking as a major issue worldwide and it has been implementing some measures to decrease the negative health effects of tobacco consumption since 2005 (WHO, 2015). Turkey has also been implementing the measures set by WHO with a great effort since 2008 but smoking rates are still high. 26.5% of the population is currently smoking as of 2016 according to the statistics of Ministry of Health of Turkey (2016). Moreover, based on the Report of Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry of Turkey (2018), there is an increase in the amount of tobacco sales between 2008 and 2018 in Turkey and this increase is associated with the increase in tobacco consumption of people. When we also take the unrecorded tobacco consumption into account, it is

obvious that this amount will be higher. Therefore, anti-smoking interventions become more important than ever in the struggle against smoking.

There are several interventions that governments and nonprofit organizations use to decrease smoking rates. Anti-smoking public service announcements (PSAs) are the main interventions upon which this thesis was focused. Due to its convenience to reach many people, these public spots have been used widely to influence individuals and to show them the detrimental effects of tobacco consumption. However, the ineffectiveness of these PSAs is well documented in the literature (Çoknaz, Umut, & Velioğlu, 2013; Güllülü & Türk, 2015; Yaman & Göçkan, 2015). When the increase in smoking rates in Turkey and the ineffectiveness of anti-smoking PSAs are considered together, it was seen that the message strategies that underpin anti-smoking PSAs are not designed effectively. Therefore, these two major issues became the main motivations of this research to be conducted in terms of analyzing the effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs.

In order to develop effective message strategies, this study considered the influence of culture on smokers. Culture is a very important concept which shows the characteristics of a society and the personality of the individuals in that society. To differentiate between societies, Hofstede (1980) defined cultures in terms of five major dimensions and individualism-collectivism is one of the most studied dimensions of the culture in the literature (Kağıtçıbaşı & Berry, 1989; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990; Triandis, 1995). Based on Hofstede's work (1980) related with individualistic and collectivistic dimensions of culture, the concept of self-construals was developed by Markus and Kitayama (1991).

There is a growing body of literature that shows the importance of the self-construal concept in cross-cultural studies. Numerous studies explain the nature of self-construal and how it develops within cultures (Cross, Morris, & Gore, 2002; İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994). Markus and Kitayama (1991) explained the self-construal concept by describing the self as being *separate* from others or as *connected* with others. In line

with this definition, the determinants of self-construals are considered as the perceptions of individuals about themselves and other people in social context (Cross, Morris, & Gore, 2002).

Considering the Markus and Kitayama's division of the self (1991), independent and interdependent self-construals were explained to differentiate the cultures and individuals from each other. Taking two different construals of the self into account, independent self-construal is usually associated with individualism and autonomy (Hofstede, 1984; Triandis, 1989), while interdependent self-construal is usually associated with collectivism and conformity (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Although the self-construal concept was initially explained at a more cultural level; for example, independent self-construal was associated with American culture while interdependent self-construal was associated with Japanese culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), the concept was later explained at a more individual level. It was shown that independent and interdependent characteristics of the self can coexist in the same culture and in the same individual (Singelis, 1994; Triandis et al., 1993). In other words, people living in the same culture can possess the characteristics of both self-construals at the same time. However, one of these self-construals can also be dominant over the other one in time (Triandis, 1989).

Since the self-construal concept takes its roots from culture, the characteristics of self-construals have been well documented in different types of studies that consider individuals' behaviors and attitudes in specific cultures. People may possess different personality characteristics according to their dominant self-construals. In other words, people with independent self-construal can differ in terms of their motivations and actions from people with interdependent self-construal. For this reason, it is important to understand the differences between these individuals to influence their behaviors in a socially beneficial way. This thesis focused on the effect of self-construals in designing effective anti-smoking public service announcements (PSAs) considering a social marketing perspective.

To analyze the effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs based on smokers' independent and interdependent self-construals, 17 smokers aged between 25 and 35 participated into this qualitative study. The analysis of the participants' narratives gave an in-depth understanding about the smoking behavior of the participants based on their dominant self-construal and it provided important insights in terms of the effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs.

1.2 Research Question

Based on the background of the study in terms of the antecedents of the self-construal literature and the importance of anti-smoking PSAs as a social marketing practice, the research question that links those concepts with each other will now be stated. This thesis aims to answer the following research question:

> How can anti-smoking PSAs be designed in terms of effective message contents for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals to increase their quitting intentions?

Since this study combines self-construal literature with social marketing, the research question seeks to understand the effectiveness of different types of message contents for smokers considering their self-construal characteristics. In the following section, significance of this study will be presented along with its contribution to the literature.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Although the self-construal concept and anti-smoking PSAs were discussed separately in the literature to a great extent, there are not many studies that combine both subjects. Since it is important to understand what motivates smokers to go on smoking, analyzing the self-construal characteristics of smokers may reveal these motivating factors. After this examination, these discovered factors can be used to influence smokers for quitting smoking. Therefore, this thesis aims to contribute to the self-construal literature by combining the self-construal concept with a social marketing perspective in terms of anti-smoking PSAs. Moreover, it gives a very

comprehensive picture by differentiating smokers based on their independent and interdependent self-construals.

It was discussed in the literature that messages which are parallel to the personality characteristics of individuals are more influential (Chang, 2009; Wang & Mowen, 1997). In line with this view, self-congruent messages for anti-smoking PSAs were also considered as more effective for individuals (Chang, 2009). In his study, Chang (2009) showed that anti-smoking messages that focus on the self are more influential for individuals with independent self-construal while anti-smoking messages that focus on others are more influential for individuals with interdependent self-construal. However, it was seen that Chang (2009) and future work did little to discuss about designing more effective anti-smoking contents for smokers. The studies in the literature have mostly enlightened whether the existing PSAs are persuasive on individuals in their decision to quit smoking or not. Especially, most of the studies in Turkey only consider the topic from the effectiveness perspective of these public spots. Therefore, this thesis also tries to suggest new message contents for anti-smoking PSAs for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals. In other words, it also aims to contribute to the literature which is focused on anti-smoking PSAs.

Another contribution of this thesis is that this study uses a qualitative inquiry as its main research method. Since the literature is dominated by quantitative studies in analyzing the self-construal of individuals, this study adopts a qualitative methodology to the subject. In addition to this methodology, it also uses an art-based methodology to strengthen the self-construal analysis which is quite new in self-construal literature as well. These qualitative methodologies help to obtain rich, descriptive data and opportunity for in-depth understanding about the phenomenon. Therefore, it can be pointed out that this study differentiates from other studies in the literature by applying a qualitative and art-based research methodology to the subject.

When the significance of this study is considered, it should be valued along with its implications for public policy makers. The findings of this thesis offer government

authorities and nonprofit organizations a comprehensive picture in terms of designing effective message strategies for anti-smoking PSAs. The outcomes obtained from this study can help public policy makers to design self-congruent messages based on the smokers' profiles. If the suggested themes for message contents can be realized, it may help to achieve societal gain in terms of decrease in smoking rates in the long run. After explaining the significance of the current study, literature review both for the self-construal concept and anti-smoking PSAs will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this section, a comprehensive review of the literature will be presented by explaining the concepts related with the research question. Since this study focuses on the role of self-construals in designing effective public service announcements (PSAs) for smokers, initially each point will be presented separately and then they will be linked to each other in an attempt to answer the research question. In the first part of the literature review, a general view of the tobacco market and smoking statistics of Turkey will be explained. Afterwards, anti-smoking interventions in Turkey and anti-smoking PSAs as a tool for social marketing will be discussed in detail. In the second part of the literature, individualistic and collectivistic dimensions of the culture will be presented to understand the concept of self-construal. In the last part, after explaining the independent and interdependent self-construals of the individuals, the first two parts of the literature review will be gathered together to link anti-smoking PSAs with the concept of self-construal.

2.2 Tobacco Use in General

Tobacco products can be described as products made by tobacco leaves which include nicotine as an addictive ingredient inside (World Health Organization, Tobacco, n.d.). People use tobacco products in many ways from smoking to chewing. Regardless of how it is being used, tobacco is responsible for the death of millions of people across the world. According to the report of World Health Organization (WHO), due to tobacco use in the world, six million people die each year including the majority of the deaths occurring prematurely (2015).

When we look at the tobacco industry, many forms of tobacco products exist in the marketplace. Manufactured cigarettes, bidis, cigars, kreteks, hookahs, sticks and chewing tobacco can be given as examples of these product categories. However, manufactured cigarettes are the most preferred ones in terms of smoking tobacco, and they are widely smoked in many countries. For this reason, "smoking" refers to mainly "cigarette smoking" throughout this study unless otherwise indicated.

Smoking is one of the major reasons for many health problems and death that an individual may encounter in his or her life. Although people know the negative consequences of smoking, most of them cannot quit this habit easily. The reason why people have difficulties in their quitting attempts is the addictive nature of cigarettes. According to the U.S. Surgeon General's Report, nicotine is the substance which causes the addiction in tobacco products and this addiction is also similar to the addiction towards drugs such as heroin (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1988). Therefore, quitting smoking is associated with the struggle against nicotine dependence in some cases.

Although the difficulty of quitting smoking is associated with nicotine dependence, other factors such as genetic factors, social and environmental conditions are also important in explaining why people cannot resist smoking (Pomerleau, Collins, Shiffman, & Pomerleau, 1993). Smoking prevalence is related with personality dimensions and psychiatric disorders. For instance, the probability of smoking for alcoholics and schizophrenics in the United States is three times more than other people living in the USA and this implicates that it is more likely to observe smoking behavior in people who are having anxiety, depression and neurotic disorders (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1995). Peer socialization is another factor that affects young adults' cigarette use. It is suggested that due to the popularity of smoking in young adulthood, peers may either play a protective role in terms of preventing each other from smoking or they may become risk factors in terms of encouraging each other to smoke (Andrews, Tildesley, Hops, & Li, 2002).

Tobacco use is a major reason for many noncommunicable health diseases such as lung cancer and many other cancer types (e.g. mouth, throat, stomach etc.), respiratory and cardiovascular diseases, COPD (chronic obstructive pulmonary disease), tuberculosis and other health related problems. Since tobacco includes more than 7000 chemicals with at least 250 of them known to be harmful (World Health Organization, Cancer, n.d.), smoking tobacco is one of the most important topics that should be studied.

2.3 Smoking in Turkey

After explaining the addictive nature of tobacco, the reasons behind starting tobacco and its negative health effects, smoking statistics in Turkey will be presented in this section to be aware of the importance of the smoking problem. Since this study is conducted in Turkey, it is important to examine some key statistics which will be helpful to understand the situation in Turkey.

In their study, Mathers and Loncar (2006) estimated the projected number of deaths caused by tobacco use for low- and high-income countries between 2002 and 2030. Based on their estimation, the tobacco-attributable deaths will decline by 9% in high-income countries while it doubles in low- and middle-income countries from 3.4 million to 6.8 million in between 2002 and 2030 (Mathers & Loncar, 2006). When we look at the statistics of Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI) about the causes of death in Turkey, it can be pointed out that 39.8% of deaths are caused by circulatory system diseases and this is followed by respiratory system diseases with 11.9% (TSI, 2017). Taking this into account, more than 100.000 people die each year due to smoking related health diseases in Turkey (Public Health Institution of Turkey, 2014).

Smoking does not only lead to health related problems, but it also creates an economic burden for many people in terms of money spent on purchasing tobacco products and money spent on the expenses for diagnosis and treatment of the tobacco related diseases (Bilir, Özcebe, Ergüder, & Mauer-Stender, 2012). It can be inferred from the statistics of Public Health Institution of Turkey (2014) that monthly cigarette

expenditure for smokers is 146 Turkish Lira (TL) on average for manufactured cigarettes. It can also be stated that male smokers' monthly expenditure of 157.6 TL is higher than female smokers' monthly expenditure on cigarette which is 110 TL. Since the financial aspect of smoking can be an important element for some people, the economic burden that it creates will be considered later in the study.

Figure 1 shows the statistics of Ministry of Health of Turkey (2016) about the smoking rates in Turkey by gender from 2012 and 2016. According to these statistics, 26.5% of the population above the age of 15 constitutes smokers with a distribution of 40.1% of male smokers and 13.3% of female smokers as of 2016 in Turkey. It can be seen that the majority of smokers are males, and females correspond to almost one third of this percentage. Although the smoking trend is not fluctuating too much, it can be said that 2014 and 2016 rates are higher than the previous year in terms of both gender groups.

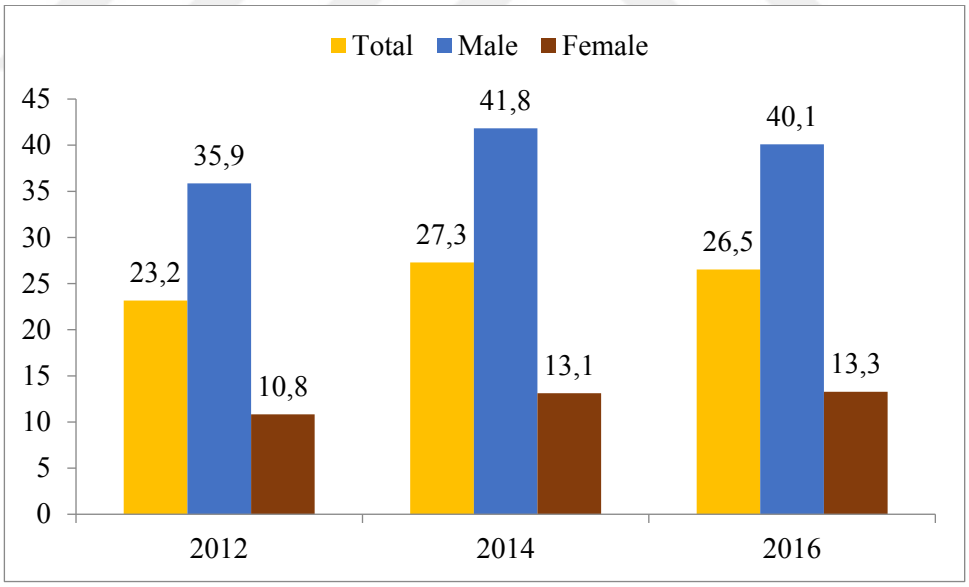

Figure 1 Smoking Rates in Turkey by Gender (%), 2012-2016

Another important statistic that shows the increase in smoking in recent years belong to Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry of Turkey (2018). According to Figure 2

presented below, there is an increase in the amount of tobacco sales between 2008 and 2018 in Turkey. It can be seen from the figure that the amount of tobacco sales has reached 118.54 billion as of 2018. In other words, approximately 118 billion cigarettes were consumed by people in Turkey during 2018. It can be inferred that this amount is 12 billion higher than the previous year. Although there are some decreases in the amount of tobacco consumed by people during 2010, 2011 and 2013, it has been rising from 2013 onwards. Therefore, cigarette consumption has been increasing despite the anti-smoking interventions having been implemented in Turkey. This increase in the smoking status of individuals shows that smoking is still an important problem for Turkey and should be considered by the government authorities.

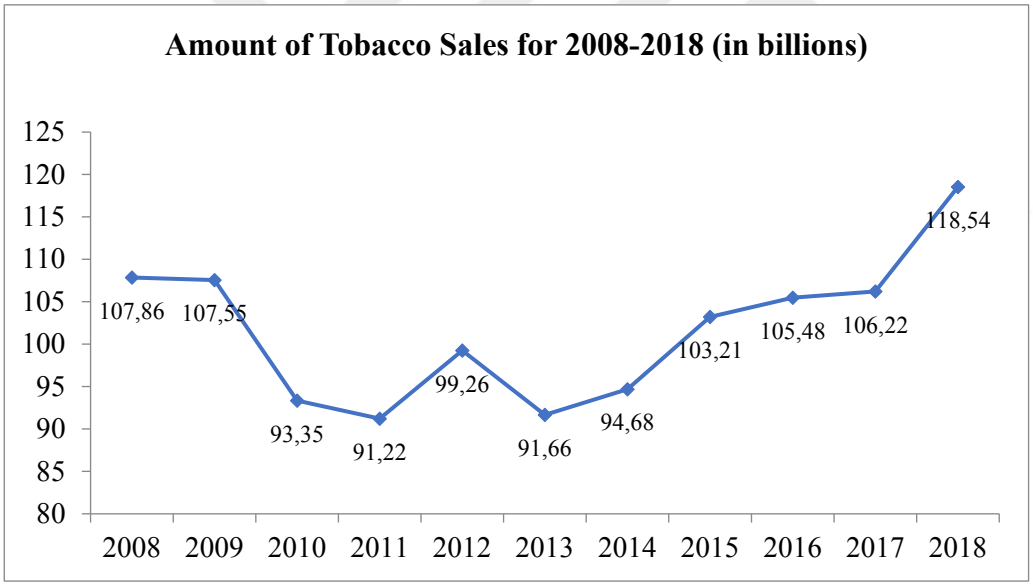

Figure 2 Tobacco Sales in Turkey for 2008-2018

When we look at the statistics of Ministry of Health of Turkey (2016) about the distribution of reasons behind starting tobacco use of individuals in 2016, many reasons can be listed as shown in Figure 3. It can be seen that especially interest, impact of friends and desire rank as the most stated reasons behind smoking initiation. Among these reasons, especially the impact of friends and desire started to be stated

more than the other reasons while interest towards smoking is decreasing during recent years. Therefore, the importance of friends and having the desire towards smoking due to seeing other people's smoking behaviors should be considered in the decision of starting cigarettes for many people. Other reasons can be classified as personal problems, family problems, for fun and with no special reason.

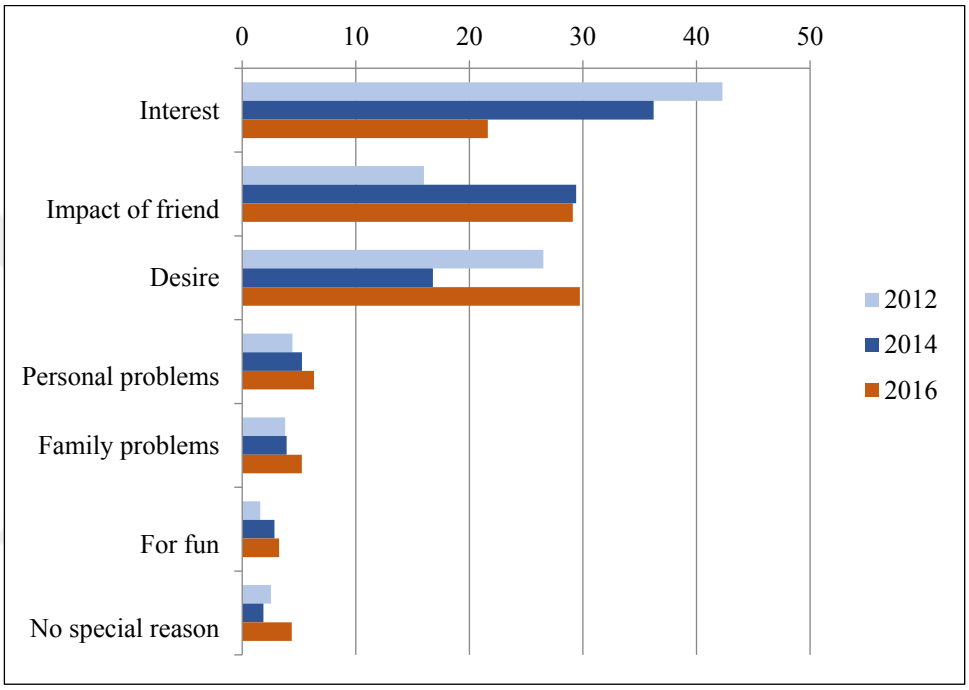

Figure 3 Reasons Behind Smoking (%), 2012-2016
Source: Ministry of Health of Turkey, 2016

After presenting some important statistics about smoking rates in Turkey, it is necessary to understand the importance of the actions which have been taken against smoking. Due to its harmful effects on human health, smoking is considered as an important issue worldwide by World Health Organization (WHO) and many precautions are taken to dissuade people from smoking. The implementations for anti-smoking interventions in general and in Turkey will be discussed in the following section.

2.4 Anti-Smoking Interventions

In 2008, WHO introduced a project called *MPOWER* which includes tobacco control measures for countries to adopt in order to prevent the detrimental effects of tobacco use on human health, environment and economy as a whole. This project includes six important measures which are designed to regulate the tobacco market and reduce the demand for tobacco products (WHO, 2015).

Figure 4 summarizes these six measures that stand for each of the letter constituting the name of this project.

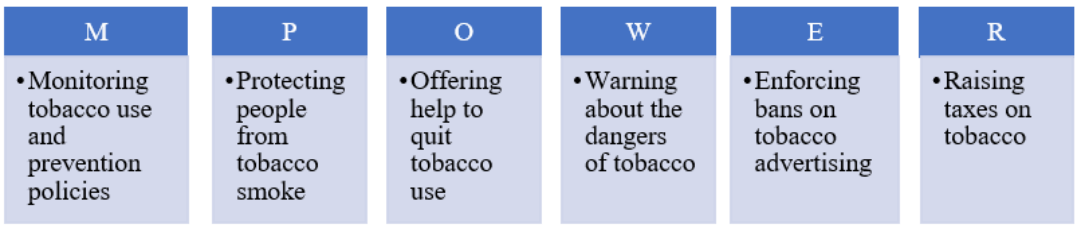

Figure 4 Summary of MPOWER Measures
Source: WHO, 2015

All six measures are important in terms of regulating the tobacco industry and decreasing the attractiveness of tobacco for individuals. With the implementation of the strategies presented in this project, it is possible to dissuade people from starting smoking, especially the young people, and it is also likely to protect individuals from the harmful effects of second-hand smoke. Turkey has been implementing the MPOWER obligations with a great effort. According to Global Tobacco Epidemic Report in 2017, Turkey was measured as the most successful country in implementing all MPOWER measures comprehensively (WHO, 2017). Among those measures for example, it is a requirement for broadcasters to air at least 90 minutes of anti-tobacco related contents per month (WHO, 2017) and this has been done since the project has

started. Smoking was also banned in indoor places and the government is offering a telephone line (ALO 171) to help people to quit smoking.

Although it seems that Turkey has been implementing tobacco control measures successfully, smoking is still responsible for several health problems and deaths of many people in Turkey. As it was mentioned previously with statistics of TSI, smoking is responsible for many circulatory and respiratory system diseases which resulted in deaths of approximately 115.000 people in 2016 (TSI, 2017). In addition, according to the data obtained from OECD (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), Turkey is the fourth country in terms of the percentage of daily smokers in 2017 (OECD, 2019). According to this data, 26.5% of the population above the age of 15 constitutes daily smokers in Turkey after Indonesia, Russia and Greece. It can be concluded that both the number of the smoking population and the smoking related health problems are not decreasing in Turkey. For this reason, the efforts to decrease the number of smokers and increase the awareness towards the harms of tobacco are still in the agenda of the government. The next section will explain the tobacco control activities that have been done in Turkey.

2.4.1 Tobacco Control Activities in Turkey

In Turkey, anti-tobacco activities were first started in the mid-1980s and it gained momentum onwards. In 1992, the first Tobacco and Health Symposium was organized in Ankara as an initiation of civil society and it was followed by the establishment of National Coalition on Tobacco and Health in 1995 which later takes an active role during the implementation of WHO's tobacco control measures (Bilir et al., 2012). After the acceptance of Law No. 4207 (Law on Preventing Harms of Tobacco Products) in 1996, smoking was banned in some public spaces (e.g. public transport) and in 2002 with the establishment of TAPDK (Tobacco and Alcohol Market Regulatory Authority), tobacco market started to be regulated strictly from packaging to selling of tobacco products (Bilir et al., 2012). Following the establishment of TAPDK, WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (WHO FCTC) was adopted in 2004, tobacco control program was prepared to decrease the

smoking prevalence in Turkey in 2006, Law No. 4207 was amended with Bill No. 5727 which broadens the scope of the law by enabling Turkey to become the first smoke-free country in 2008 and from that point forward, media campaigns on anti-smoking policies and monitoring the tobacco industry continued (Bilir et al., 2012).

There are many ways that the government and nonprofit organizations use to decrease the tobacco use. Raising the prices of tobacco products with higher tobacco taxes, prohibiting smoking in public spaces, putting warning labels on the cigarette packages, showing the negative effects of smoking for public health and broadcasting of anti-smoking PSAs on television are effective ways to discourage people from smoking (Wong, Nisbett, & Harvell, 2016). In this study, anti-smoking PSAs will be considered to understand their effectiveness on smokers. The evolution of these PSAs in Turkey will be further discussed in detail.

2.4.2 A Social Marketing Tool: Public Service Announcements

The idea of social marketing first arose in 1952 by Wiebe with the following question "Why can't you sell brotherhood and rational thinking like you sell soap?" (Wiebe, 1952, p. 679). Since marketing is successful in terms of encouraging people to buy certain products, Wiebe questioned the effect of social campaigns in terms of making people accept certain ideas by using the same methods (Ayvaz & Torlak, 2016). Having discussed the success and failures of social campaigns, Wiebe explored how marketing can be used to influence people in socially beneficial behavior (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971).

In 1971, Kotler and Zaltman used the term *social marketing* and defined it as follows:

> ... the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research. (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p.5)

This definition shows that social marketing uses the concepts of marketing for social benefit and for social change in attitudes and behaviors (Fox & Kotler, 1980). To

enable social change, which occurs based on four approaches: legal, technological, economic and informational, Fox and Kotler (1980) used reduction in cigarette consumption example in their article by explaining how social marketing can be interpreted in terms of informational approach. Figure 5 exemplifies in which ways these four approaches can be used to reduce cigarette consumption of individuals. In terms of *legal* approach, government may put laws to make smoking difficult or illegal for people, in terms of *technological* approach new product innovations may help people to decrease their tobacco consumption, in terms of *economic* approach government may raise the prices of tobacco products and finally, in terms of *informational* approach informing people about the harms of smoking with different tools can be used to decrease cigarette consumption (Fox & Kotler, 1980). Based on this terminology, social marketing is related with the informational approach which aims behavioral change in the end.

Legal approach	• Prohibiting smoking in public spaces
Technological approach	• Electronic cigarette
Economic approach	• Higher taxes on tobacco products
Informational approach	• Anti-smoking Public Service Announcements (PSAs)

Figure 5 Four Approaches for Reducing Cigarette Consumption

According to Andreasen (2012), social marketing is more than "increasing the acceptability of a social idea". He argues that it not only takes behavior change as its basis, but it also creates an attractive exchange between costs and benefits of accepting a behavior due to its customer-driven nature (Andreasen, 2002). When

defining social marketing considering commercial marketing; Andreasen (2012) also mentions that *maximizing sales* is the primary objective of commercial marketing; while social marketing is mostly related with much broader and complex cases.

In their book, Kotler and Lee (2008) define social marketing by focusing on behaviors and taking into account the society as the primary beneficiary from social marketing efforts. They mention that social marketing aims to influence behaviors of the target audience to create a societal gain. Having applied the traditional marketing principles to social marketing methodology, they also mention that influencing behaviors can be achieved through four steps from accepting new behaviors to abandoning the old undesirable ones (Kotler & Lee, 2008). Taking into account the previous definitions made by scholars, Dann (2010) makes a comprehensive definition and defines social marketing as adapting traditional marketing techniques to convince the targeted audience for behavioral change temporarily or permanently.

In Turkey, the social marketing approach began to be used after 1980's. Starting with the advertisements having social purpose, social marketing has been put into practice especially with the educative advertisements of toothpaste companies after 1984 (Tek, 1999). Following this initiation, especially government and nonprofit organizations in Turkey have been using social marketing methods to educate people about socially important problems.

Social marketing techniques can be used in many areas from safe driving to family planning. In this study, its power to improve public health, which is seen as very important by public authorities and nonprofit organizations, will be considered. Due to the increase in non-communicable diseases, it is even more important today to implement social marketing techniques in an effective way to prevent people from the negative consequences of these health diseases. Since smoking causes the number of non-communicable diseases to go up, one of the most preferred techniques used to discourage smokers is developing anti-smoking PSAs as a tool for social marketing.

2.5 Characteristics of Public Service Announcements

PSAs are defined as the informative and educative films and voices that are prepared by state institutions and organizations, non-governmental organizations like associations and foundations which have public benefit when published (RTÜK, 2012). These public spots are designed to inform public towards a social problem and to change people's attitudes and behaviors about that specific problem. In other words, these public spots which do not seek any commercial gain are used to change people's behaviors in a socially correct and accepted way.

PSAs that usually use negative advertising elements are considered among the tools for public health (Apollonio & Malone, 2009) and they are effective instruments to encourage behavior change in people by informing them about the risks of the problem. For this reason, PSAs are designed for many different social issues such as alcohol use, drug use, recycling, obesity, consumer rights, traffic rules and etc. Due to the aim of the current study, anti-smoking PSAs will be focused throughout this research. The next section will explain the characteristics of anti-smoking PSAs in general.

2.5.1 Anti-Smoking Public Service Announcements

Having the ability to reach the majority of the smoking population due to its being easily accessible via televisions, anti-smoking PSAs are a convenient tool in terms of explaining the harms of smoking to the target audience. Therefore, how anti-smoking PSAs are designed in terms of their message strategies and which variables increase the effectiveness of these messages are important questions to be answered (Yang, Nan & Zhao, 2017).

In the tobacco industry, companies choose specific images such as independent, sophisticated, popular, self-confident and social smoker profile to encourage people to smoke and then use these images in their advertising campaigns to attract individuals (Pollay, 2000). Since positive lifestyle images are associated with

smoking behavior, these companies try to create an environment in which smoking is viewed as socially acceptable. Therefore, it is very crucial to design effective social marketing health campaigns against smoking to counteract the attractiveness of these messages imposed by the tobacco companies.

Due to the use of an effective communication language of tobacco companies to sell their products, message strategies used in anti-smoking PSAs become a very important issue to encourage smokers to quit. When we look at the themes used in most of the anti-smoking advertising, a variety of message strategies can be observed. In their article, Farrelly and his colleagues (2003) specified six major themes that are used in most of anti-smoking advertising: short and long-term consequences of smoking, social norms about smoking, role models, industry and product focus, secondhand smoke and youth access. Among those themes, short- term/long-term consequences of smoking on the smoker, effect of secondhand smoking on other people and role models' experiences with smoking show the dangerous and harmful aspects of smoking to the target audience (Shen, 2011). With industry and product focus, the harmful effects of chemicals inside tobacco are mentioned, social norms about smoking show the behavior of smoking as unattractive to individuals and finally, youth access describes the legal risks of selling cigarette to minor groups in those health campaigns (Farrelly, Niederdeppe, & Yarsevich, 2003).

Since themes used in anti-smoking health campaigns vary, it can be concluded that there is not a single message strategy that can be seen as the most effective one (Farrelly et al., 2003). Therefore, the messages and themes should be designed based on the profile and needs of the smokers living in a specific country and in a specific culture. Since this thesis is addressing culture and its influence on smoking behavior of individuals, it will also take into account the characteristics of Turkish culture that shows itself in the self-perceptions of the individuals which will be explained later in the study. After explaining the characteristics of anti-smoking PSAs in general, the next section will focus on the anti-smoking PSAs in Turkey.

2.5.2 Anti-Smoking Public Service Announcements in Turkey

During the European Union (EU) harmonization process in 2011, Turkey started to adopt the implications set by EU towards smoking. Since 2012, the number of public spots has increased substantially due to enabling these public spots to be broadcasted on TV as free of charge (Gençoğlu, Bağlıtaş, & Kuşkaya, 2017). From that time, anti-smoking PSAs have been shown on TV by using different contents and message strategies in Turkey.

When we review the public spots that focus on smoking, it can be stated that the first ones designed in 2012 and 2013 were mostly related with the negative health effects of smoking on smoker's health. The message strategy used in those public spots was creating fear towards tobacco products. According to Witte (1992), messages including fear can be effective when they include high efficacy. To emphasize the harmful effects of smoking, mostly the pictures of lung, artery and heart were used in public spots to create fear and disgust towards tobacco. In Figure 6, we can see one of the examples of an anti-smoking public spot which shows the lungs of a smoker with a representation of a sponge to show what happens to the lungs due to smoking.

Figure 6 Representation of Lungs as a Sponge in a PSA
Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqUlvZbbjbs

The messages given in those PSAs were mainly related with the probability of developing lung cancer due to smoking. Therefore, the lungs were represented as sponges that become darker like tar due to tobacco. In addition to showing those kinds

of disgusting images, public spots also used real-life examples from smokers who are suffering from the negative health effects of smoking such as lung cancer. Therefore, it can be said that using fear as a factor to influence people for behavior change is a common strategy (Vanden Bergh & Katz, 1998) used in those advertising messages.

After 2013, the negative health effects of smoking were still in the agenda of these public spots, but they focused more on male smokers and how they suffered from smoking. Since the majority of smokers are males in Turkey (Ministry of Health of Turkey, 2016), they become the main target segment of PSAs and that's why during 2016 the contents related with males became prominent. When we consider those public spots, it can be pointed out that especially COPD (Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease), which is known as KOAH in Turkey, and health problems related with heart were the main themes that present the harmful effects of smoking.

Figure 7 shows a scene where a father is playing with his daughter in a park. However, we see that the father is having difficulty to go next to his daughter due to having difficulty in breathing. In the next scene, we see that father is with a doctor and getting a treatment for his illness KOAH. The other public spots having been broadcasted also used old men figures and fathers who are suffering from cardiovascular health problems at some point in their lives.

During 2017, the spots started to be prepared by presenting real life cases that can be experienced as a result of smoking. The anti-smoking campaign developed with the slogan of "quit smoking, not living" was divided into three parts (Akova, 2017). In the first two parts, they started to use smokers who cannot quit smoking due to personal excuses such as the pleasure of smoking with coffee, smoking light cigarette or the idea of being young to quit smoking. These are also common excuses that are shared by many smokers to justify their smoking behavior. However, in those public spots the counter arguments to those excuses were also given in terms of having difficulty while drinking water, being late to quit smoking and so forth. By using before and after cases, the effectiveness of the messages tried to be increased. In addition to these contents, the change in the quality of life after quitting smoking was

also mentioned in the third part of the campaign. Former smokers who quit smoking and experience increasing life quality were compared with those who go on smoking. With this comparison, these spots tried to encourage smokers to get rid of their smoking habits. In other words, those public spots aimed behavior change by informing people about the harms of smoking, making comparison between the cases and trying to provide solutions for the problems (Akova, 2017).

Figure 7 Father Suffering from KOAH due to Smoking in a PSA
Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7dblCeQUm0

Lately, anti-smoking PSAs have been focusing on the harms of secondhand smoking on individuals. The harmful effects of smoke due to cigarette are shown by using the images of heart and vessel. Since the main target segments are individuals who are exposed to secondhand smoking, the message is given in terms of reminding their

rights to these people to inform the public authorities if there is a violation of the rules on smoking.

Considering all these public spots which were designed and broadcasted on televisions, it can be understood that messages and target groups changed throughout the years. However, the most common themes used in those PSAs are usually the negative health effects of smoking on individuals. The most common message strategy was creating fear and disgust towards tobacco products. Although target segments varied with every PSA, mostly male smokers are thought as the main focus group. When we look at the contents in more detail, we can also infer that smoking is seen as a personal habit and the motivation to quit smoking is usually characterized by using an individualistic language. Although some public spots included family members to affect smokers, their impact was limited. In other words, individuals are encouraged to quit smoking for their personal well-being in those public spots.

After describing the anti-smoking advertising in Turkey, it is also important to analyze their effects on individuals. The following section will therefore compile some studies that are conducted in Turkey to understand how these public spots affect individuals.

2.5.3 Studies on Anti-Smoking PSAs in Turkey

Previous research has shown the limitations in effectiveness of anti-smoking PSAs. Therefore, the anti-smoking PSAs which are designed as part of social marketing activities became an important area for researchers to analyze. In this section, previous research findings about this subject will be highlighted accordingly.

A qualitative study was carried out with the university students at Abant İzzet Baysal University to determine the effects of anti-smoking PSAs on students (Çoknaz, Umut, & Velioğlu, 2013). The findings of this study suggest that generally smokers are not affected by the public spots that explain the harms of smoking. In addition to this

general conclusion, another important finding was found as the ineffective nature of public spots to encourage people to quit smoking (Çoknaz et al., 2013).

To better understand the importance of anti-smoking PSAs on smoking cessation, Güllülü and Türk conducted a survey with smokers living in Erzurum (Güllülü & Türk, 2015). Based on the information derived from this study, respondents described public spots as unsuitable although they thought that these public spots are educative at the same time. Interestingly, it was found that smokers get worried more for the health of their families who are smoking instead of their own health (Güllülü & Türk, 2015). This situation also accords with the first study mentioned, which shows the ineffectiveness of public spots on intention to quit smoking.

The study which was done in Afyonkarahisar with smokers reveal the effect of anti-smoking advertising on smokers based on their demographic information (Yaman & Göçkan, 2015). When the results are first analyzed in terms of gender, it was seen that female smokers find anti-smoking PSAs more effective compared to male smokers who think that the contents of these spots should be developed (Yaman & Göçkan, 2015). Secondly, when the results are evaluated in terms of age, the young population also found PSAs as distracting although they know about the possible health consequences of smoking (Yaman & Göçkan, 2015).

In a study investigating the effects of anti-smoking PSAs on behaviors of smokers, Gençoğlu and her colleagues (2017) used a non-parametric analysis technique to understand whether public spots affect smokers in their decision to quit smoking or not (Gençoğlu et al., 2017). The findings of the study suggest that public spots which aim to reduce tobacco consumption have no effect on smokers. It can be argued that one of the possible reasons for this conclusion is due to the fact that the time required to see the consequences of the PSAs has not passed. The other possible reason can be stated as the inadequate effect of these PSAs in terms of quality or quantity (Gençoğlu et al., 2017).

After reviewing the literature about smoking and anti-smoking PSAs, the second part of the literature review will cover culture and its dimensions in detail. Since culture is an important element to examine individuals' behaviors and attitudes, it is very important to explain how cultural dimensions shape people's understandings about the world. So, the concept of self-construal will be explained to point out the relationship between anti-smoking PSAs and self-construal of individuals.

2.6 Definition of Culture

According to Hofstede (1980), culture is defined as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another". According to this definition, culture defines the common characteristics of a society which in return defines the personality of the individuals living in that society. Culture includes four basic layers, namely: symbols, heroes, rituals and values.

Figure 8 Onion Diagram Model of Culture
Source: Hofstede, Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, 2010

According to Hofstede's Onion Diagram Model of Culture shown in Figure 8, symbols are the most superficial skins of an onion while the values are the deepest ones with heroes and rituals in between (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). He explains *symbols* as words, gestures, pictures or objects which can be understood and recognized by individuals sharing the same culture and *heroes* as models whose

behaviors are valued by individuals (p. 8). In a similar vein, *rituals* are activities which are social principles in a social context and *values* are at the core of any culture as they mean the general tendency to prefer a certain state over the other (p. 9). These four dimensions are important to understand the specific characteristics that create a culture.

Culture is also associated with a society's memory in terms of understanding the world and behaving accordingly (Triandis, 1994). It can be inferred that individuals perceive and value things differently and for this reason, every culture has its own unique characteristics. Due to these diverse schemas, it is also expected from individuals to behave differently based on their values and beliefs. Therefore, studying the differences of each culture from another is an important issue to understand the possible reactions of people to specific situations and marketing stimuli.

Considering Hofstede's dimensions of national culture, five major areas can be listed accordingly: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, masculinity and long-term orientation (Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede et al. 2010). These dimensions are used to differentiate between nations based on their diverse traits in terms of interpreting the environment. Many marketing researchers also used these dimensions in their cross-cultural studies to compare the cultural differences between countries (Lynn, Zinkhan, & Harris, 1993; Roth, 1995; Steenkamp, ter Hofstede, & Wedel, 1999; Zhang & Neelankavil, 1997). When the number of the studies covered in the literature is considered, the validity of Hofstede's dimensions can be confirmed in explaining cultural differences (Kwok & Uncles, 2005). In order to explain the antecedents of self-construal literature, individualism and collectivism (I-C) dimension will be mentioned in the next section.

2.6.1 Individualism versus Collectivism

In the literature, individualism-collectivism (I-C) is one of the most studied dimensions of culture to differentiate within cultures. Many scholars put emphasis on

these individualistic and collectivistic tendencies to understand the differences showing themselves in the behaviors of individuals (Hofstede, 1980; Kağıtçıbaşı & Berry, 1989; Triandis et al, 1990; Triandis, 1995). Initially in 1980, Hofstede mentioned individualism-collectivism in his study considering cross-cultural work value data (Triandis, Bontempo, & Villareal, 1988). Regarding his work, he defined the term *collectivist* as representing the *power of the group* by considering the family unit as the first group in which we are born. Growing up in a family; consisting of many people from parents to grandparents, teaches individuals to think of themselves as part of a "we" group (or *in-group*) while they are shaping their identities (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). On the other hand, he describes the term *individualist* as representing the dominance of individual interests over group interests by mentioning the *nuclear family* structure where there are only two parents. In these families, children develop an "I" perception of the self which is different from the others' perceptions. Based on these explanations, he finally defines *individualism* as societies where individuals have loose ties showing that each individual takes care of himself or herself; while he defines *collectivism* as societies where individuals are integrated with each other showing that each individual is tied-up to in-group relations that continue for a life time (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Taken together, it can be concluded that he defines I-C as two opposite sides of one dimension which implicates that societies scoring high in one will also score low in another.

When we look at the studies of other scholars, they also define I-C in a similar manner. Triandis (1995) defined *collectivism* as a social pattern in which individuals see themselves as connected with others (family, co-workers, tribe, nation), are motivated by the norms of their collectives and give more importance to in-group goals rather than their personal goals; on the other hand, he defined *individualism* as a social pattern in which individuals see themselves separate from others, are motivated by their own needs, rights and preferences and give more importance to their personal goals rather than in-group goals (p. 2). In fact, individualism shows itself in the degree of the distance that occurs when individuals engage in social relationships which means that distant relations are observed in individualistic societies where closer

relations are experienced in collectivistic societies (Nakata & Sivakumar, 2001). In individualistic cultures, individuals are more interested in their self-actualization as well as they value more to determine their own course. However, collectivistic societies value more to conform to group norms and individuals behave in a way that they are responsible from the consequences of their actions.

To understand the differences between these two dimensions clearly, some terms can be used to define each one of them. For example, individualism is mostly associated with words such as autonomy, independence, freedom, self-expression, competition and idiocentricism (Hofstede, 1984; Kale & Barnes, 1992; Triandis, 1989; Triandis et al., 1993). On the other hand, collectivism is related to interdependence, conformity, group membership and harmony (Hofstede, 1980; Hui & Trandis, 1986; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). By looking at the terms representing each dimension, it can be pointed out that collectivism is more comprehensive in terms of values, attitudes and behaviors when compared with individualism (Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002).

2.6.2 Consequences of Individualism-Collectivism

In their article, Oyserman et al. (2002) summarized the consequences of individualism and collectivism in terms of four headings; self-concept, well-being, attribution style and relationality. Based on their summary of the literature, the comparison between individualism and collectivism can be viewed in Table 1 with regard to four dimensions.

Firstly, in terms of self-concept, individualist and collectivist societies create a diverse definition of the self. While individualism puts more emphasis on personal success and having distinctive personal characteristics (Triandis, 1995), collectivism values more to group membership, harmony within the group and common good (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Secondly, in terms of well-being, individualism underlines the importance of personal goals to achieve life satisfaction whereas collectivism highlights the significance of the social roles and obligations to reach life satisfaction.

Thirdly, with regard to attribution style, individualism indicates that judgment and reasoning are oriented toward person instead of social context which implies a decontextualized reasoning style; on the other hand, collectivism points out that judgment and reasoning are oriented toward social context which implies a contextualized reasoning style (Miller, 1984). Finally, in terms of relationality, temporary relationships develop in individualistic societies whereas ascribed and fixed relationships develop in collectivistic societies.

Table 1 Consequences of Individualism and Collectivism

	Individualism	**Collectivism**
Self-concept	• Maintaining a positive sense of self • Personal success, having unique personal attributes • Abstract traits	• Group membership is very critical • Sacrifice for the common good • Harmony within the group
Well-being	• Reaching personal goals brings life satisfaction	• Carrying out social roles successfully brings life satisfaction
Attribution Style	• Judgment and reasoning are oriented toward person • Decontextualized reasoning style	• Judgment and reasoning are oriented toward social context • Contextualized reasoning style
Relationality	• Temporary relationships and group memberships	• Ascribed and fixed group memberships

Source: Oyserman et al., 2002

After making a general comparison between individualism and collectivism, it is also necessary to mention the characteristics of some countries which are consistent with the definitions and interpretations of I-C concept. The following section will summarize the countries having diverse self-concepts shortly.

2.6.3 Country Comparison on Individualism-Collectivism Dimension

There are plenty of studies which are centered on I-C dimension of the culture in the literature. For instance, when we consider the socioeconomic conditions of the countries, Western societies due to industrialization led to a more independent individual while Eastern societies emphasizing agriculture led to a less distinct person (Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000). Considering religion, Sampson suggested that due to the dominance of Christian individualism, the understanding of individualism and collectivism is shaped accordingly with a distorted picture (2000). Regarding the work-related values of nations, Hofstede (1980) analyzed the responses of employees in 66 countries and he found that individualism is highest in the United States, while Asian, African and Latin American cultures are more collectivistic. Although these studies consider I-C dimension from different angles, their common point is to emphasize individualism as a Western view of the self while explaining collectivism from Eastern point of view.

Considering the societies, individualism is mostly associated with the industrialized Western culture while collectivism represents mostly the Asian countries. Based on the relationship occurs in these dimensions, Western individualism shows itself as an autonomous and independent person whereas Eastern collectivism is usually defined as an interdependent relation which results in individual experience (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Hofstede identified high levels of individualism in countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia (1980). On the contrary, some of the cultures having collectivistic features are Southern Italy, Greece, China and Japan (Triandis et al., 1988). In the next section, Turkey's place on I-C dimension will be discussed.

2.6.4 Turkey's Place on Individualism-Collectivism Dimension

For the aim of this study, it is very important to mention the cultural characteristics of Turkey to understand the general tendency of smokers. In his study, Hofstede (2001) developed an "Individualism Index" by looking at the country differences of

IBM employees' responses (p. 215). This Index ranges between 0 and 100 for 50 countries and three regions. Looking at the countries listed in Table 2, it can be pointed out that Turkey has a score of 37 which implicates that it has a low level of individualism compared with the United States, Australia and Great Britain. Therefore, it also shows that Turkey is a country which is closer to collectivist societies like Japan.

Table 2 Individualism Index Values

Rank	Country	IDV
1	United States	91
2	Australia	90
3	Great Britain	89
22	Japan	46
28	**Turkey**	**37**

Source: Hofstede (2001)

Although Turkey is evaluated among collectivist societies, it is also true that due to industrialization and technologic development, Turkey is approaching to individualist cultures as well (Ercan, 2013). In line with this argument, it is necessary to mention that individual and collective self-aspects may coexist within the same culture (Kashima et al., 1995; Triandis et al., 1993). In other words, not all individuals living in an individualistic (collectivistic) culture will represent the whole characteristics of individualism (collectivism) necessarily. For instance, when we look at the Americans, who are associated with being more individualist than the rest of the societies, European Americans were found to engage in collectivist behaviors like Japan as well (Oyserman et al., 2002). For this reason, Turkey should also be evaluated considering its diversifications of the self-perceptions developed in individuals.

Turkish society is representing a transitional society which generally aims at westernization (Liljeström & Özdalga, 2002). Having been expressed as a transitional society and being considered within the collectivistic cultures, Turkey is a country in which the effects of tradition and religion are observed in daily life. Moreover, Turkish society is representing both individualist and collectivist characteristics together. For example, Göregenli mentioned that Turkey cannot be classified as either an individualist or a collectivist society (1995). Due to the trends toward individualism, it is even more difficult to expect Turkish society to represent the whole traits associated with a single dimension. In line with this view, the development of the self also differs from one social segment to another. For instance, while upper socioeconomic status segments of society seem to be approaching to individualism, middle and lower socioeconomic status segments of society emphasize the interrelated collectivistic persons (İmamoğlu, 1998).

In Turkish culture, developing strong relationships is an important behavioral pattern for most of the individuals. Therefore, building and maintaining close ties with the family, relatives and social groups reflect the sociocultural context of the society traditionally (as cited in İmamoğlu, 2003). However, the tendencies towards individualism also show that individuals display both individualist and collectivist aspects of the self together (Ercan, 2013). Considering all these cultural tendencies, the following section will give more information about the development of these individualistic and collectivistic self-aspects in individuals in terms of the concept of self-construals.

2.7 The Concept of Self-Construals

Self is an important psychological concept that has been studied in the literature by various scholars to understand human thought and how it regulates social behavior. According to Kağıtçıbaşı, self is different from personality in terms of its socially structured nature (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010). In other words, while personality is a stable characteristic regardless of the unstable social environment, self comes to existence with social interaction and it defines the person's self-perception and self-awareness.

More precisely, it is a dynamic set of cognitive structures in which past behaviors regulate the future thoughts and behaviors when they have a self-related meaning (Markus & Wurf, 1987).

Self is related with how individuals see their social world in relationship with others and how they represent themselves to their social environment (Banaji & Prentice, 1994). Self is a unique concept which shows the way we think and feel about ourselves (Brown, 1998). When we consider some of the definitions about the self, it can be summarized that it mainly helps us to understand the world around us with our feelings, thoughts and actions. Being at the core of our understanding, the self can be described as a "product of human cultures" (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012). Considering the self as an integral part of the culture plays an important role for further conceptualizations about the self.

Since individuals grow up in a culture which shapes their sense of self, each individual has his or her own distinctive self-view or self-concept based on the culture that he or she lives in. Accordingly, different cultures develop different views of the self and thus this affects the behaviors of the individuals in social context. Therefore, self is influenced by cultural factors underlying the social, emotional and behavioral differences (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

Despite having divergent views of the self, the ideal individual was generally associated with Western view of the self as being independent, autonomous and self-determining actor who was defined as a self-contained individual (Sampson, 1988; Sampson, 1989). However, cross-cultural studies have examined that monocultural approach to the self does not represent the characteristics of the other cultures as well (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). For this reason, different construals of the self in diverse cultures have been studied in the literature to understand the effect of culture on the perception of the self.

Self-construal concept was initially defined by Markus and Kitayama (1991) as "the relationship between the self and others and, especially, the degree to which they see

themselves as *separate* from others or as *connected* with others" (p.226). According to this definition, one's self-construal shows how he or she perceives himself or herself in relation with others and how a person forms a set of feelings, thoughts and actions based on the connection with or separation from others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Singelis (1994) also defined self-construal as "constellation of thoughts, feelings, and actions concerning one's relationship to others, and the self as distinct from others" (p.581). The type of self-construal that a person has is an important element to analyze the cognitive structure of an individual in terms of how he or she views himself or herself or other people in social context (Cross, Morris, & Gore, 2002). Considering it as an individual level cultural orientation, self-construal is generally used to understand the effects of culture on social behaviors and to investigate the cultural differences between societies (Levine et al., 2003). This concept is developed based on the comparison between individualistic and collectivistic dimensions of culture drawing on Hofstede's work (1980). Based on the difference between individualist and collectivist cultures, different types of the self are conceptualized by societies (Triandis, Bontempo, & Villareal, 1988).

Considering the cultural differences, two types of view on the self are defined as *independent* and *interdependent* self-construals and the first one is usually associated with the Western European and American culture whilst the latter is associated with Japanese and Asian culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Further information about independent and interdependent self-construals will be given in the following section.

2.7.1 Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals

Since each culture exists with its own rules of living, understanding the differences between cultures is an important phenomenon. For this reason, the differences between societies from a social and cultural perspective also make necessary to analyze the differences between people from an individualistic and a collectivistic point of view. Taking into account the individualistic and collectivistic worldviews, independent and interdependent self-construals become important dimensions to realize the effect of culture on individuals' thoughts and behaviors.

In their illustration of the self, Markus and Kitayama (1991) described two construals of the self which are independent and interdependent as shown in Figure 9. This illustration emphasizes that independent construal of the self is a bounded entity which separates itself from the others without any overlap. This represents an autonomous, separate and an independent individual which is mostly associated with Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

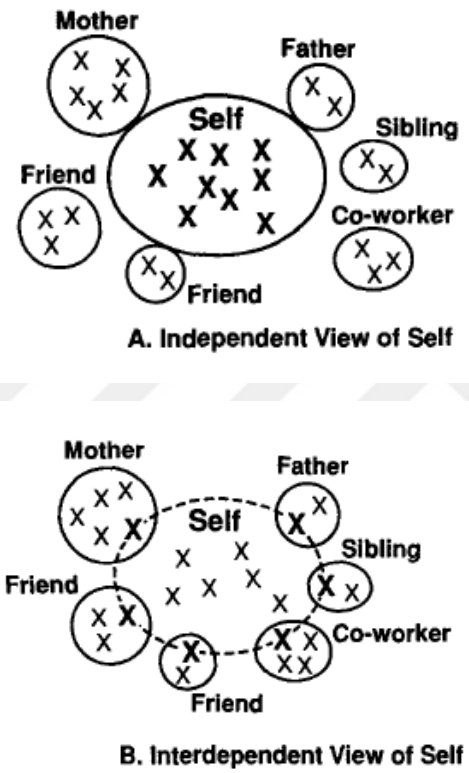

Figure 9 Conceptual Representations of the Self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991)

For individuals with independent self-construal, internal traits which are stable across situations will be used to give a meaning for the self (Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2011). These individuals will differentiate themselves from the others in a social context based on their personal unique characteristics. They will consider their unique personal attributes like ability and intelligence when comparing themselves with other people and when expressing themselves in public (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012). On the contrary, interdependent construal of the self is an unbounded and flexible entity

that is in relation with other wholes. This represents a more related, connected and a collectivist individual which is mostly associated with non-Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

For individuals with interdependent self-construal, maintaining interdependence with others by developing close relationships and group memberships will be more important in social context (Cross et al., 2011). Therefore, to sustain harmony between group members, individuals will be more concerned with each other's opinions and will engage in more appropriate behaviors. The saliency of relationships instead of personal traits will therefore become the primary interest for those individuals in their behavioral decisions (Matsumoto & Juang, 2012).

At this point, there are two important inferences which should be mentioned taking into account the self-construal literature. Although independent and interdependent self-construals are associated with specific cultures, not all individuals in the same culture possess the same characteristics imposed by that culture. Secondly, it can also be said that one person can have the characteristics of both independent and interdependent self-construals at the same time.

The first inference is related with the existence of both independent and group related concerns in the same culture. As mentioned earlier in the Individualism-Collectivism section, independent and interdependent self-construals may vary in individuals living in the same culture (İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). To put it in a different way, collectivists can be observed in individualistic cultures and individualists can be observed in collectivistic cultures as well (Bandura, 2001). When we consider Turkish culture, it also represents both independent and interdependent aspects of the self together (İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 1999). Due to its cultural diversity, the existence of both construals of the self can be associated with the cultural transformation that Turkey experiences due to globalization and industrialization.

In their article, Cross and Madson (1997) pointed out that American women represent the characteristics of interdependent self-construal more than American men in a highly associated Western culture (U.S. culture) and men are likely to possess the characteristics of the independent self-construal more than women in a similar vein. The example shows that independent and interdependent self-construals can be observed in the same culture (e.g. interdependent values in an independent culture) at the same time.

In their study, Uskul, Hynie and Lalonde (2004) investigated the Turkish and Canadian university students in terms of their closeness to their family, friends and their romantic relations. Although Turkish culture represents more collectivist characteristics than Canadian culture, the study showed that in terms of independent self-construal Turkish women scored higher than both Canadian men and women (Uskul et al., 2004). It can be stated that independent (interdependent) aspects of the self can be salient in a collectivist (individualist) culture as well.

The second inference that can be derived from the self-construal literature is related with the existence of both independent and group related concerns in the same person. Although it was first mentioned that independent and interdependent construals of the self are two opposite poles (Hofstede, 1980), Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) shows that their coexistence can be observed in the same person "at the same time with different groups or at different times with different demands" (p. 182). Based on the model proposed by Kağıtçıbaşı (2010), it is necessary to develop the concept of "self" due to changing value systems. Her "autonomous-related self" model therefore expresses the coexistence of both autonomy and relatedness in a family environment (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

Taking into account the coexistence of independent and interdependent self-construals in the same culture and in the same person, it should also be noted that one of these self-construals can be more dominant over the other one (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). This dominance can be caused by the person's interpersonal experiences and culture that the person lives in (İmamoğlu, 2003). In

this study, although the coexistence of both construals of the self will be taken into account, the dominance of one of them over the other one for each individual will be considered to simplify the discussion and reach meaningful findings.

The studies mentioned above not only show that both independent and interdependent construals of the self may exist in the same culture and in the same individual but also, they show that there may be a gender difference between these two dimensions. The next section will explain self-construal and gender difference in a detailed way.

2.7.2 Self-Construal and Gender Difference

Gender is an important demographic that explains the difference between individuals in terms of their attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, many researchers developed their works on the basis of the gender difference to reach a meaningful conclusion. The studies carried on self-construal literature also reveal that gender may have an impact on the type of the self.

In their analysis, Cross & Madson (1997) explained the gender difference in social experience by considering the independent and interdependent self-aspects. They stated that females are more interdependent individuals than men due to their motivation to maintain intimate relations. They also mentioned that women are more likely to express themselves in terms of their close relationships whereas men do not define themselves in this way (Cross & Madson, 1997). It can be derived from this idea that females behave in a way that makes their relationships stronger and more long-lasting, while men behave in a way that supports their personal success and status in the society. Gabriel and Gardner (1999) also supported the model presented by Cross and Madson (1997) and according to their analysis, women scored higher in relational aspects of the self when compared to men. In line with this view, females defined themselves with more relational terms focusing on their close relationships and emotional experiences (Gabriel & Gardner, 1999).

In their study with U.S. and Taiwanese participants, Bresnahan, Chiu and Levine (2004) also showed that females have higher scores on interdependent self-construals than men. Based on the study conducted with Turkish and American university students, females were found to have higher relational self-aspects than males and this shows how females are affected by the opinions and decisions of other people that they have social contact (Carpenter & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2005).

Although the comparison between men and women shows that the characteristics of interdependent self-construals are usually observed in women and the characteristics of independent self-construals are usually observed in men, some studies come up with opposing findings. For instance, Uskul and her colleagues found that women have higher independent self-construals than do men (Uskul et al., 2004). In her paper, Karakitapoğlu-Aygün mentions that due to sociocultural change in Turkey, women define themselves in a more autonomous way than they do previously, and this shows their independence self-aspect more (2004). In another study done with Turkish participants, the results also point out that women score higher in independent self-construal than men which may represent the changing gender role of women in Turkish culture in sociocultural context (Ercan, 2011).

As it can be seen through various studies in the literature, the gender difference may have an impact on the realization of the self in specific cultures. Therefore, this study will also take into account the effect of gender during the analysis related with the type of self-construals that individuals have.

2.7.3 Self-Construal Studies on Smoking and Anti-Smoking PSAs

After explaining smoking, anti-smoking PSAs and self-construals separately, it is necessary to put them together in the same context to reach the aim of the study. Since this study is trying to understand how individuals with different self-construals get affected from different types of anti-smoking PSAs, other studies that are conducted in this area should also be examined to differentiate the study from the rest.

Although the studies related with the concepts of self-construal and anti-smoking PSAs have been studied heavily in the literature separately, the studies focusing on the combination of both are not that much. Having mentioned that culture plays a crucial role in shaping the behaviors of individuals, its effect on smoking behavior is also an important area that requires attention. Anti-smoking PSAs are one of the main tools that can be used to express the link between self-construals and smoking behaviors of individuals. For this reason, some studies related with people's self-construals and their smoking behavior will be cited accordingly.

In a study done with college students at the University of Hawaii, the concept of theory of planned behavior (TPB) was used to understand the behavioral intentions of college students to quit smoking (Lee, Hubbard, O'Riordan, & Kim, 2006). The study modified the theory of planned behavior with addition of self-construals inside the theory. According to the findings of the study, interdependent self-construal was linked with the subjective norm while independent self-construal was linked with the perceived behavioral control (Lee et al., 2006). It can be inferred from this conclusion that smokers with interdependent self-construal will care about group conformity more than those with independent self-construal; on the other hand, individuals who score high in independence will take the personal motives into account more than the ones score high in interdependence in their quitting intentions (Lee et al., 2006).

In a survey done with students of one of the universities in South Korea, self-efficacy (the ability to cope with risk situations) beliefs of smokers were analyzed (Cho, So, & Lee, 2009. The results showed that independent construal of the self is a good predictor on understanding smokers' self-efficacy (Cho et al., 2009). In other words, smokers having independent self-construal will have higher self-efficacy beliefs which show how they will resist smoking compared to others (Cho et al., 2009). Therefore, it is important to design effective health campaigns by segmenting smokers based on their types of self-construal.

The article written by Chang (2009) sheds light on the relation with anti-smoking advertisements which have different message strategies and individuals' self-

construals. The study done with adolescents in Taiwan revealed that anti-smoking ads which include self-referring messages such as negative health effects of smoking on smoker's health and which include other-referring messages such as the worries of other people (others important for the smoker) towards the smoker's health have different effects on smokers having different types of self-construals (Chang, 2009). Specifically, adolescents having independent self-construal have more negative attitudes towards advertisements including self-related messages while adolescents with interdependent self-construal generate more negative attitudes towards other-related advertisements. The results match with the self-congruency effect model which states that people will be affected by those messages that are in the same direction with their self-concepts (Chang, 2009).

At this point, it is also important to explain how self-congruency effect plays a key role for individuals to get influenced by certain types of messages. It was suggested that advertising appeals which are consistent with the self-concept of the individuals can be more effective (Hong & Zinkhan, 1995; Wang & Mowen, 1997). Wang and Mowen (1997) used two types of advertising appeals to exemplify the situation. A connected theme can include togetherness inside a group, commitment to others, interdependence and sharing with other people while a separated theme can include autonomy, independence and uniqueness of an individual. Considering this logic, it can be suggested that anti-smoking PSAs can also be designed in a way that are appealing to self-construals of the smokers.

Considering the studies carried out on anti-smoking PSAs and taking the importance of the self-congruency effect into account, the current study will try to explain how smokers get affected from different types of message strategies based on their self-construals. The next chapter will explain the research methodology used in this study to answer the research question.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methodology

Throughout this chapter the qualitative research design of this study will be explained. Firstly, the logic behind using a qualitative methodology for the current study will be explained and then the sampling techniques and the research methods of the study will be discussed. Finally, how the data analysis was done and how the trustworthiness of the findings was evaluated will be explained.

The purpose of this study is to understand the role of independent and interdependent self-construals in designing effective anti-smoking PSAs for smokers to increase their quitting intentions. Since the studies in the literature mostly use quantitative methods to analyze the self-construal of individuals, this study differs from them in terms of its methodological approach. This research is based on a qualitative research methodology to attain an in-depth understanding about the phenomenon.

Qualitative research can simply be defined as "collecting primarily textual data and examining it using interpretive analysis" and therefore what makes qualitative inquiry different from quantitative research is in fact its focus on understanding the process rather than measuring the outcomes (Heigham & Croker, 2009). In order to understand a phenomenon in a detailed way, qualitative research provides questions like *how* or *what* to understand processes and *why* to understand the etiology (Hays & Singh, 2012). By asking those questions, researchers try to understand how people give meanings to their world and how they interpret themselves. Throughout this study, the research question, which asks how the contents for anti-smoking PSAs can be designed for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals in an

effective way, tried to be answered. Considering the purpose of the study, qualitative research methodology is preferred to interpret the underlying processes that shape the individuals' smoking behaviors and attitudes. Therefore, it is based on a more inductive approach as opposed to quantitative research which is deductive on the basis of hypothesis testing (Morrow, 2007). Since this study aims to explore new phenomena (especially for designing effective message strategies for smokers) based on the findings, mainly it used an inductive approach. However, it also used a deductive approach in terms of explaining the theory behind some of the findings. When data is gathered in a qualitative research setting, it is inductively analyzed and deductively tested by moving back and forth with new and existing data and therefore it is an *iterative* process (Morrow, 2007).

The main idea of making a qualitative research is to gain an in-depth understanding about a subject therefore the researcher spends his or her time for preparing the data collection methods and collecting data to be able to examine the phenomenon in a detailed manner. When the researcher comes to *data saturation* point which means that new information does not contribute to the analysis, the researcher tries to group the data in terms of emerging themes and contents. These similar ideas emerged from the data allow the researcher to attain a rich descriptive picture of the participants' understanding of themselves and their social world (Heigham & Croker, 2009). Therefore, finding links between ideas and seeing patterns in the data are very important steps to answer the research question properly.

3.2 Sampling

In a qualitative research setting, sampling is an important starting point to study the phenomenon in a more detailed manner. Therefore, *small sample sizes* are usually required to study in-depth, unlike quantitative methods which usually work with larger numbers of participants (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Being *purposive* rather than *random* is another characteristic of qualitative sampling (Kuzel, 1992) and it allows the researcher to focus on the area of interest. The key point about purposive sampling is selecting the sample on the basis of the information gathered from the

participants about a specific topic instead of selecting them on the basis of a predetermined sample size (Hays & Singh, 2012). Other than the sample size, qualitative sampling also needs to be studied by *putting boundaries* that enables the researcher to study the research question within certain time limitations, and secondly, creating a *frame* for the sampling to get answers to the research question (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

In order to reach the participants for the current study, *snowball technique* was used. First, the researcher asked for her personal contacts to participate in the study, and then her personal contacts connected with their acquaintances and informed the researcher about their participation status. Due to its advantage of getting access to people quickly, the researcher used this technique to reach a sufficient number of participants for the research.

Considering the key elements of qualitative sampling in terms of being purposive, the sampling of this study consists of male and female smokers who are between the age of 25 and 35. The sample in this study contains smokers who are currently smoking cigarettes. The age criterion was determined according to the statistics of Ministry of Health of Turkey about the percentage of individuals' status of smoking tobacco products by sex and age group (2016). Since individuals aged between 25 and 35 constitute approximately 33% of the smoker population in Turkey by 2016, it is an important segment that should be investigated. Due to fact that it constitutes one of the largest smoker groups in terms of age criteria and it is convenient to reach individuals among this group, that segment was chosen as the sample of this research. In sum, a total of 17 smokers (8 male, 9 female smokers) aged 25-35 participated in this study. The demographics and smoking information about the sample is given in Table 3.

As shown in Table 3, the sample of this study consists of smokers aged 25-35 who have different educational levels and occupations.

Table 3 Research Sample

Name*	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	Marital Status	Years smoked
Merve	Female	25	Bachelor's	Pharmaceutical Representative	Single	6
Mert	Male	26	Bachelor's	Master Student	Single	10
Ufuk	Male	27	Graduate	Research Assistant	Single	4
Veli	Male	27	Bachelor's	Engineer	Single	10
Deniz	Male	27	Bachelor's	Engineer	Single	11
Pelin	Female	27	Bachelor's	Engineer	Single	2
Onur	Male	28	Bachelor's	Doctor	Single	9
Sibel	Female	28	Bachelor's	Advisor	Married	12
Mustafa	Male	29	Bachelor's	Gov't Official	Single	13
Ceren	Female	29	Bachelor's	Engineer	Single	10
Burcu	Female	29	Graduate	Research Assistant	Married	12
Buket	Female	29	Graduate	Engineer	Married	4
Alper	Male	30	Graduate	Engineer	Married	11
Yasin	Male	31	Bachelor's	Engineer	Single	13
Sevgi	Female	32	Graduate	Academician	Married	8
Elif	Female	35	Bachelor's	Teacher	Single	11
Meltem	Female	35	Bachelor's	Nurse	Married	17

**Names changed to protect the privacy of the participants*

When we look at the educational levels of the participants as shown in Table 3, it can be seen that 12 of them have bachelor's degrees while five of them have graduate

degrees. Although the occupations of the participants vary, seven of them are engineers in private sector. Three participants take attention due to their occupations in the health sector. These participants are: one doctor, one nurse and one pharmaceutical representative. Considering the marital status of the participants, it can be said that most of them are single. On the other hand, there are six participants who are married. Among the married participants, Alper and Buket are the only couple in this study and they will be interviewed separately like the rest of the participants. Finally, the years that the participants have been smoking range between 2 and 17 with an average of 9.5 years. After explaining the sampling characteristics, the next section will go on with the research methods used in this study.

3.3 Research Methods

In this study, two different qualitative methods were used: semi-structured interviews and art-based method in the form of personal drawings. In the following sections, how these methods were used to acquire data will be explained in more detail.

3.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The most common method used by qualitative researchers to collect data is individual interviews (Nunkoosing, 2005). In general, interviews reveal individuals' beliefs, experiences, perceptions and motivations about a specific subject, event or case (Heigham & Croker, 2009). Since it allows the participants to take the floor and define themselves using their own words, it helps the researcher to learn more about the participants and to uncover the detailed parts of their story. The primary method that was used in this study is *semi-structured (in-depth) interview* to get an in-depth understanding about the smoking behavior and self-construals of the participants.

In a semi-structured interview form, the interviewer determines the topics of interest and prepares the interview questions related with those topics. However, he or she also knows that during the interview, new areas of interest may emerge (Heigham & Croker, 2009). This characteristic of semi-structured interviews enables the

conversation to move on at its natural pace and helps the researcher to learn more about the interviewee.

The interview guide conducted for this study was prepared taking into account the concerns of semi-structured interviewing. Since the study is two-fold in terms of understanding the self-construal of the individual on the one hand and examining the self-congruent anti-smoking PSAs on the other hand, interview questions were designed according to this logic. At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer first talked about the purpose of the study and ethical considerations and then went on with a general question by asking the interviewee to explain himself/herself. After passing this warming-up stage, the conversation started with asking the smoking background of the participant. During the interview, all prepared questions were asked by letting the participant to share anything that he/she has in mind.

There are three main parts which are designed to answer the different parts of the research question in the interview guide presented in Appendix A. The first part of the interview guide is related with the smoking profile of the smoker, the second part is designed to understand the dominant self-construal of the smoker and finally, the questions in the third part try to examine the self-congruent anti-smoking PSAs for the smoker. During the interviews, all participants were informed about the general topic before passing to each one of these parts.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. They were conducted in Turkish and in the analysis stage the referred sentences were translated into English to report the findings. The interviews took place in various places from cafes to university campus according to the interviewee's preference. In total, the researcher recorded over 11 hours of interviews which yielded over 128 pages of single-spaced transcripts.

3.3.2 Art-Based Method

In addition to semi-structured interviews, another data collection method which was used for this study was art-based method in the form of personal drawings. According to Eisner, art-informed methods may increase understanding about complex subjects (Eisner, 2008). Participant artwork "allows visual documentation of behaviors and contexts that are often unconscious, giving researchers access to participants' subjective worlds" (Hays & Singh, 2012). In other words, personal artworks can give important clues about the participant's understanding of a specific subject and it may help to describe participant's experience towards that subject in-depth.

In this study, personal drawings of the participants were used to help the analysis of self-construal and smoking behavior of smokers. These drawings helped the researcher to understand the smoker profile of the smokers, which in turn revealed their self-construals. The drawing section took place in the second part of the interview where there are questions related with self-construals of the participants. Participants were asked to draw a kind of scene that they associate with themselves while smoking. For their drawing, they were given a blank paper, colored pencils and an eraser. After finishing the drawing, the interviewer asked the participant to explain his or her scene in a detailed manner.

Although some participants hesitated to draw something on a paper, the interviewer tried to make the experience easy for them by suggesting talking about the scene first and then drawing it. In fact, the strategy worked well, and all participants tried to express themselves by their drawings. Since these kinds of creative methods can reveal the emotional and symbolic meanings in more detail compared with mainstream methods (Bragg, 2010), it helped to add value to the study by giving new perspectives and insights. The findings from the personal drawings will be explained later in Chapter 4.

3.3.3 Preparing the Self-Construal Section of the Interview Guide

During the preparation of the interview questions related with self-construals, mainly INDCOL scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995) was used as a supplementary resource. Since this scale includes 32 items to measure different aspects of independent and interdependent self-construals, only the dominant and related ones were reviewed for this study. In addition to this scale, the literature was also scanned for other descriptive measures for independent and interdependent self-representations.

When the INDCOL scale was analyzed in terms of dominant themes for measurement purposes, it can be pointed out that the scale emphasizes characteristics such as autonomy, uniqueness, independency, being direct and competition to measure independent self-aspect and harmony, cooperation, sacrifice, relatedness and conformity to measure interdependent self-aspect of the individuals (Singelis et al., 1995). The interview questions were derived by considering the importance of these notions.

At this point, some examples of how the questions were designed based on the items in the scale will be given. For example, in the scale there are statements that measure the independent self-construal of individuals such as “I am a unique individual”, “I enjoy being unique and different from others in many ways” and “One should live one’s life independently of others” (Singelis et al., 1995). As it can be clearly seen, all these statements measure the autonomy and uniqueness of an individual. Therefore, one of the interview questions was prepared accordingly; “Do you think that you are different from people around you?” and based on the answer of the informant, the follow-up questions were asked in order to understand what makes the person different from the others or what is the reason that he or she does not observe any difference. By this means, the informant is able to define his or her understanding of the self in a detailed way instead of simply giving a value on a scale. Another example from the scale can be given from the measurement of interdependent self-construal accordingly, “I hate to disagree with others in my group” and “It is

important to maintain harmony within my group" (Singelis et al., 1995). These statements measure the harmony within a group. The corresponding interview question was prepared to understand this perspective as "How does it feel to you to have a disagreement with your family and friends about a subject?" and the follow-up questions were developed to examine the matter deeply. Other questions in the interview guide were prepared following this logic.

After determining the dominant characteristics of independent and interdependent self-construals from the INDCOL scale, the literature was also searched for other descriptive categories. As a final step, the interview guide was prepared in an attempt to combine all those critical aspects of self-construal literature in a comprehensive way. The following section will go on with the data analysis of the current study.

3.4 Data Analysis

The main task of the researcher to gain an understanding about the subject is organizing the data into categories, themes and patterns that share common characteristics (Neuman, 2014). The initial examination of the data starts with *open coding* which helps to see the emerging patterns at the first glance. At the second stage of analyzing the data, *axial coding* is used to link the initial codes with each other and to find key categories (Neuman, 2014). During the axial coding process, the researcher also tries to categorize new and additional codes with existing themes to develop a governing structure for the study. During the data analysis of this study, the combination of open coding and axial coding were utilized to compile the data in meaningful themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). To answer the research question, going back and forth between the data and research question was used during the data analysis process.

The data analysis of this study was conducted in three steps. In the first step, self-construal analysis was done to understand the dominant self-construal of the participants. After analyzing the self-construal of each participant and categorizing them under independent and interdependent self-construal groups, smoking

characteristics of each group were analyzed as the second step. At this point, the analysis of the participants' drawings also helped to strengthen the analysis of the first two parts. In the final step, content analysis of PSAs for each group was done considering their self-construal characteristics. The whole analysis was built on with the contribution of each part to one another. Therefore, the data analysis throughout the study was in fact the collection of all integral parts that are in relation.

During the analysis phase of each step, firstly, all interview transcripts were scanned for emerging themes. During the open coding, dominant themes from the interviews were gathered together and then they were categorized and linked with each other during the axial coding. The following example will explain how open coding and axial coding were done for this study. During the self-construal analysis of the participants, descriptive characteristics of both independent and interdependent self-construals were scanned during open coding. Based on the findings emerged during the first coding stage, it was seen that participants with independent self-construal usually make their decisions based on their personal trade-off analysis and they focus on their own preferences in their decision making. These emergent characteristics then gathered together during axial coding and they were named under the descriptive category for independent self-construal as "decision making based on one's own preferences". In line with the example related with categorizing the self-construal characteristics of the participants, the same steps were applied throughout the analysis for other descriptive measures. While examining the relationships between emerging patterns, literature was also used as supporting instrument. After finding the common themes in the data, they were presented in the findings chapter of this study (Chapter 4).

After explaining the data analysis in general, it is also necessary to mention how the analysis about the self-construals of the participants was done. Since in the literature, the self-construal analysis is mostly done by applying quantitative methods to the study, the logic behind a qualitative terminology should be explained. Next two

sections will therefore explain the self-construal data analysis and the analysis of the participants' drawings in a detailed manner.

3.4.1 Self-Construal Data Analysis

The purpose of this study is to understand the relationship between the contents of anti-smoking PSAs and their effects on quitting intentions of smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals. This relationship is very important to design effective message contents for smokers so that the PSAs will be powerful tools in changing smoking behavior of smokers. To learn this relation, self-construal analysis of smokers was done initially. Afterwards, the links between the smokers' self-construals and the effective contents of anti-smoking PSAs were established both for individuals with independent and interdependent self-aspects.

In the self-construal analysis, this study used a qualitative methodology rather than mainstream quantitative methods taken part in the literature. Therefore, understanding the logic behind the analysis is critical before moving forwards. Most of the quantitative methods in the literature generally use predetermined questionnaires that are developed by many researchers for different cultural settings (Gudykunst, Matsumoto, Ting-Toomey, Nishida, Kim & Heyman, 1996; Hui, 1988; Singelis, 1994; Singelis et al., 1995). The most preferred scales used by many researchers are the Self Construal Scale (SCS) developed by Singelis (1994) and the INDCOL scale developed by Singelis and his colleagues (Singelis et al., 1995). These scales were designed to measure the independent and interdependent self-construals of the individuals as two orthogonal dimensions (Levine et al., 2003). In other words, it is suggested that both autonomous and relational characteristics of the self may exist in individuals, but in different times and situations individuals are differentiated from one another by revealing one of these characteristics (Wasti & Erdil, 2007).

Wasti and Erdil (2007) studied the validity of these two scales designed to measure the self-construals at individual level and they found that INDCOL is more valid than SCS. Therefore, in this study, the question set prepared in the INDCOL scale was

mainly taken into account while preparing the interview questions. After preparing the interview questions considering the statements in the INDCOL scale, the participants were divided into two categories based on their dominant self-construal.

During the analysis, the researcher first coded the answers of the participants for each of the question in the self-construal section. Afterwards, emerging themes were scanned among these initial codes and the determinant characteristics both for independent and interdependent self-construals were identified. As it was mentioned previously in the data analysis section, initially the common answers of the participants were scanned during open coding and then they were categorized under descriptive dimensions for each self-construal during axial coding. To understand which self-construal group the participant belongs to, answers of each participant were reviewed again. Since individuals can have the characteristics of both independent and interdependent self-construals at the same time, the researcher looked at which of them outweigh the others. For example, a participant can have the characteristics of independent self-construal in some dimensions although he or she has a dominant interdependent self-construal. More specifically, some female participants with interdependent self-construal explained how they can be very competitive when they want to achieve success for specific things. Although being competitive is usually associated with independent self-construal (Arnocky, Stroink, & DeCicco, 2007; Cristina-Corina, 2012), these female participants with interdependent self-construal also have this personality characteristic beside on their dominant interdependent self-aspect. After applying the same process for all informants, the dominant self-construal for each participant was determined as the final step and the participants were divided into two groups as independent and interdependent smoker groups which will be mentioned later in the findings chapter.

After explaining the self-construal data analysis for the participants, the next section will also present how the analysis of the drawings was done to strengthen the understanding of the participants' self-construals and their smoking behaviors.

3.4.2 Analysis of the Drawings

After explaining the self-construal data analysis, it is also important to discuss how the analysis of the participants' drawings was done for this study. As mentioned previously, the participants were asked to draw a scene which they associated with themselves while smoking. Since they were not given any guidance other than this statement, each drawing was a unique piece of work that represents their creativity.

During the analysis of each drawing, the researcher first looked at how participants illustrated themselves in their drawings. Since smoking can be a both personal or a group activity, their illustration gave clues about their self-representations which will contribute to the self-construal data analysis as well. For example, if the participant draws himself/herself with a group of friends while smoking, it may show how he/she regards smoking as an activity that connects people with each other. In other words, for an individual with interdependent self-construal, smoking may enable harmony between group members. The researcher also tried to understand the moods that the participants associated with their smoking behavior. By this means, how individuals perceive smoking as a positive or a negative thing and how it is a powerful tool in terms of contributing those moods tried to be understood. For instance, it was observed that smoking was usually associated with a positive mood after analyzing the drawings. Due to these positive associations that smoking has, it was understood that quitting smoking can be very difficult for most of the individuals. Other than this, the images, objects, colors that the participants used in their drawings were analyzed to understand how they link those elements with their smoking behavior.

After analyzing each drawing, the researcher tried to find common points for each group that the participants emphasized in their illustrations. Since independent and interdependent smoker groups emphasized different points, drawings were also divided into two categories as drawings of smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals. The similarities in the drawings for each group were discussed and the drawings of each group were also compared with each other during the analysis.

Drawings not only helped to contribute to the self-construal analysis, but it also helped to reach underlying meanings of smoking behavior for individuals. The next section will explain the trustworthiness of the study.

3.5 Trustworthiness of the Study

Trustworthiness of the study can be simply explained as whether the findings are "worth paying attention to, worth taking account of" or not (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Therefore, to present a trustworthy study, it is important to consider some key elements in trustworthiness assessment which are specified as *credibility, dependability, confirmability*, and *transferability* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Throughout the study those steps were taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the study.

Credibility is related with the accuracy of representing the data and defining the concepts. In order to increase the credibility of the study, it is important to make sure that "believability" is enhanced. In this study, triangulation was used to contribute to the credibility of the study and throughout this research multiple data collection methods in terms of semi-structured interviews and personal drawings were used to strengthen the findings. The feedbacks coming from the advisor of this thesis also helped to develop the interpretations of the data in a credible manner.

Dependability means that if the results of the study are consistent over time (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study was conducted with a high number of participants for qualitative research standards that enhances its dependability. Since the subject of the study was smokers, they can be studied by other researchers in the future to check the validity of the findings. During the analysis, some findings were also compared with the literature to understand whether there is any change in some key variables over time or not.

Transferability is related with the generalizability of research outcomes to other contexts (Heigham & Croker, 2009). In order to enhance the transferability of the

findings, thick descriptions about the concepts were presented throughout the analysis and it was also considered if the findings can be transferred to other smoker groups as well. Since the subject can be studied with larger number of participants, the outcomes of this study can also be tested with a quantitative research approach.

Confirmability simply refers to the objectivity of the researcher by disclosing the data without interfering with it. To increase the confirmability of the study, the researcher tried not to lead the interviewees while answering the interview questions. During the analysis phase, the coding strategy also attempted without developing biases towards the participants. The advisor of this study overviewed the initial draft of the analysis to prevent the biases that can emerge during the analysis.

After describing the qualitative research methodology of this study by explaining sampling, research methods, data analysis and trustworthiness assessment in a detailed way, the findings of this study will be presented in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter, findings from the analysis of the semi-structured interviews and drawings of the participants will be presented in four parts to answer the research question of how to design effective anti-smoking message contents for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals. In the first part of the chapter, findings related with independent and interdependent self-construals will be explained and the smokers will be divided into two main groups based on their dominant self-construal. During this phase, the characteristics of both groups, which will also be mentioned as the independent and interdependent smoker groups later in the chapter, will be handled in detail. Secondly, the characteristics of smokers will be explained according to the answers of the participants and the similarities and differences between two groups will be analyzed. Thirdly, drawings of the participants will be described in terms of the common points that they used in those drawings and the findings from this part will be compared with the findings of the first two parts to strengthen the analysis. Finally, the findings based on the analysis of interviewees' opinions in terms of effective message contents for the anti-smoking PSAs will be shown as a step toward designing effective contents for both smoker groups.

4.1 Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal Analysis

During the analysis of the smokers' dominant self-construal, firstly the answers given to the interview questions were analyzed for all participants and then emerging common themes were scanned both for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals. Based on the self-construal analysis of the smokers, nine smokers were categorized as having dominant independent self-construal while eight smokers

were categorized as having dominant interdependent self-construal as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Smokers with Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals

Smokers with Independent Self-Construal (Independent Smoker Group)	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Years Smoked
Mert	Male	26	Single	10
Ufuk	Male	27	Single	4
Veli	Male	27	Single	10
Deniz	Male	27	Single	11
Onur	Male	28	Single	9
Sibel	Female	28	Married	12
Burcu	Female	29	Married	12
Yasin	Male	31	Single	13
Meltem	Female	35	Married	17
Smokers with Interdependent Self-Construal (Interdependent Smoker Group)	**Gender**	**Age**	**Marital Status**	**Years Smoked**
Merve	Female	25	Single	6
Pelin	Female	27	Single	2
Mustafa	Male	29	Single	13
Ceren	Female	29	Single	10
Buket	Female	29	Married	4
Alper	Male	30	Married	11
Sevgi	Female	32	Married	8
Elif	Female	35	Single	11

As Table 4 shows, participants were divided into two main groups and they will be referred to as the independent and interdependent smoker groups throughout the chapter. When we look at the Table, there are six male and three female smokers in the independent smoker group while there are six female and two male smokers in the interdependent smoker group. As it was mentioned before, it can be said that while males usually possess the characteristics of independent self-construal, females usually have dominant interdependent self-construal (Cross & Madson, 1997). However, this does not mean that all males will have dominant independent self-construal and all females will have dominant interdependent self-construal as shown in the Table. Considering the marital status of the participants, there are three married smokers in both groups and the rest of the participants are single. When the years smoked are considered for both groups, the independent smoker group has an average of 11 (10.8~11) years while the interdependent smoker group has an average of 8 years.

Table 5 Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal Dimensions

Dimensions	**Independent Smoker Group**	**Interdependent Smoker Group**
Decision Making Styles	Decision making based on one's own preferences	Decision making based on in-group's preferences
Conflict Styles	Dominating conflict style	Compromising conflict style
Perception of Uniqueness/ Ordinariness	Perception of uniqueness	Perception of ordinariness
Perception of Success	Success as a self-oriented achievement	Success as a group-oriented achievement

The self-construal analysis of the participants was evaluated in four main dimensions from literature namely: decision making styles, conflict styles, perception of uniqueness/ordinariness and perception of success. Table 5 summarizes the independent and interdependent self-construal dimensions considering the common characteristics of the independent and interdependent smoker groups. Each of these dimensions shows how the independent and interdependent smoker groups differentiate from each other considering each group's different characteristics. In the following sections, each dimension will be explained in detail.

4.1.1 Decision Making Styles

When we look at the decision-making styles of the participants, it can be said that there are differences in terms of how the independent and interdependent smoker groups make their decisions. Individuals with independent self-construal value more to their own preferences rather than in-group preferences while people with interdependent self-construal tend to value more to preferences made by their peers rather than their personal choices (Kim & Markus, 1999). For individuals with independent self-construal, making personal decisions become more crucial as it shows the person's own preference and unique self-identity; however, for individuals with interdependent self-construal, leaving the decision making to the members of the in-group is more motivating as it shows the existence of harmony inside the group members (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999).

Based on the answers of the participants, decision-making styles can be divided into two main sub-categories in terms of decision making based on one's own preferences for smokers with independent self-construal and decision making based on in-group's preferences for smokers with interdependent self-construal.

4.1.1.1 Decision Making Based on One's Own Preferences

Taking into account both the literature and the answers of the participants, it can be stated that participants with independent self-construal generally make their decisions

by themselves with making their own trade-off analysis. For example, one male informant shared,

> I usually make analysis before making decisions. It is called SWOT Analysis which is mostly used in Business Administration. What are the pluses and minuses? I put the pluses and minuses side by side analytically and I make or don't make that action according to it. I mean, I try to give my decision in that way. (Mert)

The above quote shows that during the decision-making process, analytical thinking is very important for people having independent self-construal. Another informant also mentioned,

> I generally try to make decisions about my life by myself. The familial subjects or subjects related with a friend group can be shared with others, but I usually make my decisions by myself. I am sitting and thinking. I am making a table of pluses and minuses in my head. I decide on the move which outweighs the others and I go for it. (Onur)

Since individuals with independent self-construal are usually more autonomous, they trust in their cognitive thinking more and make trade-off analysis in their minds. In another words, they believe in their own cognitive thinking and beliefs (Petterson & Paterson, 2012), so that they can make decisions which will satisfy their own preferences more easily.

Secondly, it can be stated that decision making is usually a difficult process based on the responses of the participants. For instance, a male informant shared, "Of course it is difficult, very difficult. I usually have difficulty in making a decision. It generally happens like this; if I am going to give an important decision, I usually think until the deadline" (Yasin). Other informants also define this situation as difficult, "It is difficult because I think broadly before taking a decision. I think about the consequences of that decision. I try to cope with this difficulty by thinking the positive sides of that decision" (Meltem). These concerns show that for individuals with independent self-construal, decision making is a critical process because they want to give the right decision for themselves in the end.

Thirdly, the interviews revealed that in decision-making process, others' advices cannot go beyond approving the already taken decisions. For example, one informant explained this situation accordingly,

> I am consulting people who know me. Their opinions become important for me but usually I end up with a decision already. They either make a counterargument, or a second person confirms your decision. Thus, I start taking action for that decision. (Burcu)

Another informant also shared, "Before taking decisions, I talk with my friends, but I never listen to them. Therefore, most of my friends say that 'you are telling but not listening anything'. I don't know, maybe I am searching for a confirmation" (Ufuk). Although they take advice from others, the final decision is usually made by the individual. Some informants said sentences like, "I consult people, but it does not affect my decisions. I get everyone's opinions, but I go my own way" (Veli) and "Of course I consult at some points, but I make the final decision by myself" (Sibel). Taking advice from other people therefore is not very crucial for these individuals because they usually listen to their inner voice and make their decisions based on it.

In summary, for participants having independent self-construal, decision making is usually a personal process and trade-off analysis is done before taking a decision. Since it is critical for the participants, they think about all the consequences in a detailed manner. Although consulting other people is somehow done, it is usually for confirmation purposes for the predetermined decisions. Final decisions are usually made by the participants.

4.1.1.2 Decision Making Based on In-Group's Preferences

As opposed to participants with independent self-construal, individuals with interdependent self-construal usually make their decisions based on in-group's preferences. Therefore, one of the most important things for these individuals before taking a decision is consulting others and taking advice from them. The following quote clearly explains the situation,

> Making a decision is very compelling for me. I cannot make my decisions easily. I always ask people around me like 'What do you think?' and I am not a person who can decide what to do by herself. I always accord with others' decisions. I never decide by myself. I am very compatible. I apply the decisions made by others. (Sevgi)

As it can be understood from the above sentences, conforming to decisions made by others is very important for the interdependent smoker group. In order to cope with the difficulty of the decision-making process, they usually ask members of the in-group such as family and friends. A female informant summarized this process as follows,

> Making a decision is difficult, very difficult! I consult people whom I consider as close and sincere. But if I am going to make a very important decision, I first consult my mom, my family and then my husband. After consulting everyone, if everyone says the opposite of what I am thinking, I rarely go my way. I put emphasis on others' words. (Buket)

Since individuals having dominant interdependent self-construal assign great value to others' opinions, another person's beliefs are more credible compared with one's own beliefs (Petterson & Paterson, 2012).

Another important point in decision-making for the interdependent smoker group is their unwillingness to take personal risks in their decisions (Lee, Aaker & Gardner, 2000). Since they avoid creating discomforting situations for their group, they usually leave the decision making to the others. One of the informants clarified, "I cannot make a decision easily. That's why I prefer to leave the decision making to the others because I have some problems coming from past about taking responsibility. I am afraid of making a mistake" (Elif). This quote shows that taking the responsibility about the possible consequences of a decision is an unwanted situation for some people. Due to the probability of making a wrong decision, they are discouraged and leave the responsibility to the others. According to the findings from the interviews, the related consequences of a decision especially play an important role in this situation. For example, one female informant shared,

> Making a decision is not easy because there are people in my life who will get affected by my decisions like my mom, dad and brother. That's why it is not very easy. I cannot think just for myself while making some decisions. There are aspects that will also affect them. If I really have to make a decision, I am trying to solve it in a way that those people will get least affected. (Ceren)

As the informant shared, the probability of affecting other people, especially family members in a negative way due to a decision, creates a difficult situation in terms of decision making. Therefore, the participant finds herself in a complicated situation since she does not want others to suffer from her decisions.

In sum, for participants having interdependent self-construal, decision making is usually a process where they consult their family members and close friends. After getting advice from them, they can be sure about their decisions because they give importance to others' ideas and experiences. Since they want to avoid the social disapproval of other people, they consider the social risks of any decision before taking (Mandel, 2003). Therefore, they cannot think decision making process without its consequences on others and they usually prefer not to take personal risks in their decisions.

4.1.2. Conflict Styles

To understand the conflict styles of the participants, they were asked about how they feel and how they respond when they have a disagreement with their family or friends. After reading the answers in the interviews, it can be concluded that conflict styles of the participants with independent and interdependent self-construals also differ. How they respond to a conflict situation or a disagreement gives much information about their self-representations. Based on the literature and the interviews, conflict styles of the independent and interdependent smoker groups can be divided into two sub-categories. People having independent self-construal are usually associated with dominating conflict style while people having interdependent self-construal usually engage in compromising conflict style (Oetzel, 1998).

4.1.2.1 Dominating Conflict Style

One of the common characteristics of people having independent self-construal is their dominating conflict styles in a conflict situation (Oetzel, 1998). When there is a dyadic conflict between two parties, individuals with independent self-construal usually try to convince the opponent by arguing about the subject. Since these individuals want to express their self-worth, they become more dominant in conflicts (Au & Lam, 2015). For instance, a male informant shared how he responds when he is having a disagreement with someone in general,

> Having a disagreement makes me feel bad. When I have a conflict, I usually argue with the person in front of me. If they are in my immediate surroundings or close friends, I like to become obstinate with them. I argue with them until I become convinced or until they become convinced. (Yasin)

As it can be inferred from the passage, trying to persuade the other person about a disagreement is very important for the independent smoker group. For this reason, they usually engage in arguments with other people to reach a consensus.

> If there is a matter of disagreement, we probably try to convince each other about those subjects. If the other person really has a logical reason, of course I think about it. I question myself and I question about why the other person told me the opposite. I may even do the opposite but first I wait for an argument or a logical reason. (Sibel)

Since the responses given in conflict situations cannot be thought independently from its settings (Putnam, 1988), individuals also concern the importance of the situation while having a disagreement. An informant shared,

> Having a disagreement makes me feel sad but I try to behave according to the situation. I mean, it may change depending on the importance of the subject. If it is an important subject, you have to take all people's opinions. But if it is a subject related with friendship, I go my own way. I mean, there may be conflict there. (Veli)

Another informant also clarified her conflict styles in different situations,

> It changes based on the importance of the subject. If it is an unimportant subject such as my friends like drinking tea and I like coffee… Okay, it would be better

> if they also drink coffee, but you go to a place according to this. This is an unimportant topic. But if the matter is related with a worldview or there is really an important topic which will shape the character of an individual, I become sad and I think that I am not understood by others. I move according to the opinion that I am convinced. But since my life is in the question, I go with the opinion that I believe in. (Burcu)

Both participants mention that the importance of the subject plays an important role in their conflict styles. If there is an important topic, having a disagreement is a serious thing but since these individuals are self-concerned, they prefer to move according to their own preferences.

Having an argument in a conflict is an unwanted situation for some people. However, people with independent self-construal also believe that those arguments are educative to some extent if there is a consensus at the end. "I find these arguments so educative. They usually end up with a consensus. In general, all arguments are made to reach a consensus in the end. I like them because I think they strengthen the ties between people" (Yasin). Another informant also told the positive sides of having a conflict for herself,

> I also think about the positive sides when I have a conflict. I may think like 'I didn't realize this, it is good to think the opposite, and it is good that they also brought this into my mind'. If I have a conflict, it would be nice to reach a consensus in the end for both parties. However, if the other person becomes stubborn and dictates his or her opinions, I may give a negative reaction as well. (Sibel)

In addition to arguments, individuals with independent self-construal also prefer communicating directly with other people when they are sure about the accuracy of their opinions (Gudykunst et al., 1996). An informant stated,

> Having a disagreement makes me feel happy. I become happy when I have an opposite opinion in an environment where eight or nine out of ten people are thinking the same about a subject. But I am not a person who makes a nonsense comment just to say something different if there is an obvious truth or a logical reason. If I believe that an opinion is true, I definitely tell it, I don't hide it, I don't change the subject, I like telling it directly. (Deniz)

Another informant also shared her direct communication style while having a conflict as follows, “I tell my opinion directly. I am telling, this is like this and I am dropping the subject. I mean, I tell my own opinion. This is my attitude, I am clear; I say this is going to happen in this way” (Meltem). As can be seen from the narratives of the participants, smokers with independent self-construal prefer expressing their opinions in a direct way without abstaining from the situation.

In summary, interviews revealed that participants with independent self-construal engage in dominating conflict style when there is a disagreement. They usually try to convince the other people in favor of themselves. For this reason, they don’t afraid of getting into arguments and they sometimes have benefit from them. Although it depends on the subject, they seem to have an opinion about what is right or wrong in conflict situations. Finally, in their communication styles, they prefer to say their opinions directly to other people when they are clear and sure about the topic.

4.1.2.2 Compromising Conflict Style

The importance of the relationships for individuals with interdependent self-construal creates a motivation for compromising conflict style for them. According to Oetzel (1998), compromising conflict styles are associated with self-concern and others-concern together. Since preserving the relationship is very crucial for these people (Leung, 1987), they try to balance between their own preferences and others’ preferences even when it means giving up their own priorities sometimes. The quote shows the informant’s reaction in favor of the others’ preferences,

> I can be easily convinced when I have a disagreement if the other person becomes sad and gets harmed because of this. I am not stubborn, I am patient. I can say okay and give up from doing that thing if the other person will be happy. Even that situation makes me unhappy; I do it for the happiness of the other person. (Elif)

When we look at the participants’ responses while having a disagreement, it can be stated that the common thing they concern is the happiness of other people. They prioritize the opinions of others rather than their personal preferences in conflicts. A

female informant mentioned how she is afraid of making people sad in a conflict situation. “When having a conflict, I don’t want to break other people’s hearts, I am sensitive. That’s why I try to share my opinion in a sweet way” (Ceren). She also added,

> Our mothers and fathers are more traditional people. I try to change their opinions but if the subject is related with my lifestyle, I can do what they want me to do. When they come to a point like, ‘What other people say?’ I can say okay and go on their way not to break their hearts. (Ceren)

Although the generation gap is obvious between these people and their families, they still try to compromise even when they think the opposite. Another female informant also talked about how she tries not to disappoint her family.

> Others’ ideas are very important for me. I especially care about my family’s opinions most. If I have a conflict with my family about a subject, I usually try to do what they want from me not to make them sad. I don’t like doing something that will make them sad. I don’t want to make them disappointed at all because they have invested in me. (Buket)

Maintaining harmony in relations is one of the characteristics that these people share. That’s why in their relations with their family, they do not behave independently if there is something that creates conflict between these two parties. When they were asked whether they will behave according to their own preferences or not in case of an unapproved behavior, common answer they give is that they prefer conforming to others’ opinions. One of the informants shared, “In fact, we are all social well-beings and we need to be socially recognized by others. If the thing that you are doing will make you separate from your family and friends, I prefer not to do it” (Mustafa). It can be understood that getting the approval of the family is very important for these people not to have a conflict with them. The following quote also supports this view, “If all people in my social environment don’t approve it, I think that there is something that they know. If they warn me like, ‘Don’t do this, otherwise these will happen’ then I consider it. Of course, I give importance to their ideas” (Merve).

In summary, participants with interdependent self-construal usually engage in compromising conflict style and try not to make the others sad in a conflict situation to maintain harmony. Since maintaining relations are very crucial for these people, they usually try to avoid the conflict to keep cooperation with their family and friends. Therefore, they disengage in behaviors that are not approved by their environment.

4.1.3 Perception of Uniqueness and Ordinariness

Individuals with independent and interdependent self-construals are also differentiated in terms of their perceptions of being unique or not from others in social context. Therefore, the concept of self-construal is a good indicator of understanding the degree of uniqueness of an individual (Chang, 2010). Individuals with independent self-construal see themselves as special and unique while individuals with interdependent self-construal maintain a perception of ordinariness by emphasizing the similarities with others (Heine & Lehman, 1997). The narratives of the interviewees also showed that participants differed in terms of the degree of which they emphasize their unique characteristics from others that they have in relation.

4.1.3.1 Perception of Uniqueness

When participants were asked if they see themselves different from others or not, the independent smoker group mentioned their differences which can be seen in the attitudes and behaviors of the individuals. Mert explained this situation accordingly, "I always think that everyone of us has unique and different aspects. I mean all of us have a special and unique self-aspect. Everyone wants to be special! Of course, I also want it". As can be seen, the informant believes that everyone has a unique set of characteristics that are special to him or her. For this reason, he also differentiates himself from the others based on this perspective. At this point, one participant made a very explanatory metaphor that defines the uniqueness of individuals,

> In my opinion, every person is different in himself or herself because everyone has his or her own personal characteristics. I think people are comprised of pieces of a puzzle. The pieces that complete each other are good in fact.

> However, every piece has its own special shape like one has an edge, other has a bulge. I mean all these pieces that are different for each person makes the puzzle in the end. (Veli)

The example given by the informant states that everyone has different self-aspects which are associated with the different pieces of a puzzle. These different aspects create the unique person at the end. After describing the self-perceptions of the independent smoker group, it is important to discuss how they differentiate themselves from others. An informant explained the aspects that make him different from other people,

> I was not thinking that I was different from others to a certain extent but after a certain point I started to think about that I am different. I mean I was raised in environment A but then I started to do something in environment B. That's why I believed that people are thinking more differently about some subjects than me. I still believe… What makes me different from them is probably my thinking style. I mean my point of view towards life… Maybe in some cases, sociocultural level could be. (Onur)

The above quotation refers that especially the way of thinking towards life makes the participant different from the others when compared. The unique characteristics, attitudes, feelings and abilities of individuals with independent self-construal therefore play an important role in differentiating these people from their social context (Singelis, 1994). "I see myself as more responsible than my friends. I am more open-minded and not hardliner. I also focus on more to develop myself. I don't give importance to the brand names etc. I see these kinds of differences" (Sibel). The participant talks about her special characteristics that she thinks that others don't possess. For this reason, when she makes a comparison, she draws a more unique profile for herself. Another participant contributed to this comparison as follows,

> What makes me different is my ambition. I mean the desire for doing something, the desire for doing the thing that you focus. Other than my ambition, my attachment to something… I mean I can't be able to desist from attaching to that thing. If I am doing something, I devote myself completely to it. (Ufuk)

The quotation explains that the need for uniqueness can also shows itself in the feelings and attitudes of the individuals. Here, the informant mostly mentions how he is experiencing some feelings more intensely than other people. When explaining his special aspects, one informant made an interesting analogy and he said,

> I believe that my perceptions are different than other people. I can usually realize a complicated idea while I cannot see a simple thing. Therefore, my perceptions often lead me diverse results and I find this difference as a very positive thing for me. I see it as a superpower that I have, and I think that it is still working, and that power has not gone yet. (Deniz)

According to the participant's point of view, his unique characteristic is a kind of superpower that enables him to reach different results. Since his perceptions are different from other people, he makes his analogy by creating a superhero image for himself.

Another aspect that is related with the perception of uniqueness of individuals is that it is sometimes context dependent. In other words, some people may feel themselves unique when they are together with a specific group of people. For instance, a female participant shared,

> I am different. I was indecisive in my childhood about which area to study because I had different interests that are not related with each other. For example, I was interested in the literature, but I was also interested in administrative domain, these two are very opposite to each other. Literature is more suitable for introverted people however the other is more suitable for extroverted people. Therefore, when I get together with people interested in literature, I become different from them as they are living in a dreamland. They are not aware of some truths about the world. When I talk there, I can represent a corporate profile. In the same vein, when I talk with people interested in business administration or economics, I can represent a more artistic profile. I am different in this way. (Burcu)

The expressions of the informant show that the uniqueness of a person can occur in relation with different social contexts. Therefore, he or she may feel special in terms of his or her abilities when there is chance to make comparison in one of these contexts. Another female participant also talked about her difference in terms of her abilities when she compares two contexts,

> When I look at my inner circle, of course there are some differences. There are many housewives around me with whom I spend most of my time. I am the only one who is working. Therefore, I am different. When I come home, I take care of two kids, I feed them, I make them study, I prepare the dinner, and I do the housework. I am very different from them as I am working hard at work and I am doing these things in the evening that those women do during the whole day. When I look at my work environment, I am again different from my coworkers. I am more direct, and I can also be offending sometimes if there is need. (Meltem)

Since the participant is a working mother, she differentiates herself from the others that she has in relation. When she compares herself with her close surroundings, she highlights her abilities in terms of spending time for kids and housework which are the daily routines of a housewife and when she considers her coworkers, she again differentiates herself in terms of her attitudes as being more direct and offending.

To summarize, the perception of being unique and special is significant for participants having dominant independent self-construal. The difference in their self-representation shows itself in their attitudes, behaviors, feelings and abilities. When they make social comparisons with other people that they have in relation, they usually describe their difference in their perceptions. They also compare themselves in different social contexts when they are in close contact with different groups of people. That's why they highlight their unique characteristics and abilities which are apparent in specific times for specific reasons.

4.1.3.2 Perception of Ordinariness

According to the interviews conducted with smokers, perception of ordinariness was the most common answer for individuals having interdependent construal of the self. When they were asked whether they see themselves as different from others or not, the interdependent smoker group emphasized the similarities more than the differences. Therefore, it can be said that the interdependent smoker group's need for being unique is not higher than the independent smoker group (Song & Lee, 2013). For instance, an informant shared,

> I think that we are like each other. I can't say that I am different because we share common things such as the need for having fun or the desire for developing ourselves. If we go to a trip for ten days, we can spend time together without getting bored from each other. This shows that we resemble to each other because our routines, expectations, the things that we like are more or less similar. (Pelin)

As can be inferred from the quote, the informant does not describe herself as different compared with others in social context because she thinks that they share many common things which create harmony between them. She also adds,

> This feels good. If you can find and choose people like you, this is a chance for me as it is more fun to spend time with people who are like you. Since I am similar with others, I can talk to them easily and I can process their ideas as they are not nonsense. I know that they also experienced those things and they also made similar decisions. That's why when they share their experiences, they are valuable. (Pelin)

The importance of having similar lifestyles and expectations develop the cooperation between group members as can be realized from the statement. Therefore, a sense of belongingness occurs between the members of in-group (Markus & Oyserman, 1989) and they can share their experiences easily with each other. Another participant also mentioned how she feels ordinary when she considers other people,

> All of us are like everyone. I think people are like each other. I don't describe myself as very different. I can be more sentimental when we think the average. I am not a marginal person when you evaluate by my appearance. I think I am a person whose life is monotonous and who has a lifestyle in Turkish standards. I live the same life as everyone. I am not a kind of person who wants to be center of the attention, that's why I like being ordinary. (Ceren)

The participant mostly talks about how she feels herself ordinary in terms of her appearance and lifestyle. It can be said that she associates being different as being marginal or living a life which is not monotonous. However, she describes herself as the opposite and she develops a profile which is overestimating the similarities.

Keeping the ordinariness perception in mind, some people also think that only the living conditions and opportunities of people are different. In other words, they

believe that people share a common fate although they are differentiated in terms of their life circumstances. For instance, Sevgi mentioned,

> I feel ordinary. I mean, it is the life… We see what we are living. You also see when you go deep into someone's privacy. You see that everyone is having the same problems, everyone has sharing the same fate when you have too much conversation, when you share too much with other people. That's why I don't think that I am different. We came and will go. Everyone is same but our conditions are different. I mean when you look, we are like experimental animals. Only our environments, our opportunities and our conditions coming from our families are different. We become individuals with those. Why would we become different? We are the same. (Sevgi)

As the above quotation explains, the differences due to conditions or opportunities don't make a person different because the participant highlights the common fate shared by everyone as the basis which makes people quite similar. When the consequences of being different from other people are considered, interestingly it is recognized as a negative thing by participants with interdependent self-aspect. For example, an informant said,

> There are many people with whom we share common things. There are also many people who have different characteristics than me. Therefore, I can't say that I am very different. In my opinion, being different is not a good thing. Being like other people gives the feeling of togetherness. It makes me happy when others also think in this way. I think being different brings loneliness because you don't have common things with others. What will you share then? You don't have a common point. (Elif)

The participant thinks that being not like others can create a situation where the person can feel lonely. Since it is very important for individuals with interdependent self-construal to share something with close others, they see that being similar with other people is a prerequisite in terms of developing close relations.

Another point about the importance of similarities between individuals for the interdependent smoker group is the attempt of establishing bonds with people like themselves. They point out that they try to develop relations with individuals who share commonalities in terms of life expectations and wants. A male informant explained this situation,

> I don't think that I am different. Usually people to whom I have close contacts are good educated because I keep those kinds of people around me. I can easily talk to them about life and what we expect from it. I mean we want the same things from life, and we can understand each other's preferences or priorities. For this reason, I don't see any differences. (Alper)

Another male informant also handled the subject in a similar way and said,

> There are people around me who have similar level of education and who like similar things. I cannot feel any difference in this kind of an environment. In fact, I studied Economics which is studied by many other people as well. I don't have a special enjoyment or something. That's why I am like others around me. We have similar life expectations or problems related with life. For this reason, I try to develop relations with these people because we can understand each other easily. (Mustafa)

Both participants specified the reasons why they develop relations with people like themselves. Since they give importance to share life-related expectations with each other, they try to choose their close friends from people who think like them. Thus, they don't experience any disagreements or misunderstandings with these people.

In sum, participants with interdependent self-construal emphasized the perception of ordinariness compared with the other smoker group. They believe that they share common characteristics with other people and therefore this creates a harmony in their relations. Being different is seen as a negative thing for these people because they think that distinctness brings along loneliness. Therefore, they create an environment for themselves in which they share similar lifestyles, life expectations or wants with other people. In order to establish close bonds with people, they try to keep the ones who share these similarities. With the help of their close relations, they can communicate easily, and they can understand better to each other.

4.1.4 Perception of Success

When we look at how participants with independent and interdependent self-construals view "success", it can be said that there are some differences in their perceptions. To understand these differences, some questions were asked to the participants in terms of how they define success and what they associate it with.

According to the interviews, although the two smoker groups shared some points in common, they also pointed out some differences which shape their attitudes. Considering these differences related with success, two perceptions of success stand out. The first one is related with success as a self-oriented achievement while the latter is related with success as a group-oriented achievement (Feeny & Wang, 2010). Therefore, it can be emphasized that the first one is associated with the independent smoker group while the second one is mostly true for the interdependent smoker group.

4.1.4.1 Success as a Self-Oriented Achievement

The interviews revealed that the independent smoker group perceives success as a self-oriented achievement most of the time. Since these individuals usually value their personal abilities and inner traits more than other people, they see success as a way to make themselves apart from the others (Feeny & Wang, 2010). So, they can express their personal characteristics to develop a unique self-aspect.

When the participants were asked to define success, they gave different descriptions which have special meanings for them. One informant emphasized this point and said, "The definition of success varies from one person to another. For me, being an engineer is a success, but it may not be a success for someone. It depends on the subject" (Veli). Although the definition may change for each person, it can be said that success was usually associated with achieving something in different contexts. For example, one informant associated success with work setting, "Success means to prove oneself. I mean it means showing oneself at work" (Meltem). Another informant mentioned how it is related with achieving goals in life,

> If I set a goal for myself, achieving this goal is a success for me. I also enjoy that process and I like experiencing it in myself. I mean success is related with doing the best of what you are doing. It means getting motivated for something and achieving it. (Ufuk)

Taking into account all these definitions, one participant made a point about the balance between them and shared,

> I think it states balance in life. According to me, being at balance means being successful… For example, you can be very successful at your work, you can improve yourself, you can earn good money, but your family life somehow doesn't go well, or you can't allocate your time for them. This is not a success! It is related with your work, your family, your health and your friends. For example, in terms of your work, it means promotion and developing yourself. I categorized myself such that I will work very hard for 10 years and I will learn many things. For these 10 years if I can add a viewpoint to myself, I will be successful. (Sibel)

After reviewing some definitions about success, it is also important to learn how much these individuals care about achieving their own success. For instance, an informant explained how important it is for her,

> It is the feeling that will make you get up from the bed and make you live that life. It is also happiness… It is very important according to my definition because otherwise you don't have any motivation to do something. If I set a goal for myself, I enjoy doing everything to achieve it. (Burcu)

Another female participant also mentioned how success takes an important place in her life, "It is very important! If I am not successful at work, I can't gain a footing, I come to a deadlock. I mean you can't improve yourself. This is how an unsuccessful person is" (Meltem). As can be seen, success is an important personal achievement for these individuals, and they associate it with happiness and advance in one's career.

Considering the importance of success for the independent smoker group, the factors that lead to success can be listed as the personal factors such as effort, determination and want based on the narratives of the interviewees. A male participant explained the factors that make him successful, "What makes me successful is my personal determination. I mean when I become determined to do something, I do it. When I want something, I achieve it" (Veli). Another male participant also mentioned similar factors and he added, "My effort… It is my personal effort that makes me successful" (Ufuk). Although it seems that male participants express their inner traits as success factors, female participants also emphasize their personal characteristics as well. One female interviewee mentioned,

> When I decide what I want, I can go after it. Deciding what you want, going towards it and spending time for it bring success. In my life, it usually happened like this. I can think creatively, and I can handle stress so if I am successful, I owe my success to those. (Burcu)

Another female participant highlighted, "Desire, determination and ambition… These are success factors. Without these, you can't be successful" (Meltem). Therefore, personal factors play an important role both for male and female participants to have an achievement in life.

Finally, when we look at the situations where other people become more successful than the participants, the independent smoker group handles the subject in terms of competition and they also express their willingness to win this competition. It was stated in the literature that independent self-construal is mostly associated with competition with the emphasis on personal gains (Arnocky, Stroink, & DeCicco, 2007; Cristina-Corina, 2012). For instance, an informant mentioned the logic behind competition in a very simplest way, "If they can do it, why can't I do it?" (Yasin). Another participant explained how he experienced competition from his childhood,

> I was always in a competitive environment since my childhood. I started swimming when I was three years old. We were attending competitions and I was very eager to win. Then I started folk dance at university and the competition went on…When I talked with one of my friends, he said "you see everything as success-oriented" so I know that I have always a goal in front of me and it is important to reach it. If I don't set a goal, then I become demotivated… When I see someone's success, I also want to achieve it. (Ufuk)

The above quotation shows that competition plays a key role in shaping people's behaviors in terms of getting motivated to win. When they were asked about what they would do when seeing other people's success, an interviewee shared her feelings and said,

> It makes me feel bad. I look at what is going wrong in my life and which decisions I made wrong. I also look at whether we have the same conditions or not. I become mad at me if I can't do something which I would be able to do. I take an action about that if someone is more successful than me. I mean someone's success and the gap between me and that person bothers me. (Burcu)

Another female participant exemplified the situation accordingly,

> When someone becomes more successful, I become ambitious. One of my coworkers started job 1,5 years ago and he was a very ambitious guy. His sales were really good, and I told to myself, 'you are setting a goal for yourself and you will be more successful than him in 5 months in terms of sales'. Now my 5th month is about to finish, and I am the winner because I worked a lot and I did. (Meltem)

Both informants mention that they would do their best to reach the success level of the other person. It can be understood that in a competitive environment, individuals with independent self-construal usually set goals for themselves and work to reach their personal goals.

It can be summarized that participants with independent self-construal usually mention different definitions for success (Feeny & Wang, 2010). However, success is usually related with work and career setting for these individuals. Therefore, it takes a significant place in their lives. They mostly attribute their success to their personal traits and efforts which can be regarded as success factors. When they see that other people become more successful compared to themselves in a competitive environment, they become more ambitious to achieve their personal goals. So, it can be concluded that they usually perceive success as a self-oriented achievement.

4.1.4.2 Success as a Group-Oriented Achievement

For the interdependent smoker group, success means a group-oriented achievement compared with the independent smoker group. Since these individuals emphasize their closeness to others, they usually seek for appropriate relationships to maintain harmony with their group members (Kim et al., 1996). Therefore, success becomes a group achievement that enables these individuals to contribute to overall success of the group (Feeny & Wang, 2010).

When the participants were asked to define success, smokers with interdependent self-construal also gave similar definitions. Like the independent smoker group, they also mentioned success in terms of work and career settings. However, they also

defined success as the quality of time spending with family and friends. For instance, a male smoker shared, "I think it is the quality of time spending. I mean if you can have a good time with your family and friends or if you can allocate your time to your favorite activities, it also means success" (Mustafa). As can be seen, the definition of success does not only mean personal achievement for these individuals. In other words, if they can have a good time with their family members or close friends, they also see it as a success.

When they were asked how much importance they attributed to being successful, the answers differed between male and female smokers. While females see success as an important thing that one should achieve, males usually saw it as not a vital thing. For instance, a female informant mentioned,

> It is very important for me. When I started primary school, I was the first one who could read. I was the highest ranked student when I graduated from secondary school. I went to Anatolian high school and I was again a successful student. For me it is very important. (Buket)

Another female smoker also shared,

> It is very important. I am a perfectionist person. That's why nothing is easy in my life. I always think about the details, and this is exhausting. Everything, the ways that will bring success are always in my mind. That's why being successful is very important for me. (Sevgi)

When we look at both female interviewees, it can be seen that success plays an important role in their lives. However, one male informant mentioned,

> Actually, I don't have a definition for success. I think I will never be able to reach it… when there is failure at the end, it doesn't affect me too much. I just try to do it. I just try to do the best I can. I don't burn myself out when I am not successful. Okay! I am unsuccessful now; I try to figure out what I will do next. (Alper)

As the quotation shows, the male informant takes failure as an acceptable thing and as opposed to female participants; he states that being unsuccessful is tolerable at some point.

When we look at the factors that bring success for smokers with interdependent self-construal, it can be said that although they mentioned effort and their hard-working, the support from family was also an important factor for them. According to a female informant, the opportunities that her family has were one of those factors that make her successful in life.

> The opportunities that my family provides and their support in fact make me successful. If I had another family, maybe they wouldn't have helped me this much. For this reason, my family is an important factor. The financial support that they provide for my education and the emotional support that they provide are important. In fact, it can also be seen in another perspective as my success is their success. (Merve)

As the statement shows, the person thinks that family support is a significant factor behind her success. She also mentions that her success is also contributing to overall success of her family. In line with this view, a male informant also highlighted, "My family is an important factor. If they hadn't provided these opportunities to me, I could have done something different now. Or if I was born in a different social environment, I could be in a different position" (Mustafa). The statement shows the significance of family and social environment in terms of achieving success.

Finally, when the participants were asked what kind of reaction they will give when they see others as more successful, the majority of the participants with interdependent self-construal emphasized that they will appreciate others' success. They also believe that cooperation with the members of the in-group is very important (Arnocky, Stroink, & DeCicco, 2007). For instance, a female participant shared,

> I first appreciate it regardless of being in the same position or not. If you ask me to choose between others' as being successful or as being unsuccessful, I choose the first one because I think if they become successful, they can also pull me up. (Buket)

Another female participant also highlighted others' success as contributing to group's success,

> When others become successful, it makes me happy. If my friends to whom I work in the same project become more successful than me, it is not very important because I share a common goal with these people. Therefore, when they become successful, this also makes the project successful. So, I become proud of it due to being part of that project. (Ceren)

Both participants mentioned other people's success as a positive achievement since it also leads to group success. So, it can be said that cooperation between group members plays an important role in the definition of success for these individuals.

It can be summarized that participants with interdependent self-construal see success as a group-oriented achievement. Although the importance attributed to it differs between male and female participants, females usually think it as more significant than males. As opposed to the independent smoker group, the interdependent smoker group highlights the importance of family and social environment as critical factors leading to success. Especially, the opportunities provided by their families are very supportive for their achievement. Finally, they mostly refer how the group success is comprised of each member's personal success. As it was mentioned before, they think that overall group success can be achieved when each member contributes to that achievement. Therefore, cooperation between the group members is critical in the group success.

After explaining the descriptive dimensions of independent and interdependent self-construals in terms of decision-making styles, conflict styles, perception of uniqueness/ordinariness and perception of success, the next section will go on with the characteristics of smokers participated in this study.

4.2 Characteristics of Smokers

Having presented the findings related with the self-construal analysis of the participants, the characteristics of smokers will now be explained in this section. Since the characteristics of smokers are important to understand the motivating factors underlying smoking, they will be presented in a detailed way through this section. Based on the interviews conducted with smokers, it was observed that

smokers share many characteristics in common as well as some differences. Considering these similarities and differences, the findings based on the characteristics of the two smoker groups were presented in three main headings: reasons behind smoking initiation, routines of smokers and positive/negative meanings of smoking.

4.2.1 Reasons Behind Smoking Initiation

Although there are many reasons behind smoking behavior, the reasons most prominent in the data are peer influence, family influence, interest/desire towards smoking and stress. Regardless of their dominant self-construal, all informants shared that *peer influence* comes first as the reason of starting smoking.

The importance of peer behaviors comes into existence during the adolescence because young people start to realize their personal identities by sharing most of their times with their friends whose opinions and advices are valuable (Brown, 1990). Since they observe their environment and take role models from their peers, it is also possible for them to get influenced by their smoking behaviors as well. Once they initiate smoking, this behavior can gain strength by reinforcing one another (De Vries, Candel, Engels, & Mercken, 2006). Although all participants mentioned peer influence as one of the reasons behind smoking, especially for smokers with independent self-construal, peer influence is critical in terms of their initiation of smoking. One informant shared,

> We used to go to a café (Kahve) before university with my friends. We were playing cards for hours. In general, everybody smokes there. I saw from my friends. They started sharing their cigarettes with me. I mean, I started smoking with my friends there. We started as a friend group. (Onur)

Another female informant also explained how she got influenced from her peers and started smoking,

> I always had sympathy towards smoking. Smoking always came to me like a good thing and I always wanted that kind of environment. I smoked with my

> friends at high school. I guess they had tried it before. I think their smoking influenced me and I started. (Burcu)

When the positive image of smoking combines with the influence of peers, it becomes even more attractive for people to initiate. For example, one informant stated how he associated the image of being cool with smoking behavior,

> Smoking starts with desire to imitate someone especially during high school when you are young. Some people may also wonder it. How is it like? I will taste it… But in general, you see from your environment. Smokers seem to be cool. (Mert)

In fact, peer influence cannot be thought alone but it can be suggested that its effect with *interest* and *desire* towards smoking makes the initiation period easy for people. Especially smokers with independent self-construal (5/9 participants compared to 2/8 participants) talk about how their interest towards tobacco caused them to start smoking. For example, an informant mentioned,

> Actually, it is so cliché, but I started smoking due to my peers. We were escaping from school, buying a pack and sharing it together. Everybody smokes one or two. I can say that it was desire towards tobacco. Actually, I was trying to prove myself. We are talking about the classic behaviors that all adolescents engage at those ages. You start seeing it as a necessary thing when everyone around you smokes. All of my friends were smoking, and it started to take my attention at that time. I started in that way. (Veli)

It can be stated that interest and desire towards smoking starts when people see that most people are smoking. Especially for male smokers, smoking can also be associated with the signal of being a man. The expression of "proving one's self" shows that how smoking is defined for some people. Another male informant said,

> There were many smokers in the town where I grew up. I was very curious about the outside when I was an adolescent. I was thinking about what other people are thinking about me and what I am thinking about them. For a moment, I started to feel that I'm lack of it (smoking). It is like those guys were doing a good thing and I started to feel like I am not doing it. In those days, I started smoking spontaneously with the help of one of my high school friends whose name I never forgot. I think that it should be planned but it is not like that. They just hold out one of the cigarettes and I smoked. It was already a

> positive thing in my mind, and I started smoking there. Then my close friends also started. It went on like this. (Deniz)

When we take into account peer influence, interest and positive image of smoking together, they become powerful tools to encourage participants with independent self-construal to start smoking. The forbidden nature of smoking during adolescence also makes it attractive for some people. When they get together and smoke with their peers, feeling of freedom increases this attractiveness. One female informant explained this situation,

> My friends were smoking at high school. I graduated from vocational school of health and our school was much disciplined. The principal was placing one person in front of each one of the toilette doors to follow us. Smoking was forbidden and the principal was very strict about it. For this reason, he was taking precautions to prevent smoking. However, smoking was becoming attractive for us when he did these. We were buying cigarettes and hiding it. We were smoking the same cigarette with 4-5 girls. This started to increase slowly. (Meltem)

As it can be realized from the above statement, the principal of 'what is forbidden is attractive' works for smoking as well. People become more curious about something when it is banned, and this creates a motivation for breaking the rules towards it. Like smokers with independent self-construal, smokers with interdependent self-construal also mention peer influence as a reason for starting smoking. However, interestingly these individuals first talk about the smoking behaviors of their families before expressing the smoking behaviors of their peers (5/8 participants). The following quotation clarifies this point,

> I started smoking at high school, but I had familiarity towards smoking since I was a kid. In fact, my father was smoking, my aunt and my brother-in-law were smoking. They are still smoking. I mean, there were always people around me who were smoking since I was a kid. Now, it is not allowed to smoke in the living room but in the past, it was easier, and it could be smoked indoor places. In our home, it could be smoked in the living room as well. Mom even expresses her problems about the curtains. I mean there were always people who were smoking around me. My friends at high school were also smoking. So, I got influenced by them and tried. I started smoking in this way. (Alper)

The importance of family during the initiation of smoking shows itself clearly in the above example. Therefore, it can be said that there is a positive relationship between smoking behavior of parents and their children (Eugen, Cornelia & Aurelia, 2015). When people see that their families are also smoking, that behavior can be perceived as normal and usual. Since these people concern their significant and close relations when construing their self, *family influence* is another important reason for starting smoking for these people in addition to peer influence. It was stated in the literature that individuals who experience smoking behavior in their families are under the risk of being smokers in the future as well (Chassin, Presson, Sherman, & Mulvenon, 1994; Colamussi, Bovbjerg, & Erblich, 2007). For instance, a male smoker shared how he became familiar with cigarettes in his childhood,

> I remember, in the past there were cigarettes for the guests at our home. When I was a kid, I smoked from those cigarettes once or twice for mischief. But that was not a desire or a consciousness for smoking. It was just for game and mischief. I mean, I had familiarity with smoking since my childhood. If I hadn't touched them in my childhood, maybe I wouldn't have started smoking at high school again. But at high school, I think I started smoking due to desire and due to get involved into a friend group. I think in that way now. (Mustafa)

As it can be understood, the memories with smoking in their childhood influence these people to start smoking later in their lives. Another female informant shared,

> My father is working at Customs. When I was a kid, my father was always bringing colorful and different cigarette packages at home. They were shining and I couldn't take my eyes off them. I mean I had always familiarity with cigarettes when I was a kid. But during that time, I never tried smoking. I started smoking at university with my friends. (Merve)

Getting familiarized with smoking is the common point in these people's smoking behavior. A possible explanation of this might be that they can justify their smoking by taking their parents as role models in their childhood. Therefore, when they start smoking at high school or university, this learned behavior from the past takes place with the further influence of their peers.

Stress is another reason for people to start smoking as well. It can be said that especially individuals during their adolescence may start using tobacco to cope with their stress (Leventhal et al., 2017). Although stress was mentioned by both smoker groups, its effect is more prominent for smokers with interdependent self-construal (5/8 participants compared to 2/9 participants). It can be pointed out that higher levels of stress can be experienced more by individuals with interdependent self-construal (Hu, Wang, Pruessner, & Yang, 2018). Moreover, female smokers emphasized its importance compared to male smokers (Hu et al., 2018). An informant shared,

> During my youth, I experienced some problems. You want to give damage to yourself; you want to make something bad to yourself. I was felling under stressed. I preferred smoking at that time. Luckily, I only preferred it. I was smoking one cigarette in a day and then I was leaving the pack at the park and going home. It started like this and evolved in my friend groups. (Elif)

When people are stressed, it is easier for them to get a harmful addiction as seen in the above quotation. Especially during youth, people may overreact to some of their problems and the things can get complicated for them. At those times, they can search for something that will make them relieved (Bonilha et al., 2013). Another female informant also mentioned how she started smoking after a stressful situation,

> One day I got really bored. I had just broken up with my boyfriend and it was a long-standing relationship. I was distressed and I needed to get relieved. I bought a pack of cigarette. I thought smoking would take me out of that situation. (Buket)

The quote shows that a stressful situation can cause to start smoking due to the idea that it will help to solve the problems. The following informant gave another example to a stressful situation which can be the reason of smoking,

> My boyfriend was smoking. There were also people smoking in my family. I said that I will try it. I was struggling with my thesis at that time. I was under stressed. There was always something in my head. It started like when I gave breaks while I am studying. I was smoking in every break because I was stressed. (Sevgi)

To summarize, based on this sample of smokers, there are many reasons which may explain why people start smoking. Peer influence, family influence, interest/desire and stress are some of the most prominent ones which were mentioned by the participants. Table 6 shows whether these reasons are major or not for each smoker group. If there is an "X" next to a reason, it means that it is critical for the related smoker group.

Table 6 Major Reasons Behind Smoking Initiation for Each Smoker Group

Reasons Behind Smoking Initiation	Independent Smoker Group	Interdependent Smoker Group
Peer Influence	X	X
Family Influence		X
Interest/Desire	X	
Stress		X

As it can be seen from the Table, although peer influence is the most important reason for both smoker groups in terms of their smoking initiation, its effect appears to increase with interest and desire especially for smokers with independent self-construal. Besides peer influence, family influence also sheds light on why smokers with interdependent self-construal engage in smoking. Finally, stress becomes a critical factor especially for smokers with interdependent self-construal and it was seen that if they experience a stressful situation, they may engage in smoking behavior to solve their problems.

4.2.2 The Routines of Smokers

Some people attach their smoking behavior with their habits and therefore it is associated with some *routines* that individuals engage in specific times. Although

smoking itself can be seen as an unquestioned routine (Katainen, 2011), in this section the things that accompany with individuals' smoking behavior will be thought as their routines or habits that they engage during their smoking. Considering the narratives of the informants, it is observed that all participants mentioned similar routines while they are smoking. On the other hand, some routines were stated dominantly by one of the smoker groups. Some of the prominent routines can be listed as; smoking after meals, smoking with coffee/tea and smoking with alcohol. The first routine which is smoking after meals was mentioned by both smoker groups. It can be said that smoking after a meal is a common routine that many individuals engage and it can be seen as a habitual activity for many people (Roohafza et al., 2015). For instance, an informant shared the following statement,

> I never smoke before breakfast. I start smoking after breakfast. When I go to work, I smoke my first cigarette after I turn on my computer. I try to smoke for certain hours. I don't smoke one after the other; I go outside (for smoking) in every 2 or 3 hours. It starts the same after breakfast during weekends and it changes according to our activities during the day. (Sibel)

The above quote shows that starting smoking after breakfast and giving breaks for smoking is a routine for some smokers. One possible reason for smoking after breakfast is its effect on physical body. Since it includes many chemicals inside, it may lead to nauseating when exposed to with an empty stomach. One of the informants explains this situation,

> I smoke one cigarette after breakfast because if I smoke before the breakfast my stomach turns. When I go to work, I smoke one after lunch, one in the afternoon and I smoke one more before I go home. I mean maximum four in a day. (Ceren)

As it can be seen, generally smokers prefer lighting up a cigarette after they take their meals. Some smokers also explain their daily routines for smoking by expressing their physical condition in the absence of it, "The time when smoking gives pleasure is after meals. That cigarette is definitely lighted up after meals because if you got used to cigarette like me for a long time, your head would be aching when you don't smoke after meals" (Mert). Due to getting used to cigarette consumption, it is also possible

for individuals to experience physical consequences when they don't smoke. Since tobacco products include nicotine, which was proven as the addictive material, people may experience side effects as a result. Therefore, they want to consume it as their routine to feel themselves good. In addition to physical experience, they also see it as a pleasure activity that can be associated with its psychological aspect which will be reviewed after.

Although smoking after meals is a common routine shared by most of the participants, smoking with tea or coffee was dominantly mentioned by only smokers with independent self-construal (7/9 participants compared to 3/8 participants). As it can be guessed, smokers usually consume more coffee (Swanson, Lee & Hopp, 1994) or tea with their cigarettes. Due to the positive associations between them, coffee and tea can be thought as triggering factors that increase cigarette consumption (Swanson et al., 1994). For instance, an informant mentioned its habit with tea and smoking,

> Smoking is in fact a habit. Every smoker knows this. It is not because of its pleasure giving. It is not like alcohol or drugs. It is usually a habit. When heavy smokers drink tea, they want to smoke with it. My routine is tea, there is not any other. I don't like coffee. It is usually tea. In fact, I drink too much tea; I may drink approximately 20 glasses of tea in a day. With every tea I am drinking, I also want to smoke. (Onur)

It is also important to note that some smokers may think tea or coffee as a complement good for smoking. So, whenever they drink tea or coffee, they also search for its complement which is cigarette in this case. Other participants also summarized their routines such as "Go to work in the morning, drink a tea and smoke a cigarette, light up a cigarette in every tea break" (Yasin). An explanation for this can be made by thinking about the behavioral and psychological aspects of smoking that smokers associated with. When they repeat the same behavior which they assign a special meaning over and over again, it becomes a habitual activity after a while. For example, a female smoker shared how she experiences the feeling of joy with accompany of coffee to her cigarette, "I usually like drinking coffee while I am smoking. That cigarette will be there if I am smoking. I will feel its joy that moment"

(Meltem). Therefore, the repeated associations between cigarette consumption and drinking tea or coffee take an important place in smokers' routines.

Smoking with alcohol is another routine which was derived from interviews. Since it enables socializing for many people, alcohol is preferred along with cigarette. Both smoker groups with independent and interdependent self-construals mentioned their cigarette consumption with alcohol. In the literature it was stated that individuals with interdependent self-construal generally use less alcohol than individuals with independent self-construal (Arli, Pekerti, Kubacki & Rundle-Thiele, 2016; Shell, Newman & Xiaoyi, 2010; Zhang & Shrum, 2009). However, smokers with interdependent self-construal in this sample talked about their smoking routines with alcohol more than the other smoker group (6/8 participants compared to 3/9 participants). For instance, an informant shared,

> I like smoking cigarette especially along with alcohol. I certainly want to light up a cigarette when I am drinking because in my opinion they are going well together. Since I already started smoking with alcohol, it becomes a routine for me. I like smoking with alcoholic beverages when I go out with my friends. (Pelin)

Another informant also explained how he matches smoking with his alcohol consumption and having good time with friends. He shared,

> I like smoking with alcohol. Due to work stress, when we go out with friends during weekends, we smoke if we also take alcohol. That atmosphere is fine. The feeling of relief due to alcohol and the conversation environment that smoking creates go well with together. I don't know how many I smoke at those times, but I guess it is too many. I can understand it from the number of butts. You can think this as a routine as well. (Alper)

As it can be inferred, smoking with alcohol is a routine for smokers especially when they spend time with their friends. They measure the quality of time spending with their smoking and alcohol consumption and it creates a pleasant atmosphere for them. Other smokers with interdependent self-construal also summarized this situation as, "The place that I would definitely want to smoke is a bar setting. If I take alcohol, I definitely want to smoke" (Elif).

When smokers with independent self-construal are considered, they quickly shared their alcohol consumption with cigarettes. For instance, an informant said, “I smoke when I go out or take alcohol. Cigarette and alcohol go well together” (Ufuk). Another male informant also added, “Drinking beer along with smoking is good” (Yasin). When we compare both smoker groups, it is obvious that the interdependent smoker group gives more detail about the associations between alcohol and cigarette in terms of its socializing perspective; however, the independent smoker group only mentions its complementary function along with cigarette. The reason why the interdependent smoker group underlines the socializing effect of alcohol and smoking is due to their self-representations. Since these individuals highlight harmony inside their groups, they may engage in more conforming behaviors to sustain the bonds between group members. However, the independent smoker group may see alcohol as a more supplementary product and therefore they may not ascribe meanings to its social aspect.

Table 7 Major Routines for Each Smoker Group

Routines of Smokers	Independent Smoker Group	Interdependent Smoker Group
Smoking after meals	X	X
Smoking with coffee/tea	X	
Smoking with alcohol		X

To summarize, there are some routines that smokers keep doing with their smoking habit. Smoking after meals, smoking with coffee/tea and smoking with alcohol are

some of them which were highlighted by the participants. Table 7 summarizes whether these routines are the major ones or not for each smoker group.

As it can be seen from Table 7, if there is an "X" next to a routine, it means that it is critical for the corresponding smoker group. Smoking after meals is a common routine which is done by both independent and interdependent smoker groups. However, smoking with coffee/tea was dominantly mentioned by the independent smoker group since it is a complement good most of the time. Finally, it was seen that smoking with alcohol has more meanings for the interdependent smoker group in terms of its socializing role.

4.2.3 Positive Meanings of Smoking

People may ascribe different meanings for their smoking behavior, and they can make positive or negative associations regarding their smoking habit. The narratives of the participants revealed some of these meanings that are significant for them. Positive meanings of smoking for smokers can be specified as being a tool for socialization and enabling control over stress.

4.2.3.1 Tool for Socialization

The role of smoking in terms of enabling individuals to survive socially is one of the meanings of smoking for smokers. In this context, smoking can be seen as a *tool for socialization* (Collins, Maguire, & O'Dell, 2002) for both smoker groups. Since individuals are social well-beings, they survive by getting connected with each other. For this reason, smoking plays a key role in terms of establishing those bonds for some people (Collins et al., 2002). For instance, a female informant shared,

> The positive thing about smoking can be bonding with other smokers… There is not such a thing like all my friends were smoking until now and I was not. There was already a group where none of us were smoking 3-4 years ago. For some reason, everyone started one by one. While everyone was saying "stop smoking" to each other, everyone started smoking. We couldn't understand it… There is no one who is saying "stop smoking" in their lives or there is no one saying this in my life. Everyone understands each other… I can say that

> our criticism of each other has decreased. I mean, if I were the first person who starts smoking four years ago, I am thinking that I will be criticized more than now because we did not understand each other from that angle. It was a ridiculous and unnecessary thing for everyone, and we had criticized our first smoker friend too much. When he didn't quit, we had accepted him. When others started after him, they didn't suffer oppression like him as it was experienced once and accepted… I found smoking as irrational and ridiculous before I started. Now, although I still find it irrational and ridiculous, I can say that I am not criticizing as heavily as I did before. (Pelin)

The above expressions show how smoking creates a bond between the members of a friend group. It is interesting to note that although the members of the group find smoking as an undesirable thing at the beginning, when one of them starts for some reason, the negative meaning of it also shifts to positive associations that it has. In order to sustain the group dynamic and group harmony, other members also start using cigarette one by one. Once the behavior gets the approval of the others, it becomes a favorable thing inside the group. The informant also mentions how their criticism of each other started to decrease after the initiation of the smoking behavior. Since these individuals don't want to be distinct from the group, smoking even became a facilitator to sustain group identity.

Considering its role of being a social lubricant (Miething, Rostila, Edling & Rydgren, 2016) smoking is engaged as an activity in social occasions due to its psychological effects on individuals. The common theme emerged from the interviews is that it accompanies with the conversation by making it more fluent and enjoyable. An informant explained,

> I am a social smoker. I like smoking with conversation. I like smoking with people who like smoking. Even those people remind me cigarette. I have some friends. When I meet one of them, I want to smoke. I already go to meet them with that idea (smoking). For example, each time when I meet with Selin (one of her friends), she is like, "Do you have cigarette?", "No, I don't. Let's go get one". We buy one pack and smoke it. She doesn't have one, I don't have one but we like buying a pack and smoking together… It is like a sharing. I mean you are like literally sharing something; it is making the conversation deeper, more fluent. It is very pleasant. (Sevgi)

Due to its positive meanings that occur in people's minds, smoking is usually associated with the loved ones who also smoke. The above example confirms that the shared meaning of cigarette creates an atmosphere where the conversation itself becomes more meaningful. For this reason, when smokers think about a life without cigarette, it means losing the joy due to its absence. A female smoker described this situation, "If I quit smoking, I think I am not going to enjoy when I am spending time with my friends same as before… I think I'm not going to drink so well while I'm having a drink, in a place like this, drinking a wine or something" (Sibel).

Smoking can also be thought as a key factor when meeting new people for some smokers (Fry, Grogan, Gough, & Conner, 2008). Especially when the person wants to start a conversation with a stranger, cigarette builds a bridge for this. One informant mentioned the bridging function of smoking as follows:

> If it is smoked in an occasion, I join too. When we sometimes get together on special days and if I am very cheerful with my loved ones, it adds something to the atmosphere. When we sometimes play cards with friends, but on the kitchen table and everything is talked there, I think it supports that setting… It is very easy to wrap, smoke, very easy. You can get into a conversation like "Do you have lighter?" or when something happens you can start a conversation by saying "Did you also get bored from the party?" … It can be a start for a conversation. It did actually. For example, when you get out from a meeting and if there are people smoking in front of the door, you can say "How was it? What happened? That was so boring, can I take one?" It happens like this. (Ufuk)

The powerful impact of smoking in social relations shows itself clearly and it is generally used as a catalyzer in social setting. When the behavior itself is shared by many others, people may find those people as familiar to them and they become more encouraged to talk. Another informant also added,

> I find smokers more enjoyable. I like smoking when I am talking about something rather than I am alone. It gives me concentration. Smoking and fun are correlated with each other. When you go out, you drink something, you chat, and cigarette goes well with it. Positive impact of smoking is its giving pleasure to me. In addition, it helps socializing in a new environment. You go outside, you ask for lighter from someone, conversation starts, this happens too often, and I know people who start smoking because of this. I know people

> who just smoke in this conversation environment. Smokers are usually people who smoke despite its negative health effects, who think there are more enjoyable and important things in life. That's why I like its social side. (Burcu)

As it can be inferred from the above statements, social side of smoking is very powerful for individuals. Therefore, its meaning as being a tool for socialization is significant for both independent and interdependent smoker groups. However, it is critical to point out that this meaning can be varied between these two groups. When we take the independent smoker group into account, it can be said that smoking is more related with meeting new people, developing relations and having good time. In other words, smokers with independent self-construal see smoking as a complement to their social engagement when they are spending time with other people. However, for the interdependent smoker group it has a deeper meaning in terms of enabling a more fluent conversation and establishing bonds between group members. For them, smoking can also be associated with creating a strong group identity in which the behavior itself enables the harmony of the group.

4.2.3.2 Control Over Stress

Another meaning of smoking derived from the interviews is its relieving function on smokers. As it can be guessed, cigarette sometimes becomes a cure for *control over stress* for some smokers (Pomerleau & Pomerleau, 1991). According to the narratives, the feeling of relief can be achieved after a puff from a cigarette in stressful situations. Interestingly, although it was stated as a reason to start smoking for smokers with interdependent self-construal in the previous section related with the reasons behind smoking initiation, the independent smoker group mentioned its stress relieving function more than the other group (6/9 participants compared to 3/8 participants). For example, a smoker described this situation, "The reason why I am smoking is getting relieved after that smoke. When you take a puff in and out… I am using cigarette because of this. I guess it is a psychological thing, but I think it has that kind of meaning" (Veli). Due to its psychological meaning, smokers feel themselves relaxed with every puff from a cigarette. Another male smoker also shared,

> My head is always busy with something, I am stressed and there is no one that I can share these. So, it (cigarette) is something that is with me when I am by myself. I don't know if it is love but it creates something for me. It creates busyness that moment… How can I say? I am kind of relieving my feelings. Does it make a feeling of relief? Yes, a little bit… It accompanies with music or a mood sometimes… Cigarette is something that makes me stop, that says "calm down". Maybe I like it for this reason. (Ufuk)

It is obvious that cigarette is a tool which can be reached easily whenever someone needs it. After stressful situations, smokers may even think it as a friend to whom they will share their feelings with. However, sometimes the dilemma caused by getting relieved after cigarette or getting stressed in the absence of cigarette also emerges in some cases. "Smoking can be seen as a method to cope with stress… It is true that you get relieved after smoking a cigarette, but it becomes a paradox. Are you smoking due to stress or are you stressed due to smoking? It creates a dilemma" (Mert). In the same vein, although smoking gives feeling of relief to some degree, it also creates stress on individuals in some situations like when they run out of cigarette or when they cannot smoke due to some reason. An informant exemplified this,

> I think it is relieving. Of course, it is not but I feel like it is taking my stress. When I don't have my cigarette, I become aggressive. For example, today I didn't have my pack with me, and I was like 'Where is it?'… I mean I searched it for a long time. (Meltem)

Another smoker also added, "I want to smoke in depressive times… At those depressive, stressful times, it comes to me like it is relaxing… As I said when it is absent those times you really want it, you are trying to find it" (Yasin).

The above quotations show us how the independent smoker group uses cigarette to control their stress. Therefore, it can be understood that cigarette can be used as a cure to control stressful situations for these individuals. However, these results should be interpreted with caution. It was stated in the literature that individuals with interdependent self-construal can reduce their stress by social support more than individuals with independent self-construal (Shelton, Wang, & Zhu, 2017). So, this can explain why they don't regard smoking as stress reliever. However, the independent smoker group emphasizes smoking as a tool to control over stress

because these individuals can see smoking as a kind of "supporting instrument" which helps them to overcome their stressful times. Since they are more autonomous, they may prefer coping with their personal problems by themselves and in those situations, they may see smoking as a helping factor. However, since cigarette also creates an addiction for them, the relaxing function can disappear to some extent.

4.2.4 Negative Meanings of Smoking

Although smoking is generally associated with its positive social and psychological consequences, the negative side of it was also expressed by the participants. In other words, smoking is also regarded as a negative thing in the eyes of smokers due to its negative consequences. These can be listed as creating an economic burden on the budget and having short-term and long-term negative consequences on the individuals.

4.2.4.1 Economic Burden of Smoking

Although economic burden of smoking is true for all smokers, especially smokers with independent self-construal mentioned this consequence as one of the negative meanings associated with smoking (7/9 participants compared to 2/8 participants). For instance, a female informant explained how the budget can be a constraint for her smoking habit,

> It creates a very big economic burden on budget. If you smoke every day, you should buy cigarette frequently. The taxes on cigarette are too much in Turkey so the price of cigarette is very expensive. However, I can still find money and buy. (Sibel)

As can be seen from the statement, although the price of cigarette is expensive, people can still find money for their cigarette consumption. Another male informant compared two groups in terms of their viewpoint towards cigarette consumption,

> Smoking has an economic burden of course. Maybe people who are above intermediate level are not affected, there are people who are thinking "it satisfies me, and it deserves this money" in Turkey but it is not the same for a certain group of people. Some people may cut money from somewhere and

> give it to cigarette or they may decrease the quality of their cigarette and smoke disgusting brands. (Onur)

According to the above quotation, while some people think that smoking is a habit which deserves the money spent for it, other people may find alternative ways to reach cigarette. A male informant also explained how he found alternative ways to decrease his smoking budget,

> One pack is 10 Turkish Lira, very expensive and if I buy it every day my salary cannot afford. So, shifting to rolled cigarette became an alternative for me because it (normal cigarette pack) was very expensive… I used the rolled ones for 6-7 months but since I cannot find it everywhere there were times that I turned back to normal cigarette. (Ufuk)

Since it is a very expensive habit due to taxation policies of the government, smokers may pass to alternatives such as rolled cigarette (roll-your-own-cigarette) which is cheaper than the normal cigarettes.

In summary, economic burden of smoking is a very significant factor as smokers with independent self-construal explained. Although the high price of cigarette is an important fact, people are still finding alternative ways to reach it. However, its burden on budget can still be a motivating factor for individuals to stop smoking and this point will be considered later in this chapter.

4.2.4.2 Negative Consequences of Smoking

Other than the economic burden of smoking, its short-term and long-term negative consequences can be considered as one of its negative meanings for participants. The interviews revealed that health is an important factor both for the independent and interdependent smoker groups. Since the negative short-term and long-term consequences of smoking will be discussed later in the content analysis for anti-smoking PSAs section, only an overview will be presented in this part.

Negative long-term health consequences of smoking can be listed as becoming cancer (lung, throat, etc.) and having cardiovascular and respiratory diseases while short-term negative consequences of smoking can be considered as immediate and

noticeable effects such as the problem of yellow teeth or bad smell as the participants mentioned through interviews. For instance, a female informant shared, “Since I am smoking, I am having trouble while climbing up the stairs. I am getting tired easily and having problem while breathing. This is happening for a long time” (Meltem). As the statement shows, participant talks about how she is having problem due to smoking. It can be understood that she is experiencing a long-run negative health effect of smoking which shows itself in climbing up stairs. Another female participant exemplified one of the short-term effects of smoking as follows, “Bad smell of cigarette really bothers me. That’s why I prefer the light ones. I smoke the ones that have nice taste because I also hate when my hand smells bad. I immediately go and wash my hands after smoking” (Sevgi). Since the bad smell of cigarette can be immediately observed, it is one of the most stated negative short-term effects of smoking. The participant explains how the smell of cigarette bothers her and what she does after smoking to exemplify the situation.

As it can be seen from the two examples, negative short-term and long-term consequences of smoking attribute negative meanings to smoking. Since these effects will be discussed in detail later in the chapter, only a short introduction was given here to lead the discussion. The findings from the drawings of the participants will be presented in the following section.

4.3 Findings From the Drawings

After specifying the dominant self-construal of the participants and explaining their smoking characteristics, findings can be strengthened with the analysis of the drawings done by participants. As it was mentioned before, participants were asked to draw a scene which they associate with themselves while they are smoking. Afterwards, they were also encouraged to talk about their drawings so that the unclear images became meaningful. Based on the drawings and narratives of the smokers, the independent and interdependent smoker groups came up with different scenes and they associated their smoking behavior with specific elements. Therefore, the

drawings of the independent and interdependent smoker groups will be explained separately in the following sections.

4.3.1 Drawings of Smokers with Independent Self-Construal

Firstly, when we look at the drawings of the smokers with independent self-construal, they mostly draw scenes which are associated with positive feelings and emotions (8/9 participants). It is interesting that people usually think about the positive side of smoking when they were asked to draw their smoking environment although they also talked about the negative effects of smoking throughout the interview. This shows that the image of smoking as being a favorable thing is so powerful that people don't want to think the negative aspects at the first glance. Therefore, when they were asked to draw something, their subconscious brings images that are related with positive moods. Figure 10 shows how a male smoker draws his favorite spot while smoking.

Figure 10 Drawing of Onur

Considering Onur's drawing, he explains the scene as follows, "Here is my room. I am sitting. After I ate my dinner, I am coming to my room, drinking my tea and turning on my computer. I am smoking and drinking tea" (Onur). When the participant was further asked the reason why he drew such a scene, he explained, "I think I am getting tired during the day and I want to have a rest when I am at home. When I am in my room, I feel myself more peaceful. I do things that I want to do. This is a moment of pleasure. I feel happy at that moment" (Onur). According to both his drawing and his explanations, the participant tries to present a scene where the positive feelings are dominant. Onur mentions that he gets tired during the whole day and when he comes home, he finds peace at his room while he is smoking. Therefore, the cigarette may symbolize the freedom after work in this drawing.

Since Onur is a doctor, he may get overwhelmed during the day at the hospital in terms of dealing with the patients who are complaining about their illnesses all day. This situation may create a kind of situation for Onur where he feels trapped. Therefore, the cigarette may give him a freedom in terms of allocating his time to his favorite activities such as smoking in his room, drinking tea and surfing on the Internet instead of listening to the complaints of the patients. When we look at the stickman which represents Onur, we see a big smile on his face. It means that the participant really feels happy due to living that smoking experience. He draws his cigarette as giving out smoke which shows that he is smoking at that moment. In addition, we can also realize that Onur draws tea on the table and as it was mentioned previously in the second part of the findings chapter, we can say that he is also matching his smoking behavior with one of his routines which is drinking tea in this example.

Secondly, the most obvious thing that was observed in the drawings of the independent smoker group is that they mostly draw themselves alone while smoking (7/9 participants). Like the first drawing, Figure 11 also shows how a female smoker draws herself alone as lying on a couch and watching television while she is smoking.

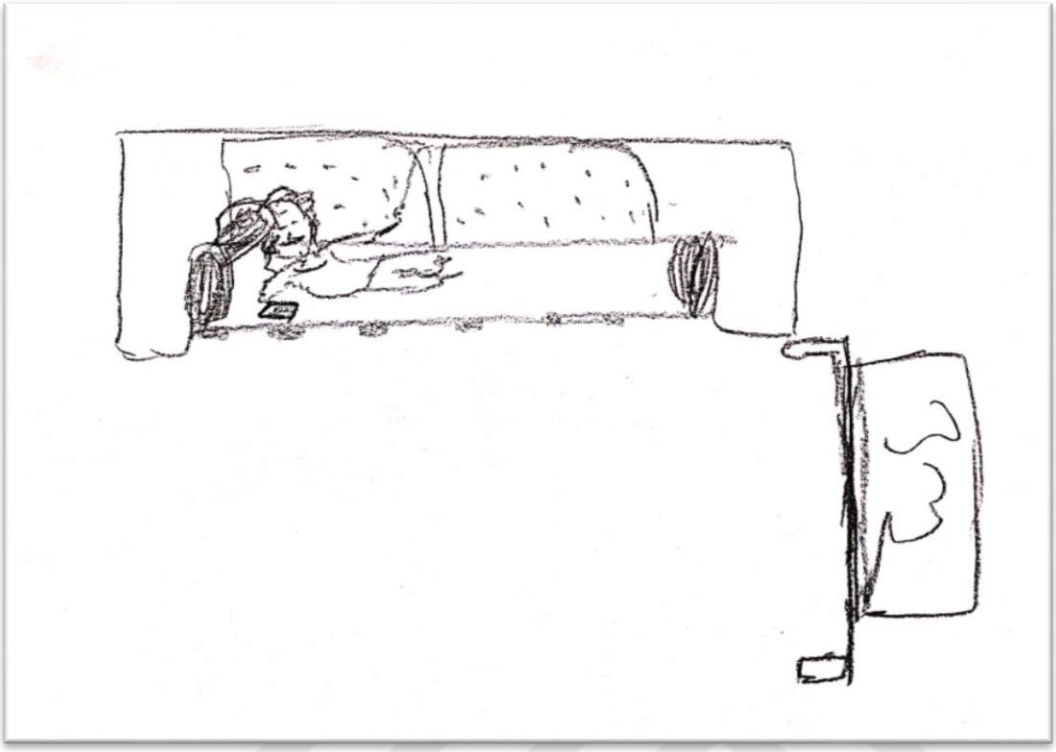

Figure 11 Drawing of Meltem

As it can be seen in the above representation, the participant describes a comfortable scene with the images of couch, television, smart phone and cigarette. The picture especially highlights the feeling of relaxation with accompanying of smoking in a comfortable living room. The participant explains this scene as follows,

> I really like smoking alone while lying on a couch, watching TV and looking at my phone at the same time. It is so comfortable and relaxing! But I cannot always do this as I don't have too much time. Still I can say that it is the best moment that I can think about smoking. (Meltem)

Smoking alone is an important point which is outstanding from the drawing. For the independent smoker group, smoking means somehow engaging in a self-fulfilling activity. Therefore, they may prefer doing this activity alone and satisfy themselves in their private space. Since smoking is usually a relaxing activity for smokers with independent self-construal, the participant also draws attention to this point in her drawing by using the images of couch and TV. Due to the fact that the participant is

a working mother, her smoking behavior also symbolizes her leisure time after she completes the housework and takes care of her children. In other words, the cigarette may symbolize a kind of reward which is taken after accomplishing the daily tasks. Therefore, Meltem draws her favorite scene for smoking by highlighting the couch, TV and smartphone which strengthen the symbolic value of her cigarette.

Another important thing that takes attention is that smokers with independent self-construal usually think about beautiful landscapes and comfy places like their homes when they also think about smoking (8/9 participants). Especially the natural beauties, the images of sea, summertime and a comfy room are the common things that are emphasized by the participants. Figure 12 exemplifies this point by showing a scene where there is a city image.

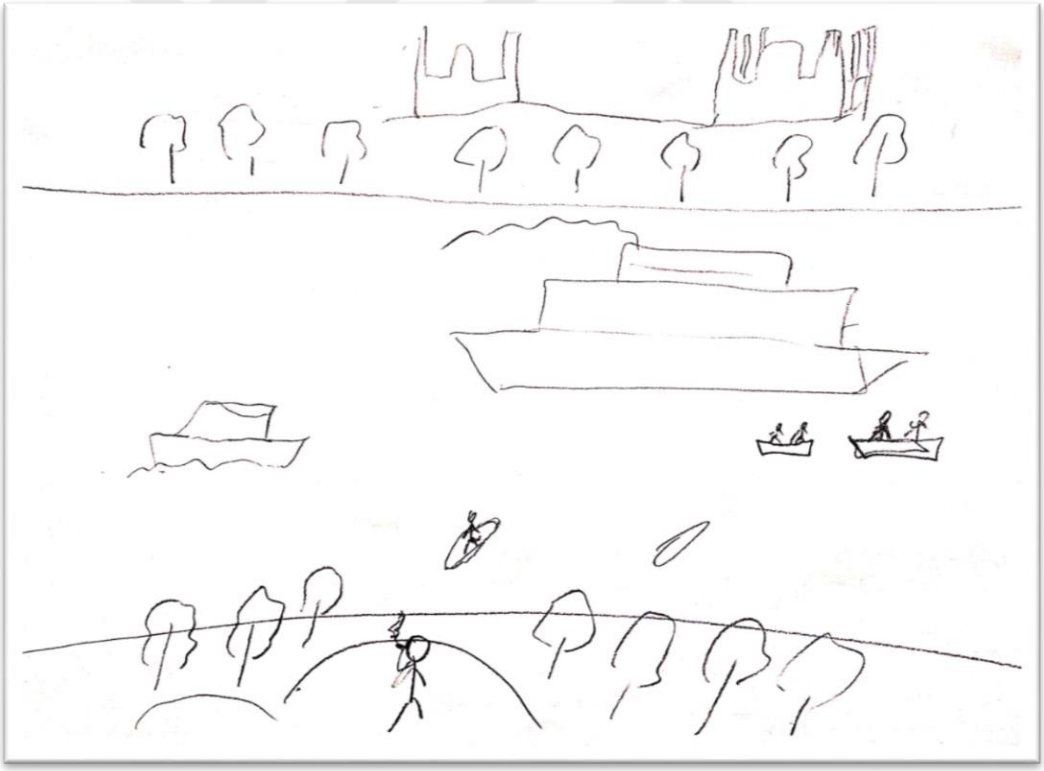

Figure 12 Drawing of Yasin

When we look at the picture, the participant draws himself alone on the top of the hill where he can see the beautiful view of Bosporus (İstanbul). The view consists of the sea with ships and boats, historical mosques of İstanbul and the nature. The participant explains this scene accordingly,

> Lighting up a cigarette across a beautiful landscape feels good. I am drawing the Bosporus here. Over there, Hagia Sophia Mosque! I am on the top of a hill and there are trees around me. I am smoking. There are trees, nature and historical places here. I mean when there is a view which is worth to sightsee and which gives pleasure, smoking is very pleasurable. (Yasin)

Based on the quotation, Yasin associates smoking with pleasure and joy and he can easily visualize the scene where he feels good and relaxed while smoking. In this example, smoking symbolizes a kind of curtain which opens the eyes to the beauty of the nature and the history of İstanbul. In other words, Yasin may see smoking as a kind of reason to stop and notice the beauty around him. The cigarette may represent a kind of sign which tells him to rest for a moment and focus on the beautiful things such as the nature and the sea. Since this picture has a symbolic value for the smoker, he associates the cigarette with his memories of İstanbul. Interestingly, after describing this scene with all the details, the participant asked for permission to smoke. This shows that the drawing part can be too realistic for the participants, so they want to live the experience that they described.

In summary, smokers with independent self-construal mostly draw themselves alone when they were asked to draw a smoking scene. They mostly associate positive feelings such as relaxation, comfort, joy, pleasure with their smoking behavior. Whether it is indoor or outdoor, they usually draw an environment where they feel themselves good and comfortable. The images that they draw on the paper also show their associations with cigarette and these can be thought as complements to their best moments. These various elements accompanying to their experience can vary from couch to beautiful landscape. Finally, the drawing experience can also trigger their desire to smoke since the images and representations depict the clues about smoking and the positive mood that it creates.

4.3.2 Drawings of Smokers with Interdependent Self-Construal

Like the independent smoker group, smokers with interdependent self-construal also drew scenes which emphasize positive feelings towards smoking (7/8 participants). First of all, it can be said that the positive image of smoking is so powerful that when people were asked to think about a smoking environment, they mostly consider the positive sides rather than the negative aspects of it. Therefore, the interdependent smoker group also highlighted this perspective by representing their good mood in their drawings. Figure 13 exemplifies this situation by showing how the smoker is representing herself when she is asked to draw her smoking scene.

Figure 13 Drawing of Pelin

The drawing explains how the person is associated her smoking behavior with pleasant things that make her happy. When we look at the picture, the colors are noticed at the first glance and the combination of blue, yellow, red and purple help to create a pleasant environment. In this example, cigarette may symbolize a kind of

brush which is used to color the drawing. Since during the interview, the participant usually associated smoking with friends, holidays and sweet drinks, she visualizes these colorful aspects of smoking with the different colors in her drawing. In other words, she may think about the cigarette as a way of gathering different colors to the same picture just as a brush does. Furthermore, the joy and happiness due to smoking are also associated with those colors that the participant uses in her drawing.

It can be understood that the stars and the moon describe a night setting and the blue area shows that it is a place by the sea. With the representation of music notes, it can be thought that there is also music that is accompanying with this atmosphere. The smoker draws herself with two of her friends and we can see their smiling faces. All these clues express the positive feelings that the smoker attributes to smoking. The smoker shared,

> I really like smoking by the sea. I like those kinds of beautiful atmospheres. I usually prefer to smoke with my friends while we are sitting together and listening to good music. I like smoking during nighttime, so I drew stars and the moon. You can see that we are also chatting and having fun together. (Pelin)

Secondly, contrary to the first smoker group, smokers with interdependent self-construal mostly drew themselves with a group of friends while smoking (6/8 participants). Although the setting changed from one person to other, both male and female smokers described similar scenes where they are sitting and chatting with their friends and smoking at the same time. Figure 14 shows how a female smoker is having a good time at a bar with her friend group.

As it can be observed in the picture, there is a bar scene where the smoker is sitting with her friends around a table and having a good time together. The key elements that are accompanying with this atmosphere are alcohol, food, music and cigarette. The smoker draws herself as the person sitting on the front and it can be seen that she is smoking at that moment. There is also cigarette smoke above people's heads, and it can be understood that they have been smoking for a while.

Figure 14 Drawing of Buket

In this example, the cigarette may symbolize a bartender who responds to the needs of people during that moment. Just as a bartender who tries to improve the mood of customers by serving them drinks or playing music, the cigarette does the same thing by strengthening the interpersonal dialogue and sustaining group harmony. In other words, the cigarette can become a kind of bridge from one person to another in terms of enabling a deeper conversation and strengthening the bonds between people. When each member of the friend group starts smoking at that moment, it may even show the group identity that is associated with belonging to a close group. The participant describes this scene accordingly, “Here is a bar. There is the bartender’s table at the back. Music is playing. There is a group of friends of mine and everyone is drinking beer, eating peanut and chips. We are chatting and smoking in the meantime.” (Buket). Since establishing bonds with other people is very important for the

interdependent smoker group, they emphasize this point in their drawings too. Therefore, it can be said that the representation of a smoking environment with friends matches with the profile of the interdependent smoker group.

Third point about the drawings of the interdependent smoker group is their focus on alcohol consumption along with smoking (5/8 participants). In the previous sections it was mentioned that the interdependent smoker group usually prefers smoking with alcohol as one of their routines and when it compared with the independent smoker group this routine was more dominant for them. That's why drawing alcohol in their pictures is another common element for these smokers and it also supports their smoker profile. Figure 15 shows an example of a scene where the key element is alcohol.

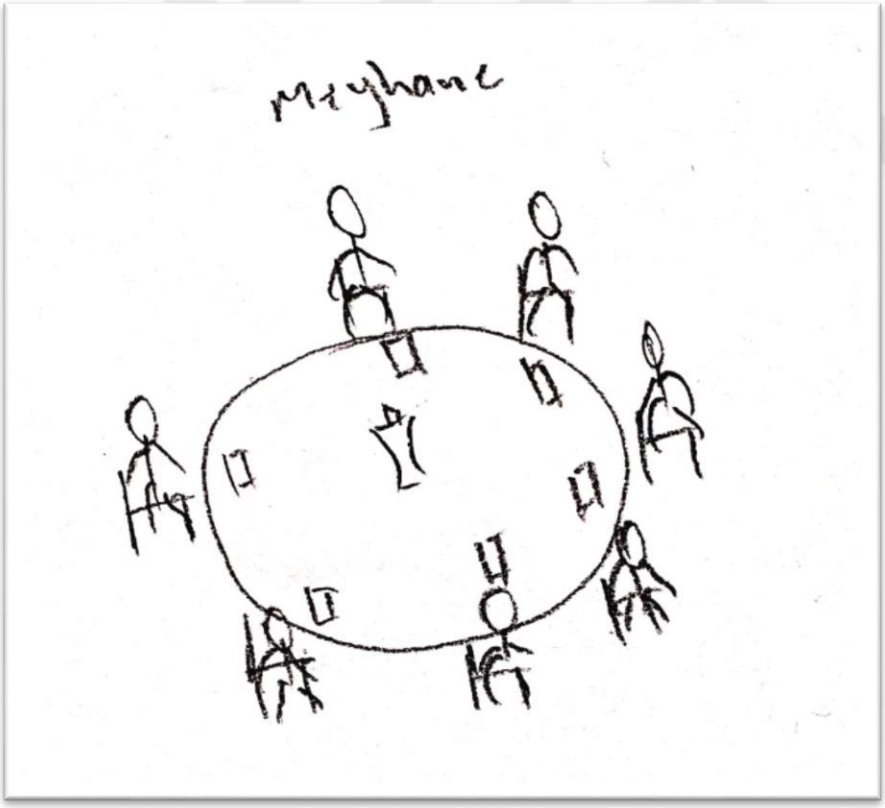

Figure 15 Drawing of Alper

It can be seen from the figure that there is a round table setting for smoking scene and the smoker writes “meyhane” above the picture. The word means “bar” where alcoholic drinks and appetizers are served. In Turkish culture, it is usually associated with drinking “rakı” (A special Turkish alcoholic drink) and mostly males prefer to go there with their friends to have fun or get relaxed. The smoker emphasizes this point by drawing glasses in front of everyone. However, we cannot understand how those people feel during that moment since there are no expressions in their faces. At this point the smoker explained, “If I have one chance to smoke, I would prefer this setting. I prefer smoking with my close friends while drinking alcohol. It feels good and you can get relaxed there. I mean we are happy at that moment” (Alper).

As the informant mentions, feeling of relief and happiness with alcohol and cigarette is the apparent emotion for him and his friends. In this example, one possible symbolic meaning of the cigarette for the participant may be that the cigarette is symbolized as a candle which is in the center of the table. With this symbolic meaning, Alper may make a connection between the soft candlelight and the cigarette in terms of highlighting how the cigarette makes people relaxed like the candlelight. Since the candle is in the middle of the social interaction, it may even emphasize its role in terms of providing a focal point, warmth and comfort for the members of the friend group. Further, when the participant was asked to show himself among those people, the smoker answered as “It doesn’t matter” (Alper). This also shows that since the person has a dominant interdependent self-construal, he doesn’t distinguish himself from the others. In other words, he doesn’t mention any difference between himself and his friends. This again matches with the profile of the smoker in terms of the ordinariness of the self as mentioned previously.

To summarize, when we look at the drawings of smokers with interdependent self-construal, it can be seen that they match smoking behavior with positive elements. Therefore, they use specific objects and places to show how they associate cigarette with positive mood and happiness. The most important point that matches with their interdependent self-construal profile is their representation of themselves with their

friends while smoking. In other words, while the independent smoker group usually presents themselves alone, the interdependent smoker group prefers to draw their friends in their smoking scenes as well. This shows that smoking as a tool for socialization is very significant for these smokers and they cannot think smoking separately from their inner circles. Since they give importance to share something with their close ones, they strongly emphasize this point in their drawings as having conversation with other people. Thirdly, they mostly draw alcoholic drinks as complements to the atmosphere that they created. This again shows that they are trying to present a scene where they are engaging in deep conversation and sharing their emotions with each other. Finally, it can be seen from the last drawing that drawing stickmen without specifying any differences is also parallel to their self-representations. Since the ordinariness of the self is dominant for these individuals, we can see similar figures in the drawings of these participants.

Table 8 Themes Emerged in the Drawings of the Participants

Themes in Drawings	Independent Smoker Group	Interdependent Smoker Group
Positive feelings	X	X
Smoking alone	X	
Smoking with a friend group		X
Smoking across a beautiful landscape or in a comfy room	X	
Smoking with alcohol		X

In conclusion, Table 8 summarizes the main themes emerged in the drawings of both smoker groups. It can be realized that independent and interdependent smoker groups emphasize different points that they associate with their smoking behavior except the

positive feelings emerged while smoking. The letter “X” shows which theme is critical for one of the smoker groups.

According to the table, the independent smoker group emphasizes smoking alone and smoking across a beautiful landscape or in a comfy place while the interdependent smoker group mostly mentions smoking with a friend group and smoking with alcohol. Since each group differentiates from each other based on their dominant self-construal, their drawings also differentiated from each other considering those themes which are parallel with their self-aspects.

In addition to the discussed themes which emerged from the drawings, it was also seen that participants give symbolic meanings to their smoking behaviors. These meanings are important in terms of understanding smokers’ motivational processes for smoking. When we consider those symbolic meanings, they match with the self-construal characteristics of the participants. The independent smoker group mostly symbolizes the cigarette as a tool which is used to satisfy their personal needs. For example, they associate smoking with freedom, leisure time or beauty of the nature. Since these individuals are more self-oriented, they enjoy the pleasure taken from the cigarette. However, when we consider the interdependent smoker group, they mostly symbolize the cigarette as a catalyzer in the social setting. In other words, they emphasize the social and relational side of smoking compared with the other group. Possible symbolic meanings of the cigarette for the interdependent smoker group are of a paintbrush that brings color to social interactions or a candle that adds warmth to the atmosphere. The absence of a cigarette in social interactions could symbolically signify to smokers less color, warmth, and unity. An exploration of the symbolic meanings underscores the challenge in influencing smoking behavior and the necessity of thoughtful message contents for anti-smoking PSAs.

After explaining the drawings of the independent and interdependent smoker groups, the next section will focus on the contents for anti-smoking PSAs which are suitable for each group.

4.4 Effective Message Contents for Anti-Smoking PSAs

In this section, the effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs will be presented to answer the research question properly. Since the research question asks how to design effective message contents for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals to increase their quitting intentions, the suggestions of the participants and the clues that they give throughout the interviews will be considered to come up with effective message strategies as the final step. Up to this point, two smoker groups were described in terms of their self-construal characteristics and smoking characteristics. In this final part, findings that emerged from the last three questions which taken part in the interview guide (Appendix A) will be explained in a detailed manner. Since independent and interdependent smoker groups have different smoking characteristics and different self-aspects, the contents for each group will differ considering these points. To analyze the themes for the two smoker groups, the interview transcripts were re-read to come up with the most comprehensive themes for the participants.

Table 9 Effective Message Content Categories with Representative Themes

Categories	**Themes**
Individualistic Message Content	Economic burden of smoking Quitting attempts of a smoker Negative experiences of smokers
Collectivistic Message Content	Emotional burden of smoking Quitting attempts of a smoker group Negative experiences of smokers' families

According to the narratives of the interviewees, two main categories emerged which are individualistic message content for smokers with independent self-construal and collectivistic message content for smokers with interdependent self-construal. Under these two main categories, there are three themes for each category which in fact show the harmony between themes and categories. The categories with their representative themes can be seen in Table 9.

Under the first category which is individualistic message content, there are three main themes: economic burden of smoking, quitting attempts of a smoker and negative experiences of smokers. The second category which is collectivistic message content includes three themes: emotional burden of smoking, quitting attempts of a smoker group and negative experiences of smokers' families. These themes will be explained in a detailed manner in the following sections.

4.4.1 Individualistic Message Content

After distinguishing the contents of anti-smoking PSAs for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals, individualistic message content came out as more effective for the independent smoker group. Since these individuals are more autonomous and independent, they will focus on their own self-related goals more than the interdependent smoker group. For this reason, the contents which will appeal to their sensitivities will be more influential for them to take action. The related themes under this message strategy will be explained one by one.

4.4.1.1 Economic Burden of Smoking

As it was mentioned before, financial concerns about smoking may affect smokers' cigarette consumption habits to some extent. The literature shows that monetary concerns reduce the social connectedness among people in a way that people become more concerned with their own self-related goals and thus they reduce the emphasis on other people's experiences (Kraus, Côté, & Keltner, 2010; Vohs, Mead, & Goode, 2008). Therefore, it can be suggested that independence is more related with the

monetary concerns compared with the interdependent self-construal (Ma-Kellams & Blascovich, 2013).

Since money is an important parameter for smokers with independent self-construal, designing a content which includes the negative impact of smoking on smokers' budgets can be an effective way to encourage them to quit. According to Global Adult Tobacco Survey, approximately 146 Turkish Lira (TL) is spent for manufactured cigarettes per month by adult smokers in Turkey (Public Health Institution of Turkey, 2014). Since it is an expensive cost item for individuals, the emphasis can be put on how it creates a burden on the overall budget. The interviews also revealed the concerns of smokers in terms of the money spent on tobacco. Especially for some smokers, the economic burden was so significant and the trade-off between spending money for cigarette or saving money instead was a challenge sometimes. For instance, an informant shared,

> I prefer to put the economic side of smoking into the PSAs. People care about their money inside their pocket more than their health. For example, this kind of a PSA can be done; one pack of cigarette is this much TL, if you smoke one pack per day, your yearly spending will be this much, you can obtain an additional income if you save it. In fact, there was such news; one guy quit smoking and saved his money inside a piggy bank every day, then he took his family to the holiday for a week. This is in fact not a cheap thing. The cigarette prices range between 8-10 TL nowadays. The one that I am smoking is 9.5 TL. For this reason, I think the economic aspect of it will be more effective on smokers. (Mert)

As it can be seen from the above quotation, some smokers do not care about the health consequences of smoking as much as they care about their pockets. That's why showing it as a big cost item and emphasizing the alternatives that can be done instead of allocating that budget to the cigarette expenditure can be a motivating factor for some people to quit. Another male informant also added,

> In my opinion, a PSA which talks about the economic burden of smoking becomes effective because when you give 10 TL every day, you get worse. If it tells me "Don't give 10 TL every day, save your money instead and spend for something else" it becomes more effective because it affects my personal decision… I mean for a PSA to be effective; it should do something personal

> for me. Like, you are done… There should be that kind of reminder. Economic burden reminds me something personal because if I go on smoking, I may run out of money for other things (Ufuk).

Since giving the message with a personalized tone is an effective method for smokers with independent self-construal, designing the PSAs by focusing on the economic aspect of cigarette consumption may touch their personal decision making about smoking as well. According to another informant, smoking creates a kind of waste in terms of spending of money. He shared,

> The idea that smoking is an economic burden affects me because it is a financial burden in fact. It is a resource which goes to waste. It is not a cheap thing anymore. It is the money that is thrown away and it is harmful. This part of the subject is not unimportant. (Yasin)

When we also take this statement into account, the idea that smoking has economic consequences can be strengthened by showing it as wasted money. Although it is true that some people regard cigarette as an ordinary cost item that one will purchase no matter how it is expensive, if the messages can be given correctly, they may create awareness about it. For instance, one female informant mentioned how she is not aware of the money that is spent for the cigarette during daily hassle,

> It is in fact a serious financial loss but there is something like this for smokers; no matter you don't have, money is found for it. I mean it can be collected somehow. When I make a calculation, it is above 400-500 TL per month. It is 12 TL and sometimes I can buy two packages in a day. If we calculate it as 24 TL, it already passes 300 TL. I mean, I spend that money without being aware. Maybe this can get reminded, it may have an impact. One doesn't understand it in daily rush, but it is in fact an important cost item. (Meltem)

In summary, showing the economic burden of smoking can be an alternative content for anti-smoking PSAs. Since it is an important phenomenon especially for smokers with independent self-construal, emphasizing the loss of money spent on tobacco and showing the gains of saving money instead of buying tobacco may encourage smokers to take action to quit smoking. By showing the alternatives that can be done with the money, which is previously spent for cigarettes, the idea of wasted money can be reminded to smokers who are not aware of this practice in everyday life.

4.4.1.2 Quitting Attempts of a Smoker

The interviews showed that in addition to economic burden of smoking, showing the ways of quitting smoking can also be an effective content for smokers with independent self-construal. Since public spots usually emphasize the harmful effects of smoking as their content, the methods to quit smoking are omitted sometimes. However, some smokers may want to hear the ways that one can apply to take out cigarette from his or her life. Before showing the ways to quit smoking, some of the participants mentioned that public spots should first show that smoking cessation is not a taboo and it is achievable to some extent. For instance, an informant shared,

> I cannot say anything for the first 30 seconds of the public spot because they have to show something that will attract the audience for the first 30 seconds. That is advertising, I cannot know it… As I said quitting smoking is a taboo, there is no doubt! It is true for all of my friends, true for me. There are many people in Turkey who think that cigarette cannot be quit. You should show that quitting smoking can be doable. If you don't quit, you die, this happens, that happens, this scares people and it has no benefit. You should show that one can quit smoking by some methods. (Onur).

The above statement makes it clear that first people want to believe that they can quit smoking. If the public spots are designed in a more persuasive way by showing that quitting smoking is not impossible, some smokers may get encouraged to think about it. After they become persuaded, the methods of quitting can show them the way to take action. Another female informant also shared how showing the methods to quit smoking will be effective for smokers,

> Firstly, as a smoker, I think that quitting smoking is a difficult thing, but I also believe that it is not impossible. How can I say? There was a documentary about quitting smoking. I mean, they can present a kind of applicable model like that documentary. For example, if you do this you can quit smoking easily. This is not a thing that can be done with smoking cessation line… In my opinion, firstly you have to trust people who make those public spots. The content can be related with the easiness of quitting smoking… I think, people who smoke also secretly think about quitting smoking. Maybe a method which does not come to their minds can help them to quit or reduce smoking. (Sibel)

As the above quote mentions, presenting applicable methods can be an alternative way to show smokers that smoking cessation is possible. In fact, people want to believe that there are smokers who can quit smoking in real life. When the participants were asked if they remember any anti-smoking PSA or not, one informant mentioned the one which is related with people who quit smoking,

> I don't remember many examples, there was one related with quitting... Examples like "I smoked for 10 years but I quit" but I don't know if these are real and those people are just acting or not. There was one… An old lady was sitting with her grandson. I remember that, the attitude of the lady, her expression. There was something like "I had smoked for 40 years and I didn't touch it for 10 years". Other examples in that public spot were also not bad. However, in those advertisements you only see that they quit smoking. I mean, how they quit, there is nothing related to it, I guess. (Yasin)

As the above quote reveals, the informant remembers those PSAs which are about people who quit smoking and this shows that if those contents showing "how to quit smoking" combine with some examples from smokers who try some methods and get benefit from them, the effect of the PSA will be more powerful. Since it is impressive for people to see the real-life examples, it will increase the persuasiveness of the message. At this point, it is worth to share how the first informant gave some details about designing such content related with quitting smoking,

> If I were the one who designs the PSA, I try to give more information instead of showing the smoking cessation line. Smoking can be quit with these methods. For example, it can be quit by psychotherapy or acupuncture. There are these kinds of medicines, you don't give the brand names, but you can say that there is an active ingredient inside them, and it enables you to quit. Quitting smoking is difficult. It is a taboo in people's minds. If you say there are five methods and you show a man who tells "I used that medicine and I quit, I went to this doctor and I quit, I got acupuncture and I quit" then it may become persuasive. Sometimes it happens like this, they give an advertisement in three parts. I mean it comprises of introduction, development and conclusion like a story. For example, if they divide it into three parts, the first one can be an intro, the second one can show the methods of quitting and the third one can show a man who quit smoking with method X. I mean showing the one who gets benefit instead of the dying one motivates people more. I become motivated in this way and I may say they have made a good job at this time. (Onur)

In summary, showing the quitting attempts of a smoker by giving the methods of it can be another alternative content for anti-smoking public spots. Since people want to believe that quitting smoking is in fact a possible attempt, showing the ways that will help for smoking cessation and supporting it by real-life examples will make an impact on smokers to some extent. Although it is true that there cannot be a single method for this and the treatments are personal, still the PSAs can be designed to show that quitting smoking is in fact a doable thing.

4.4.1.3 Negative Experiences of Smokers

Since smoking creates harmful effects on people's health, presenting its health consequences is a way that has been used in PSAs for a long time. Although it is discussed in the literature that showing the negative health effects of cigarette can be either effective or not, it should be admitted that it somehow creates an impact on people. The common message strategy used in anti-smoking public spots is creating fear towards tobacco (Leshner, Bolls & Wise, 2011). For this reason, initially some PSAs in Turkey were designed to present the tobacco-damaged organs due to exposure to smoking. Later, anti-smoking PSAs focused more on smokers suffering from tobacco-related health problems without showing disgusting images. It can be said that they mainly used fear appealing strategies to capture attention in all those contents. Another point that takes attention in those public spots is showing the long-term effects of smoking on smokers. However, it is true that smoking creates not only long-term health consequences, but it also causes short-term, more immediate effects on smokers. Therefore, in this section both short-term and long-term consequences of smoking will be explained as negative experiences of smokers.

When the *long-term consequences of smoking* on health are considered, the risk of developing many cancer types from lung to throat comes as the most detrimental one at the first glance. Other most significant health problems can be listed as having cardiovascular and respiratory diseases. The interviews revealed that many smokers know these harmful effects of smoking as can be guessed. An informant shared,

> I can talk about its negative consequences like having difficulty in breathing while doing sport. I am a person who has been doing sport; I am having difficulty about this since I started smoking. Other than this it causes many cancer types. It causes many problems related with heart. I mean it has many negative effects in the long run. (Veli)

Another female informant also mentioned,

> I see the negative health effects of smoking as a priority. I am aware that I should decrease it after some time as it is the initiator of cancer and many other things. I also know that I should decrease it before pregnancy and stop it during pregnancy. (Sibel)

As can be seen, both smokers mentioned the negative effects of smoking on health in a clear way. Especially the risk of becoming cancer comes as the most highlighted one out of long-term health related problems.

It is important to note that since smokers with independent self-construal are more self-concerned; showing the long-run health effects of tobacco consumption may create an impact on them. One informant shared how he is afraid of having a serious health problem due to smoking,

> In my opinion, the health aspect of smoking is important. Every time I go to doctor, I am afraid of two things. The first one is if he says you are sick due to your weight because I don't feel like I am ready to lose weight. The other is if he says you are sick due to cigarette because I also don't feel like I am ready to quit it. That's why I become afraid when I go to doctor, I don't know what to do if he says that one day. (Deniz)

The above quote shows that some smokers are really afraid of becoming sick because of smoking. This is an important thing to keep in mind for designing effective contents for public spots. This also lets us to come to the effectiveness of contents related with long-run effects of smoking for some smokers. A male informant talked about how he got affected by some disgusting images of smokers suffering from smoking,

> If I made the public spots, I would put for example the surgery image of a person who is sick due to lung cancer. Maybe the televisions may not let it. I mean the removing of a bulk for example they take the half of the lung. Or it may also be a surgery image of a man who has throat cancer. I think this becomes more effective on people because people care about their health. I

> mean when they see those open images, they may say "what am I smoking?" … It also affects me. While I was using Facebook, I saw a video related with the remains of tobacco inside vessels. A man who is a smoker dies, they take his aorta away and when they skin it, dirt comes out. I may say inorganic human waste. That for instance affected me very much. If it becomes in that way, it may be effective. (Veli)

Another male informant mentioned that how creating a reality is effective to understand the consequences,

> It should create a reality to me. I mean the things that are experienced by people in later stages can be explained dramatically. A man whose leg is cut… They can explain how that happens. Or they can put an example of a man who is having a heart attack in the car due to smoking. I mean it should make it real that these kinds of things can happen to smokers. (Ufuk)

Considering the narratives of the smokers, using striking examples from people experiencing detrimental effects can help to motivate some smokers to quit. Although some smokers mentioned that they cannot understand how having a negative health consequence be like, they also added that when they experience it, they would seriously consider quitting smoking. For instance, a female smoker explained, "I have ignored the negative effects of smoking until now due to my age, but I have been recognizing them slowly. If these get increased, I would consider about quitting" (Sibel). Therefore, focusing on the long-term effects of cigarette consumption may create a fear on some smokers and persuade them to quit as long as they are designed with strong arguments towards smoking.

In addition to its long-term consequences, smoking also has *short-term consequences* on people. On the contrary to long-term effects, short-term effects are more physical, immediate and easily noticeable by individuals. It can be said that short-term effects of smoking are usually associated with headache, bad smell or the problem of yellow teeth. In other words, physical side effects of cigarette which can be noticed immediately were mostly mentioned throughout the interviews. A female informant shared,

> I have migraine so I cannot smoke heavily. Cigarette is something that smells bad. Even I as a smoker, who smokes more or less every day, don't like the smell, bad breath of someone who smokes more than me. Even when we sit that table and I light up my cigarette, if the smoke of your cigarette comes to me, it makes me bothered. I mean it is not related with a long-term invisible health problem. If you tell a smoker that you will be cancer, it is not something that he sees; he doesn't even see a symptom or a beginning. For me, the effect of cigarette on my health is not like that. When I smoke more, it can cause headache and I see its short-term harms. (Burcu)

As can be understood, especially the smell of cigarette is an undesirable result of smoking as well as having a headache. Even when smokers get exposed to smoke of others' cigarettes, it may bother them. Another male smoker also mentioned how the negative short-term physical effects of smoking create an unfavorable situation for other people,

> For example, physically… My teeth and my mouth… I need to understand that other people become uncomfortable because of me. For example, you will make a public spot, a man will come closer to a smoker and he will say "you are disgusting", "How they are talking with you, getting closer to you?" Another thing is when you smoke too much, your hand gets yellow. It is also awful. That public spot can also tell that it is uncomfortable for other people to shake hands with you. Or when you smoke and go next to someone, your smell, bad breath may make people to stay away from you. (Ufuk)

The physical effects of cigarette in the social setting are also significant concerns for some smokers. Making someone uncomfortable is an undesirable thing for smokers because it creates a negative attitude towards the person. From this point of view, the first informant also developed a PSA which may have an impact especially on female smokers in the social setting,

> If I designed the PSAs, I would make an emphasis on a beautiful young woman, smart, knowledgeable, and really elegant woman… Maybe there is someone that she likes, or she is going to make a job application, she is talking but she smells terrible. Smokers really don't understand this, but that smell is very distracting. I mean even when my friend who smokes tells me something to my face; I turn my face although I am a person who smokes. I think this is not covered in public spots. This is an immediate consequence of smoking compared with its long-term, cancer and death related harms. This can be emphasized. I would fictionalize immediate harms that can be realized easily, that affect now. I mean you do everything to obtain something in your social

> life, to attract someone or to get a job but one of your silly habits prevents you. I think this is a great idea! Luckily you asked me. None of the short-term effects of smoking is talked about. It is always like "you're going to die" … However, people don't think for the long run, if they thought, they would quit it. (Burcu)

Considering the importance of representing one's self in a way that is attractive for other people, designing a public spot which is talking about a negative image of a person caused by smoking can be an effective alternative for some smokers. Especially in this research sample, women care about their physical appearance more than men to attract others that they have relations in the social context. For this reason, a PSA which emphasizes that cigarette in fact creates an undesirable image of a person; it may help smokers to think about quitting smoking.

To summarize, anti-smoking PSAs can include both short-term and long-term negative consequences of smoking. In terms of the long-term consequences of smoking, seeing the real-life examples of smokers who really suffer from smoking can be effective for some people. Based on the interviews, smokers mention the attractiveness of images related with damaged organs due to cigarette and striking real-life examples from smokers. Although the effectiveness of these messages can be questioned, they can still have an impact on some smokers. In terms of the short-term consequences of smoking, interviewees usually talked about the immediate and noticeable physical effects of smoking which usually affect people in the social setting. Based on the narratives, bad smell and the problem of yellow teeth are the most common things that smokers experience in their lives. Therefore, showing these negative sides of smoking can also be attractive for some individuals who have not considered this before. After explaining the individualistic message content for smokers with independent self-construal, the next section will cover the collectivistic message content for smokers with interdependent self-construal.

4.4.2 Collectivistic Message Content

Based on the smokers' dominant self-construal, collectivistic message content was found to become more effective for smokers with interdependent self-construal. Since

these individuals are more connected to their in-group relations, they will focus on the harmony and cooperation between the members of their inner group. In other words, designing a campaign for these smokers by including people, whom these smokers care about, into the picture, will become more influential at some point. For this reason, the contents which will emphasize the emotional burden of smoking on smokers, quitting attempts of a smoker group and negative experiences of smokers' families will be more attractive for the interdependent smoker group to increase their quitting intentions. The related themes taken place under this message strategy will be explained accordingly.

4.4.2.1 Emotional Burden of Smoking

The narratives of the participants revealed that smoking creates an emotional burden on smokers with interdependent self-construal. Since these individuals are more concerned with the opinions of other people, they may feel uncomfortable when their smoking behavior creates worry and anxiety for the ones closer to them. When they were asked if there is anyone from their families or friends who get worried due to their smoking, one informant shared,

> Mom becomes very sad. She is seriously becoming sad. I even remember that mom was crying when I was smoking too much. That's why I was not smoking at home next to her at that time. She had warned me too much, she used to say "I really hate cigarette, I don't want you to smoke. I see all these people smelling cigarette, now it is the same for you, you are a young lady, and you shouldn't smoke". I don't smoke too much at home. I smoke outside. Mom is my sore point about this topic. (Merve)

As can be guessed, usually parents and especially mothers are concerned about their children's health and that's why when they see them smoking, it creates an anxiety state for them with no doubt. Therefore, they keep giving advice to their children to quit smoking not to experience the harmful effects of caused by cigarette. Another female informant mentioned,

> For example, my mom… I told her couple of times that I am smoking. She said, 'Don't talk nonsense! No!' and I said, 'Mom I am smoking', she said, 'No

> way! I become very sad. We struggled with your dad too much. You are smoking too.'… I mean my friends don't become sad; my parents usually become worried. (Ceren)

In addition to parents, other family members and friends of the smokers also become anxious for the smoker. For example, a male smoker explained,

> My wife gets worried. My family doesn't know it completely but if they knew, they would also become sad. Some of my friends also say, 'Don't smoke it'… They are right about it and this is really a negative thing for me. It makes me feel bad at that time. (Alper)

Another female smoker added how her co-workers try to encourage her to quit smoking,

> There are some people older than me at my workplace and they always tell their concerns. When I first started smoking, they were saying that I will get used to it. When I don't quit it after 2-3 months, they told their concerns by saying that I got used to it. I mean they are encouraging me to quit. (Pelin)

It is true to say that there are people such as family members, friends and coworkers who have concerns about the smoking behavior of smokers. However, the question is whether these concerns affect smokers or not. When they were asked whether the concerns coming from other people influence them or not, the common answer emerged from the interviews was in fact "yes". Especially, the feeling of sadness was the most stated emotion in the interviews. For instance, the first informant who talked about her mother mentioned,

> Of course, it makes me feel bad. It tears my heart out. For example, my brother accomplished it. Mom was giving similar advices to him as well and he quit. He quit by saying 'Okay mom I am not going to smoke anymore! I am quitting'. (Merve)

She also added, "If I spend more time with my mom, I definitely don't take cigarette into my hand because seeing her unhappy makes me sad too" (Merve). The expressions show that making someone sad due to an unwanted behavior may create a motivation to change it. In this example, the participant explains how she feels very

upset when her mother gets worried for her. Another informant also talked about how he feels bad when his family has concerns for him,

> I can say that it makes me feel bad because the side effects, harmful effects of smoking are not pleasant things. My family tells it by reminding these to me and it makes me feel bad for a moment. I mean I may feel indebted to them. It is not anger or obstinacy, but I sometimes question myself like 'why am I smoking this, should I not smoke?'. (Mustafa)

This quotation also shows that the worries of other people may create an internal feud for smokers since they don't want to make them feel upset. Following statement explains how smokers think about quitting smoking when they hear the worries of their families, "I feel sad; I know that she (mother) is right. Then I say 'I don't smoke too much' but since she doesn't know she thinks that I am smoking heavily. Yes! I am definitely thinking. I will quit it at some point, but I don't know when" (Ceren).

Although there are people who get worried for the smokers, some participants mentioned that there is no one in their lives who is anxious for their smoking. Interestingly, they also added that if other people had worries for them, they would be willing to think about quitting smoking. The following informant shared,

> My mother and elder sister know that I am smoking but since they are also smoking, they don't get worried for me. My husband, who was smoking more heavily, is saying 'I would not quit if I smoke like you' that's why nobody told me to quit smoking… If other people became worried for me, I would struggle more to quit it. I would think about quitting it not to make them upset because I care others' opinions. I would probably quit it. I am even thinking now, if it was like that, I would say 'Look, I did!' but now I don't have such effort. (Sevgi).

Another informant also mentioned how she would be willing to quit smoking if others became anxious, "It would make me think. If they told me softly like 'I am becoming very upset', I would probably quit it. I am already inclined to quit" (Elif). As can be learned from the above quotes, the idea of worries of other people even encourages some smokers to think about quitting it.

In line with all these ideas, showing the worries of important others emerged as an effective theme based on the interviews. Considering the effectiveness of this message strategy, Merve exemplified an alternative theme,

> Family comes to my mind right now. For example, my punch line is my mom, not listening to her. It is a kind of preference like mom or cigarette. Your mom is in the shape of a cigarette or your real mom… Which one would you prefer? This kind of advertisement concept can be designed. I mean as long as you smoke, your mom will continue to get worried for you and when your cigarette finishes; your mom will also disappear due to her sadness.

The contents that push the smokers to make a choice between cigarette and the family can be a good alternative to increase the quitting intentions of these people. At this point, designing the content in a way that reflects the feelings and emotions of people in a realistic way becomes the key factor. Sevgi talked about how emotional contents will be influential for her instead of health-related ones,

> Medical contents don't affect me too much, but more emotional contents affect me more. I even make empathy and feel bad when I see smokers in those PSAs because I don't want to see their unhappiness. If the anxieties of families added to this, it would be even more influential for me.

In sum, when we take the worries of other people into account, it can help to design an effective message strategy for public spots since it creates an emotional burden on smokers. Since people with interdependent self-construal usually have strong and emotional bonds with close others, they don't want to make them unhappy. Showing their families and friends' worries in the PSA can better help them motivate to take action towards an undesirable behavior.

4.4.2.2 Quitting Attempts of a Smoker Group

After reviewing the narratives of the participants, it emerged that quitting attempts of a smoker group can be another alternative for themes of anti-smoking PSAs. Due to the interdependency between people, showing the smoking cessation process as an activity done with a group of individuals may create an influence on smokers with interdependent self-construal. Maintaining the group harmony between group

members can be used as a message strategy in terms of quitting smoking. Throughout the interviews, some participants mentioned how they may get motivated by taking action as a group. For instance, one informant shared,

> We are smoking as 4-5 friends in a friend group. There were some quitting attempts of one of them in the past. She was trying to quit it last week and she didn't smoke for a week. Last day I said, "Let the holiday pass", because it is smoked heavily during holidays with other friends… When I said, "I am also thinking about quitting", she added "This has lost its taste already". I mean, okay, we are having fun while smoking together but it does not need to be such a habit. We can find other things to do instead of smoking. (Pelin)

As can be seen, the informant gave clues about her motivation to quit smoking after one of her friends also tried it. Since smoking is usually an activity done with a group of friends for these smokers, when one of them goes out of this routine, it may create a chain reaction for others as well. The same informant also mentioned,

> My father is smoking for example. We didn't smoke for many years with my brother but now both of us are smoking. They (her family) know that we are smoking, and we are smoking together sometimes. We begged to my father for many years to quit smoking and one month before, he came and said 'If you both quit, I will quit too' but my brother didn't accept it. Interestingly I accepted it. (Pelin)

The example shows that an offer coming from a family member may even prompt the smoker to take action. Here, the example of the father who is offering to quit smoking together is so powerful that the informant accepted the father's suggestion. Another informant expressed her motivation to quit smoking with her husband together,

> I tried to quit smoking time to time. In fact, I accepted too late that I am smoking. I was saying that "I am smoking now but I am not smoking in general" but when time passes what I said lost its validity. I always told to my husband "let's quit it, let's schedule a time and quit next week" and he was okay with that. But now I am not quitting it since my husband is not quitting it too. I want to quit it together at the same time. (Buket)

The above quote implies that, the participant is very motivated to quit smoking with her husband but since her husband has not took an action yet, she also cannot do it. It should be noted that if the influence of other people is considered in the decision for

starting smoking, it may also take place in the decision of quitting smoking as well. Since the husband of Buket also participated into this study, his opinions also prove that idea,

> I am planning to quit smoking soon. We will do this with my wife because as I said I did this many time, like 2 months 5 months. Now I am smoking 10-12 cigarettes in a day. I don't believe that there is such a thing like nicotine dependence. I was always thinking that one day I am going to quit it, but that time has come close. My wife also wants to quit it. We are supporting each other about this. I think this also gives power to us. In the end, we can better motivate each other. (Alper)

The decision of quitting smoking as a couple can give great results for both smokers. It was shown in the literature that positive partner support can be effective during smoking cessation process (Cohen & Lichtenstein, 1990; Mermelstein, Cohen, Lichtenstein, Baer, & Kamarck, 1986; Turan, Turan, & Mirici, 2017). Since couples spend most of their time together, they get affected from each other. When one of them takes a step, this may also have an impact on the other person as well. In addition to showing the quitting activity inside the members of a family or a friend group, when participants were asked about designing effective contents for PSAs, Buket shared,

> I think there can be some formations such as "people trying to quit smoking" like "alcoholics anonymous". I mean there may be something that people can get together without smoking or people sharing the same experience can gather together. I would probably go for it. I mean smoking as a socialization tool makes people get used to smoking and afterwards there is the influence of that social environment for sustaining that habit. During the period that I was trying to quit smoking, when I see my close friends as smoking cigarette, it affected me. I mean if they don't smoke beside you, it will come to your mind less. I mean if we quit all together, we will literally quit it maybe. That's why gathering people who quit, making a propaganda based on it or showing that people are doing other activities together instead of smoking could be better. (Buket)

As it was mentioned in the above quotation, showing smokers who share the same experience and designing a content based on the quitting attempts of these people can be helpful and motivating for others as well. Since people sometimes imitate each

other's behaviors, when they see their friends smoking, they want to join them to sustain the harmony necessarily. However, the group can also be a triggering factor not to engage into the smoking behavior. The same informant highlighted,

> Even when we do something like that (quitting together) now, I think it will be very influential on me. If we quit it all together with my friends whom I smoke together at work, with my friends who make their doctorates at school and with my husband, smoking does not come to my mind. If there is someone smokes there, I don't desire cigarette but when my friends smoke, it reminds me. (Buket)

In summary, showing the quitting attempts of a group of smokers can be another alternative theme for designing effective public service announcements. Since group can create both motivation and disincentive towards smoking, the idea of quitting smoking as a group can be used in anti-smoking PSAs. Showing the attempts of family members or members of a friend group can encourage people to quit smoking. Hence, it can create a chain reaction for some people, and they may even replace their smoking with something else when they get together for socialization.

4.4.2.3 Negative Experiences of Smokers' Families

The final theme that emerged from the narratives of the interviewees is the negative experiences of smokers' families. This theme is different from the first theme which was the emotional burden of smoking in terms of one main aspect. Although in the first theme (emotional burden of smoking), smokers were not experiencing the harmful effects of smoking on their health, for this theme the harmful effects and health problems occur due to smoking. In other words, when smokers start suffering from related diseases caused by smoking, the negative experiences of smokers' families become more evident in this content.

When participants were asked about designing effective themes for PSAs, most of them mentioned the experiences of families after smokers die due to smoking. For instance, an informant shared,

> I would probably put family factors as contents for PSAs to appeal to the conscience of people. I would highlight the things that we can lose. The importance of the time that I will spend with my wife, with my kid, with my mom and dad or with my close friends… I mean with the ones that are important for you… If it can reflect these, it would be effective. For example, while you are having a good time at a park, there is a happy family and you are getting erased from that picture slowly. You are no longer there… They cannot be happy as before, since you are absent. You are already absent. Okay, you are not there, you are already dead, you no longer have anything, but you see their unhappiness, it could be very striking. I am thinking about quitting smoking not to experience these. (Alper)

The above example states that after smoker dies due to smoking, seeing the unhappiness of his family can be very devastating. Interestingly, the person doesn't talk about the smoker's feelings concerning smoker's death but instead he focuses on the experiences of the smoker's family after smoker's death. He also makes a kind of comparison between two scenarios in which there is a happy family that is having good time together at one hand and there is a broken family after smoker's death at the other hand. Another informant also makes a similar comparison concerning the devastating effects of smoking for smoker's family,

> When they show the one who has lung cancer or has a heart attack, these are not effective but when you feel that emotion, it can be. When you turn back to that world consisting of cigarette, they should give that pessimistic view, colors, and the facial expressions of people. I mean it shouldn't be like showing the one who dies or who cannot run due to smoking. I would focus more on the difficulty of the lives of families after smoker becomes sick or dies. For example, there can be a PSA related with the life of a family after father dies due to smoking. A down-at-heel family… Therefore, showing real-life examples, how their lives changed, how it became difficult… If it can give that feeling to me, I guess it will be more influential. If we turn back to that example, let's say only father is working in that family and he is smoking, there can be a public spot focusing on the life of the father's family after the father dies due to a smoking related heart attack or a cancer. Or it can also focus on the situation in which father cannot be able to work when he gets sick because of cigarette. These can be effective contents. (Mustafa)

According to the above quotation, the informant mentions that he may get affected from those contents related with the experiences of families who lost someone due to smoking. He mainly mentions the smoking father figure in the family and his

significant place as a breadwinner. When the traditional family structure is taken into account, it can be true for some families although there are changes in family structure in today's globalized world. For this reason, designing a campaign considering this point can be effective for some people as well. Other than this, the informant also mentioned the importance of real-life examples that can persuade the audience about the related negative consequences of smoking. Showing real cases may increase the persuasiveness of the message by emphasizing the fact that it can be experienced by anyone. At this point, another informant also added how real cases will communicate better with the audience,

> If they make interviews with people and their families who really suffer from smoking, if we listen to their stories, it can be more effective for me. I think those examples from real-life are more effective. It can even be more influential when we see those people's appearance; we can understand it from their eyes that they experienced really difficult things. I mean not actors but using real people will work in my opinion because smokers and their families can express what they have gone through more realistically. (Ceren)

After reviewing examples mostly from male smokers, one female smoker highlighted the significance of child factor as follows,

> The PSAs related with the death of the loved ones are good. In fact, there is not such a PSA, right? For example, there can be a public spot that shows a child losing his mother. I mean they should use a kind of humane sentiment. It is the worst thing in the world for a kid to be left as an orphan, being alone. It is the biggest trauma. I am not a mother, but I can imagine how incredible it is to be a mother and I think it may affect female smokers. Imagine a kid saying that "Mom died because she was smoking too much", it is so terrible. It even affects me. I mean someone's life will be ruined because of me. (Elif)

The expressions state that especially during their decision-making process, children play an important role for females. They want to estimate the consequences of their decisions so that their children will get least affected. Therefore, this sentiment can be used in the anti-smoking contents to make the situation more influential and attractive for smokers.

To summarize, negative experiences of the smokers' families can be another alternative theme for PSAs. Both male and female smokers with interdependent self-construal mention how the life of the families may change if something bad happens to the smoker. In the case of smoker's death or being sick due to smoking, how that situation will damage to other people is a significant point that is emphasized in the interviews. Therefore, showing the experiences especially with real-life examples can better persuade the smoker about the impacts of his or her smoking behavior. When female smokers are taken into account, child factor can also be another message strategy that will create an influence for them. Since being a mother sometimes means sacrificing from other things for the sake of the child, focusing on the probability that the children will live a terrible life in a motherless case may be touching for them.

4.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the qualitative findings about the self-construal of the participants, their smoking characteristics, the drawings of the participants and effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs were presented in this chapter. Since each section in the findings chapter was built upon the other one, all exploratory findings tried to be presented in a sequential flow. Firstly, the participants were divided into two main groups as independent and interdependent smoker groups based on their dominant self-construal and then each group's smoking characteristics were explained considering the similarities and differences between participants. Then, drawings of the participants combined the first two sections in terms of the visual representations of smoking behavior of the participants. In the final step, two message contents (individualistic and collectivistic message contents) emerged considering the suggestions and opinions of the participants in an attempt to answer the research question. In the following chapter, discussion of the findings and conclusion of this study will be presented.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to design effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs based on the independent and interdependent self-construals of smokers to increase their quitting intentions. For this reason, the study was focused on the types of message contents that would be effective for smokers considering their dominant self-construal characteristics. To reach the aim of this study, qualitative research design was developed instead of mainstream quantitative methods used in the literature. The reason why this study used a qualitative inquiry as its main research method is its focus to gain an in-depth understanding about the smoking behavior of individuals and their self-construals.

To study the phenomenon in a detailed manner, the sample of this study consisted of a total of 17 smokers (8 male, 9 female smokers) aged 25-35. Since this age group is one of the largest smoker groups in Turkey (Ministry of Health of Turkey, 2016) and it is convenient to reach individuals among this group, it was chosen as the main sample of the current study. Since the study was developed based on a qualitative inquiry, semi-structured interviewing was used as the main method. To enrich the study and differentiate it from the other studies, art-based method in the form of personal drawings was also used as the second method. Throughout the interviews, all participants were asked questions listed in the interview guide presented in Appendix A. The interview guide was prepared in a way to combine the different aspects of the research question. To understand the self-construal of the participants, questions about self-construals were adopted from INDCOL scale developed by Singelis and his colleagues (Singelis et al., 1995). After preparing the interview guide,

answers of the participants were analyzed in four parts in the findings chapter (Chapter 4).

5.1.1 Self-Construals of the Participants

The findings obtained from the first part of the study confirmed that individuals living in the same culture can differ from each other in terms of their self-construals (İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). In other words, it can be said that both independent and interdependent self-construal characteristics can be observed in Turkish culture which is associated with a collectivistic culture in Hofstede's (1980) work. Secondly, it was seen that independent and interdependent self-construal characteristics can coexist in the same person (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). However, it was also observed that one of these self-construals can be more dominant over the other one in time (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). For the purpose of the study, this research considered this dominance and the participants were divided according to their dominant self-construal characteristics. Based on this division, nine smokers were categorized as having dominant independent self-construal (independent smoker group) while eight smokers were categorized as having dominant interdependent self-construal (interdependent smoker group). The study also supported the difference between males and females in terms of their dominant self-construals. It can be said that males usually have the characteristics of independent self-construal while females usually have the characteristics of interdependent self-construal (Cross & Madson, 1997). However, it doesn't mean that all males will possess the characteristics of independent self-construal while all females will show the interdependent self-construal aspects. Therefore, the findings of this study show that individuals can have either dominant independent or interdependent self-construal in the same culture regardless of their gender.

One of the main contributions of this study to the literature is to analyze the self-construal of the participants by using a qualitative approach. With the help of qualitative inquiry, this study combined some prominent characteristics of independent and interdependent self-construals which were discussed separately in

the literature. When we consider how participants were differentiated according to their self-construals, four main divisions can be made to understand the underlying factors behind independent and interdependent self-construals. Considering the literature, these divisions were listed as decision making styles, conflict styles, perception of uniqueness/ordinariness and perception of success. In terms of decision-making styles, findings showed that the independent smoker group usually makes their decisions according to their own preferences while the interdependent smoker group usually considers in-group's preferences in their decisions (Kim & Markus, 1999). In other words, individuals with independent self-construal usually see decision making as a personal process where trade-off analysis is done considering all the consequences; however, individuals with interdependent self-construal usually consult their family members and close friends during their decision making to minimize the social risk of any decision. Secondly, in terms of conflict style, the findings supported that the independent smoker group usually has dominating conflict style while the interdependent smoker group usually has compromising conflict style (Oetzel, 1998). However, the study also showed that individuals with independent self-construal usually try to convince others with a direct communication style when there is a disagreement; however, individuals with interdependent self-construal usually prefer to avoid the conflict situation to maintain harmony inside their group.

Thirdly, in terms of uniqueness and ordinariness perception, the findings confirmed that individuals with independent self-construal see themselves as unique and special compared with others while individuals with interdependent self-construal usually think themselves as similar and ordinary in social comparison (Heine & Lehman, 1997). In addition to this perception, the findings also revealed that individuals with independent self-construal usually emphasize their different aspects from others when they make a social comparison, while individuals with interdependent self-construal highlight their similarities with others by expressing the negative side of being different from other people. Finally, in terms of perception of success, it can be said that individuals with independent self-construal see success as a self-oriented achievement while individuals with interdependent self-construal see success as a

group-oriented achievement (Feeny & Wang, 2010). The findings suggested that the independent smoker group mostly considers their personal traits and efforts as success factors which will help them to reach their personal goals in a competitive environment; however, the interdependent smoker group highlights the importance of family and social environment as success factors which will later contribute to group success. As it can be seen, the findings obtained from the first part of the study mostly confirm the self-construal literature. However, it also extends our knowledge about self-construal literature by providing deeper insights about the phenomenon in terms of adding perspectives to the understanding of how individuals construe their self-aspects.

5.1.2 Characteristics of Smokers

In the second part of the findings chapter, characteristics of the two smoker groups were analyzed and findings showed the similarities and differences between these two groups. The smoking characteristics were presented under three main headings in terms of reasons behind smoking initiation, routines of smokers and positive/negative meanings of smoking for smokers. Firstly, when we consider the reasons behind smoking initiation, the findings were consistent with the literature that peer influence is important in terms of smoking initiation (De Vries et al., 2006) of both smoker groups. However, this study also showed that peers can be more influential especially for smokers with independent self-construal when its effect combines with interest and desire towards smoking. When family influence was taken into account, its effect was found as more prominent for the interdependent smoker group based on this research sample. Moreover, findings accord with earlier studies which revealed that family influence during childhood and adolescence play an important role in smoking initiation (Chassin et al., 1994; Colamussi et al., 2007). In terms of stress, this study contributed to the analysis that individuals with interdependent self-construal can experience higher levels of stress (Hu et al., 2018) by revealing stress as a critical factor for these people in terms of their smoking initiation. Since there is a positive association between stress and smoking initiation (Holliday & Gould, 2016; Wills,

Sandy, & Yaeger, 2002), this study showed that stress is an important reason in the smoking initiation of individuals with interdependent self-construal who experience higher levels of stress in their lives.

Secondly, when the routines of smokers are taken into account, findings showed that both smoker groups highlighted their routines about smoking after meals. More importantly, findings revealed that while the independent smoker group emphasized smoking with coffee or tea, the interdependent smoker group mostly talked about their alcohol consumption with smoking. Although it is documented in the literature that individuals with interdependent self-construal consume less alcohol than individuals with independent self-construal (Arli et al., 2016; Shell et al., 2010; Zhang & Shrum, 2009), the findings of this study are somehow contrary to these previous findings. Although previous studies approach the subject considering interdependent self-construal characteristics in terms of the need for fitting in group norms and social norms by consuming less alcohol (Arli et al., 2016; Zhang & Shrum, 2009), contradicting findings from this study can be evaluated from a different angle. It can be said that individuals with interdependent self-construal from this research sample emphasized their smoking routines with alcohol more than the other group because they see smoking with alcohol as a way of establishing bonds with group members and sustaining group harmony.

Finally, when we consider the positive and negative meanings of smoking, findings revealed that smoking has deeper meanings for the participants of this study. In terms of positive meanings of smoking, findings revealed that smoking is usually seen as a tool for socialization and it is also considered as a way to control stress. Based on the findings, both independent and interdependent smoker groups mentioned the importance of smoking as enabling socializing. In other words, findings confirmed the literature that smoking plays a key role in establishing bonds between individuals (Collins et al., 2002). This study also contributed to this general idea by distinguishing this meaning between two smoker groups. For the independent smoker group, smoking enables meeting new people, establishing relationships and spending good

time with friends. However, findings showed that smoking has a deeper meaning for the interdependent smoker group in terms of enabling a more fluent conversation and strengthening bonds between members of the in-group by creating a group identity.

When we consider the other meaning of smoking associated with controlling stress, findings showed that especially smokers with independent self-construal emphasized the stress relieving function of smoking more than the interdependent smoker group. It could be argued that the independent smoker group may see smoking as a supporting instrument to cope with their stress. Since individuals with interdependent self-construal benefit a lot from social support provided by their families and friends compared to individuals with independent self-construal (Shelton, Wang, & Zhu, 2017), they may not consider smoking as a way of controlling stress. At this point, it is interesting to note that while individuals with interdependent self-construal emphasize stress as a reason for smoking initiation, they don't emphasize the stress relieving function of smoking compared with the other group. One possible explanation of this might be that although the interdependent smoker group starts smoking due to stress, stress can lose its importance during the continuation of smoking. In other words, stress can trigger the initiation of smoking but other factors such as socializing and sustaining group harmony can become more important for these people in the decision to go on smoking.

When the negative meanings of smoking are considered, findings showed that participants see smoking as an economic burden on their budget and they associate smoking with its negative short-term and long-term consequences. According to the findings revealed in this study, especially the independent smoker group considers smoking as an economic burden on their budget. Since monetary issues are associated more with self-related concerns and less with other-related concerns (Kraus et al., 2010; Ma-Kellams & Blascovich, 2013; Vohs et al., 2008), it can be suggested that the independent smoker group will care about the financial side of smoking more than the other group. In terms of negative short and long-term consequences of smoking, both smoker groups highlighted the negative aspects of smoking on their own health

and on individuals' health in general. According to the narratives of the participants, long-term consequences of smoking can be listed as cancer, cardiovascular and respiratory diseases while short-term consequences are more immediate and physical such as the problem of yellow teeth and bad smell. Since smoking is usually associated with its long-term consequences on health, the findings obtained from this study broadened this view by showing the importance of the short-term consequences of smoking as well.

Before concluding the discussion about the characteristics of smokers, it is also important to mention how the lifestyles of the participants play a significant role in their smoking behaviors. Since the participants of the current study are people who are aged between 25 and 35, their motivations for smoking may have certain similarities. Moreover, they also share similar backgrounds in terms of their education levels and occupations. Therefore, these similarities in the participants' lifestyles affect the findings of the current study. For example, when we consider the routines of smokers, especially the interdependent smoker group emphasized their smoking routines with alcohol when they are outside with their friends. Since these participants are not married and they have no children, they may find time to do this activity as part of their smoking routines. In other words, they may become more motivated to smoke outside with their friends while drinking alcohol. However, if the participants consisted of smokers who are 50 years or older, there would be a probability that these smokers may not emphasize their alcohol consumption as their smoking routines. Therefore, the findings of this study should be considered along with the lifestyles of the participants.

After explaining the characteristics of smokers, it is important to mention the importance of them in this study. Since all these characteristics shape the profile of each smoker group, it is important to understand these characteristics while designing effective anti-smoking message strategies. Therefore, this study contributes to the literature in terms of giving a detailed description of each smoker profile by considering smokers' self-construals.

5.1.3 Drawings of the Participants

In the third part of the findings chapter, art-based methodology in the form of personal drawings was used and the participants drew pictures of how they see themselves while smoking. The drawings of the participants showed that the independent and interdependent smoker groups emphasized different points which are parallel to their self-representations. They also showed how the participants give symbolic meanings to their smoking behaviors. When making a comparison between two groups, it was seen that the two smoker groups shared one common theme while they differed in terms of other themes. Based on the findings, it can be suggested that smoking is usually associated with positive feelings by both of the smoker groups. As all participants are current smokers, it is not surprising that they have positive attitudes towards their smoking behavior. What is interesting is that each group draws its smoking environment by pointing out whether they smoke alone or with a group of friends. Findings suggest that the independent smoker group emphasizes smoking alone while the interdependent smoker group highlights smoking with a group of friends. Although it is difficult to generalize that most of the smokers with independent (interdependent) self-construal prefer smoking alone (with a group of friends), findings show an important point in terms of smokers' self-aspects and their smoking behavior. It can be suggested that since individuals with independent self-construal are more autonomous and self-oriented, they may not need companionship of a friend during smoking. However, it can also be stated that since individuals with interdependent self-construal are more other-oriented and value intimate relations, they may visualize a smoking environment where they are smoking with their close friends.

Findings from drawings also revealed that the independent smoker group usually prefers smoking across beautiful landscapes or in comfortable places while the interdependent smoker group prefers smoking with alcohol when they are spending time with their friends. One possible explanation for this might be that the independent smoker group usually sees smoking as a pleasurable activity that

provides personal satisfaction while the interdependent smoker group usually points out its social side that provides establishing bonds with other people. At this point, it is interesting to note that the drawings of the interdependent smoker group usually showed the ordinariness perception of the self. While they were drawing themselves with a group of friends, most of them didn't distinguish themselves from the other human figures. This was a very interesting and important point which shows the ordinariness of the self in their self-perceptions.

It can be suggested that using an art-based method revealed important aspects in understanding how individuals view themselves in social context. By asking the participants to create a story for themselves, it was ensured that they combined their self-construals and smoking behaviors together in their drawings. The participants' drawings showed not only the functional meanings of smoking, but they also revealed the symbolic meanings of smoking for the participants. These symbolic meanings are important in terms of understanding the motivational processes of the participants for smoking. When we look at those meanings associated with the cigarette, it can be suggested that both smoker groups emphasize different aspects of the cigarette. For the independent smoker group, the cigarette is mostly symbolized as a tool for personal pleasure while it is symbolized as a catalyzer in the social setting by the interdependent smoker group. This difference in fact shows the underlying processes for smoking for both smoker groups. Moreover, those meanings are also significant in terms of representing the self-construal characteristics of each smoker group. Considering all these aspects, this method contributed to the self-construal literature by showing how individuals can represent their self-perceptions and smoking behaviors based on their dominant self-construals with the help of their drawings.

5.1.4 Message Contents for Anti-Smoking PSAs

In the last part of the findings chapter, effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs were presented in two categories which are individualistic message content for smokers with independent self-construal and collectivistic message content for smokers with interdependent self-construal. Each category also has its own related

themes that can become alternatives for designing effective message strategies for both smoker groups. Since this part of the study is very important in terms of answering the research question, categories with representative themes for anti-smoking message contents were presented in the findings chapter (Chapter 4) in a detailed way. At this point, it is critical to discuss the answer to the research question and proceed with the discussion.

Based on this qualitative study conducted with 17 smokers aged between 25 and 35, it can be suggested that individualistic message content for anti-smoking PSAs could be effective for smokers with independent self-construal, while collectivistic message content for anti-smoking PSAs could be effective for smokers with interdependent self-construal to increase their quitting intentions.

As it was mentioned previously in the literature review, since individuals differ in terms of their self-construals, they will get affected by different message contents which appeal most to their self-concepts (Chang, 2009). The findings revealed in this study corroborate the findings of the previous works done by scholars. Consistent with the literature, this study confirmed the idea that individuals with independent and interdependent self-construals will have different intentions (Lee et al., 2006) and they will get affected by different message contents to quit smoking (Chang, 2009; Cho et al., 2009). Thus, self-congruency effect which points out the fact that individuals will get affected by different messages that are congruent with their self-aspects (Hong & Zinkhan, 1995; Wang & Mowen, 1997) was seen in this study. Although the current study confirms the previous studies, it also goes beyond them by developing detailed and multiple message strategies for anti-smoking PSAs considering the self-construal literature. The study also differentiates from the other studies in terms of applying a qualitative methodology to the subject and using a different participant profile in terms of 25-35 years old smokers. With the help of this qualitative methodology, rich and descriptive information about both the self-aspects of the individuals and effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs were attained.

When the message strategies are taken into account, narratives of the participants revealed that three different themes for both contents (individualistic and collectivistic) can be suggested to design effective anti-smoking PSAs for smokers (Table 9). For individualistic message content: economic burden of smoking, quitting attempts of a smoker and negative experiences of smokers were listed as effective themes for the independent smoker group. On the other hand, for collectivistic message content: emotional burden of smoking, quitting attempts of a smoker group and negative experiences of smokers' families were listed as effective themes for the interdependent smoker group. As it can be seen, each of these themes corresponds with their representative contents considering the different characteristics of the two smoker groups. The findings suggest that themes under individualistic message content mostly appeal to the sensitivities of smokers with independent self-construal in a way that it is more personal and self-oriented. In other words, individualistic content is focused on showing the negative effects of smoking on the smoker himself/herself. However, themes under collectivistic message content are more others-oriented and appeal mostly to the sensitivities of smokers with interdependent self-construal in a way that is more emotional. In other words, collectivistic message content is focused on showing the negative consequences of smoking on other people that smokers care about (second-hand smoking has not been discussed in the study).

The message contents and their representative themes revealed in this study can be regarded as one of the main contributions of this study to the social marketing literature as well. Since PSAs are one of the social marketing tools used by public policy makers, developing those contents in a way that will become more effective for individuals is an important consideration as this study showed.

As mentioned previously, individualistic message content for the independent smoker group includes three themes. The first theme is related with the economic burden of smoking on the budget. It is true that smokers are willing to pay money for cigarette as long as smoking gives pleasure to them. However, it was seen from the interviews that the financial side of smoking is also important for some smokers and it has not

been considered in anti-smoking advertising before. For this reason, showing how smoking is wasted money and what alternatives can be done instead of buying cigarette can be used as possible messages for future PSAs. The second theme is related with the quitting attempts of a smoker. Since this theme has also not been considered in a detailed way in PSAs, it can be an effective message strategy for some smokers in terms of showing the ways of quitting smoking and giving real-life examples from former smokers. The third theme is related with the short- and long-term consequences of smoking on smokers' health. It can be said that showing the negative long-term consequences of smoking (e.g. cancer) is not a new thing for PSAs and their effect is limited. However, if both short-term (bad smell or the problem of yellow teeth) and long-term consequences of smoking can be considered together in the PSAs, they may influence some smokers who care the short-term consequences of smoking more than the long-term effects. Since short-term consequences of smoking haven't been considered in anti-smoking advertising before, it can be an effective message strategy in the decision of quitting smoking for some smokers.

When we look at the collectivistic message content for the interdependent smoker group, it also includes three themes. The first theme is related with the emotional burden of smoking for smokers. In this theme, the worries of families and friends about the health of smokers become important. In his study, Chang (2009) suggested that showing the worries of others are not very effective for smokers (he considered smokers as having independent self-construal). However, since this study showed that smokers can also have dominant interdependent self-construal, showing the worries of other people can be effective in smoking cessation for the interdependent smoker group as well. The second theme is related with the quitting attempts of a smoker group. Since it was shown that partner support can be helpful during smoking cessation (Cohen & Lichtenstein, 1990; Mermelstein, Cohen, Lichtenstein, Baer, & Kamarck, 1986; Turan, Turan, & Mirici, 2017), this study shows how this content can be effective for smokers with interdependent self-construal. For example, messages can be designed by showing how a couple decides to quit smoking or how members of a family motivate each other for quitting smoking. The third theme is related with

the negative experiences of families. This theme includes smokers' death or morbidity due to smoking and the effects of that situation on his or her family. Although some PSAs mentioned this theme by showing the smokers and their families, they didn't mainly focus on the negative aspects these people can experience. Therefore, showing how the life of families will change after smokers' death or showing child factor for female smokers can be considered in designing future PSAs.

In conclusion, this thesis has tried to answer how to design effective message contents to be used in PSAs for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals. After applying a qualitative research methodology to the subject, this thesis suggested two message contents (individualistic and collectivistic) for two smoker groups and gave a detailed description for each of those contents (three themes for each content). Having presented the overall discussion about the findings, research implications for public policy makers will be presented in the following section.

5.2 Implications for Public Policy Makers

The findings of this study have many implications for public policy makers who are responsible for designing health campaigns for people. Since the ineffectiveness of anti-smoking PSAs on individuals was shown in many studies (Çoknaz et al., 2013; Gençoğlu et al., 2017; Güllülü & Türk, 2015; Yaman & Göçkan, 2015), it provided a strong motivation for the current study to be conducted. Therefore, this research is mainly focused on the contents that can be influential on smokers to increase their quitting intentions and suggest those effective contents to public policy makers in terms of social marketing perspective.

This study showed that smokers can be divided into two groups based on their dominant self-construal and each group has different characteristics and motivations. It can be suggested that smokers with independent self-construal are more autonomous and self-oriented while smokers with interdependent self-construal are more connected to others and other-oriented. Considering the differences of these two groups, this study suggested two message contents for designing effective anti-

smoking PSAs and it was seen that each group may get affected from different types of messages which appeal to their self-aspects. If public policy makers become aware of this division, they can design the contents for anti-smoking PSAs in a way that will appeal to each group's sensitivities. Keeping this in mind, individualistic message contents can be developed for smokers with independent self-construal while collectivistic message contents can be developed for smokers with interdependent self-construal.

The findings of this study showed that culture and people's perceptions play an important role in their smoking behavior. Since self-construal literature is a reflection of culture, policy makers should consider the needs and motives of smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals separately. Therefore, themes for anti-smoking message contents will also differ according to smokers' priorities. Policy makers should put their effort on developing more influential message strategies to increase the smokers' intentions to quit smoking. Towards the end of 2018, the government announced that it is planning to develop new anti-smoking PSAs (Kuru, 2018). Since the government has recently placed developing new contents for PSAs on its agenda, the findings obtained from this study become more important for policy makers.

While developing the two different message contents (individualistic and collectivistic) for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construal, combining those contents in the same PSA can be an effective strategy. Since showing only one content may have limited influence on all smokers (For example, the independent smoker group may not get affected from the emotional burden that smoking creates), combining those two contents in the same PSA will be stronger to take the attention of both smoker groups. One of the suggested themes for anti-smoking PSAs revealed in this study is showing the ways of quitting smoking. It was seen that while showing the quitting attempts of a smoker can be influential for the independent smoker group, showing the quitting attempts of a smoker group can be influential on the interdependent smoker group. Therefore, the same anti-smoking

PSA can combine these two themes by giving the message by using two alternative languages; one is more individualistic, and the other is more collectivistic so that it can capture the attention of both smoker groups while it can be cost-effective for public policy makers at the same time.

Before concluding the discussion, it is also important to mention how the participants of this study handled the subject in a different way. Throughout the interviews, some participants mentioned that they spend less time watching television. For instance, one of the informants shared, "I am not watching too much television. That's why it is difficult for me to remember those PSAs" (Mert). Another informant also added, "I am not watching television too much for a long time, so I don't come across anti-smoking PSAs nowadays" (Onur). As it can be seen, people are watching television less compared to the past. Therefore, the effectiveness of anti-smoking PSAs broadcasted on television can be questioned considering this point. Although it is not true for all individuals, especially young people are spending most of their time in front of their computers or smart phones nowadays. A reasonable approach to handle this fact could be to think more broadly in terms of extending the anti-smoking efforts beyond television screens. Policy makers should reach smokers by finding alternative ways such as broadcasting those PSAs on Youtube or showing those contents on social media. Unless the policy makers become aware of individuals' tendencies, they cannot be able to reach those people effectually.

5.3 Limitations and Research Extensions

The findings of this study should be considered with its limitations. Since this study applied a qualitative approach to the subject, several methodological limitations were inevitable. First of all, qualitative research is time-consuming due to its labor-intensive nature (Berg, 2004). Therefore, a relatively small number of participants (17 smokers) constitute the research sample of this study. Since the aim of a qualitative methodology is to gain an in-depth understanding about the phenomenon, it will be up to future research to extend the findings to a wide range of population. Moreover, the sample of this study was also chosen based on an age criteria of 25-35 years old

smokers who constitute one of the largest smoker groups in Turkey. Therefore, findings represent the motivations and intentions of these participants in terms of designing effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs. Future research may extend the participant profile to show whether the findings change according to different age groups or not.

Secondly, trustworthiness of the information (as discussed in Chapter 3) that is provided by the participants may be another limitation (Heigham & Croker, 2009) that should be considered. Since people may answer to the interview questions in a way that can hinder some facts about their personality, misinformation can affect the analysis. Moreover, some participants may even not feel free to explain the detailed parts of their story to the researcher. Since the researcher was aware of this limitation from the beginning of the interviews, interview questions were designed in a way that will make the participants feel comfortable in the beginning. For this reason, the researcher spent the first few minutes letting the participant to talk about himself/herself before actually starting the interview. In addition to potentially hiding some facts, participants' trustworthiness in terms of suggesting effective anti-smoking message contents for themselves can also create another restriction for the study. People may not in reality get affected by the anti-smoking messages by which they say they will get affected. In other words, although participants think about effective anti-smoking PSAs for themselves, it doesn't prove that these PSAs will really motivate them to quit smoking. For this reason, future studies can test the effectiveness of these message contents provided in this study by applying longitudinal analysis. They may try to understand whether anti-smoking PSAs are effective in terms of smoking cessation or not by considering different message contents presented in this study for smokers with independent and interdependent self-construals.

Thirdly, since this study tried to analyze the self-construal of the participants with a qualitative research methodology, it didn't use a predetermined scale that is mostly used in these kinds of studies. Most of the studies in the literature generally use

predetermined questionnaires developed by scholars to measure the self-construal of the participants (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Hui, 1988; Singelis, 1994; Singelis et al., 1995). However, this study tried to develop a semi-structured interview guide that focuses on the most critical points which were considered in those quantitative scales. Therefore, the interview questions were designed in an effort to include those critical and determinant aspects of self-construals in a comprehensive way. Since the study is two-fold in terms of understanding the dominant self-construal of the participants and analyzing the effective message contents for anti-smoking PSAs, self-construal section is just one of the parts included in the interview guide. Therefore, the number of questions to understand the self-construal of the participants was inevitably limited. Although the findings revealed in this study were satisfactory enough to understand the dominant self-construal of the participants, the limited number of questions could still hinder to see some other aspects of self-construals. Future qualitative studies can go in greater depth than the current understanding of self-construals in order to uncover additional dimensions and processes of consumer behavior.

Finally, findings of this study showed that smoking has many strong associations in smokers' minds. Considering the routines of smokers and the positive meanings of smoking, it can be said that smoking is a kind of behavior which is irreplaceable somehow. Therefore, it creates a limitation for the current study in terms of finding alternatives that can take the place of cigarettes. However, this can become a motivation for future studies to explore this area considering the findings emerged in this study. Since this study showed that there are strong associations between smokers' self-construals and their smoking behaviors, future work can analyze the substitutes that can replace with smoking.

In conclusion, this study has several limitations as explained above. Although the researcher tried to overcome some of these limitations, they will not totally be omitted from the study. Since this study conducts self-construal literature with smoking in terms of anti-smoking PSAs as a tool for social marketing, it should be considered with its limitations.

5.4 Conclusion

The main purpose of the current study was to develop effective anti-smoking message contents for PSAs considering the smokers' independent and interdependent self-construals. Based on the qualitative research methodology, this thesis suggested two message contents with representative themes as follows: individualistic message content for smokers with independent self-construal and collectivistic message content for smokers with interdependent self-construal.

Since this study combines self-construal literature with social marketing approaches in terms of designing anti-smoking PSAs, its findings are important both for public policy makers and scholars. Despite its several methodological limitations, this thesis contributes to existing knowledge of self-construals and anti-smoking PSAs by providing a more detailed and comprehensive picture of the phenomenon. Due to the limited number of studies in the literature, that combine smoking behaviors of individuals with their self-aspects, this study also shed new light on how the links between one's self-construal and his or her smoking behavior is shaped.

It can be said that if the purpose is to create a behavioral change and to attain a societal gain, understanding consumer behavior is the first thing to do. When the smoking behaviors of the individuals are taken into account, this study showed the difference between individuals' motivations and intentions based on their self-aspects. After understanding these differences, it becomes easier to develop social marketing strategies based on the needs of individuals. Since this study focused on increasing the quitting intentions of smokers via anti-smoking PSAs, it considered the key elements that motivate smokers to go on smoking. After understanding those factors, this study tried to present striking message contents for smokers considering their independent and interdependent self-construals.

In conclusion, effective anti-smoking interventions should be planned by the government authorities towards smoking which is responsible for reduced public health. The findings revealed in this thesis should be carefully examined by the

authorities in terms of developing effective message strategies to improve societal well-being.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

First of all, thank you for participating in my research study. Before starting I want to briefly mention the purpose of my study. The purpose of this study is to understand the effects of anti-smoking PSAs on smokers. Based on the information collected from the participants, the specific contents to design effective PSAs will be suggested at the end of the study.

All of my questions will be related to the purpose of the study. You will be free to decline from the study at any time, for any reason during the interview. Keep in mind that you can share your opinions without any limitation. If you want to add something relevant with the topic, please do not hesitate throughout the interview. Make sure that the information you share will be kept confidential.

Do you have any questions before we start?

Starting Question

1- Can you tell me a little about yourself?

Warming-up Questions

2- When did you start smoking?
    - How did you start smoking?

3- What do you like about smoking?
    - Do you have any smoking routines?

4- If you ever stopped smoking, what do you think will be missing in your life?

5- What can you say about the positive and negative consequences of smoking on you?

Questions about Self-Construals

Now, I would like to move on to another section where I will ask you about your personal characteristics.

6- Is it difficult for you to make important decisions regarding your life?

If Yes,

- How do you cope with this difficulty?
- Do you make your decisions by yourself in general? or Do you take advice from other people?

If No,

- Why making decisions is not difficult for you?
- Do you make your decisions by yourself in general? Or Do you take advice from other people?

7- How does it feel to you to have a disagreement with your family and friends about a subject?

- What do you do when you are having a disagreement?
- Do you give up from the thing that you want to do even when your family and friends don't approve it? Why?
- How does it feel to you?

8- What does it mean for you to become successful in life?

- How important for you to become successful in life?
- What are the factors that make you successful in life?
- How do you feel when people around you become more successful than you on a particular subject? What do you do in this kind of situation?

9- Do you think that you are different from people around you?

If Yes,

- What makes you different from them?
- How do you feel about this?

If No,

- Why do you think that you are not different from them?
- How do you feel about this?

10- Does anyone in your life express any concerns about your smoking?

If Yes,

- How do you feel when they do this?
- Does this make you think about quitting smoking? Why?

If No,

- Why do they not have any concerns, in your opinion?
- If they had any concerns, would this make you think about quitting smoking? Why?

11- **Drawing Section:** Now, I request you to draw a picture that represents you**.** In what kind of scene do you draw yourself while smoking?

Questions about Anti-Smoking PSAs

12- What do you think generally about anti-smoking PSAs that are broadcasted on TV?

13- Can you exemplify the catchiest parts from the anti-smoking PSAs that you have watched? And what is your reaction to those parts generally?

14- If you were the person who is responsible for preparing anti-smoking PSAs, what kind of contents would you consider to encourage yourself to quit smoking?

- Based on your answer, do you prefer that the content is intended only for the person who smokes so that the message you give will be more effective? Or do you prefer that family and friends of the smoker are also involved in the content?
- Why do you think that this kind of content you create will be more effective?

Ending Question

15- When you consider this conversation, what kind of conclusion do you make for yourself?

APPENDIX B: TÜRKÇE GÖRÜŞME FORMU

Öncelikle çalışmama katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim. Başlamadan önce, çalışmamın amacından kısaca bahsetmek istiyorum. Bu çalışmanın amacı sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarının sigara içenler üzerindeki etkilerini anlamak. Katılımcılardan toplanan bilgilere dayanarak, çalışmanın sonunda etkili kamu spotları tasarlamak için özel içerikler önerilecektir.

Tüm sorularım çalışmanın amacı ile ilgili olacaktır. Görüşme süresince herhangi bir sebepten dolayı ve herhangi bir zamanda görüşmeyi sonlandırabilirsiniz. Fikirlerinizi herhangi bir sınırlama olmaksızın paylaşabileceğinizi unutmayın. Konuyla ilgili bir şey eklemek isterseniz, lütfen görüşme boyunca tereddüt etmeyin. Paylaştığınız bilgilerin gizli tutulacağından emin olabilirsiniz.

Başlamadan önce herhangi bir sorunuz var mı?

Başlangıç Sorusu

1- Bana biraz kendinizden bahseder misiniz?

Isınma Soruları

2- Sigara içmeye ne zaman başladınız?
   - Sigara içmeye nasıl başladınız?

3- Sigara içmeyle ilgili neyi seviyorsunuz?
   - Herhangi bir sigara içme rutininiz var mı?

4- Eğer sigara içmeyi bırakırsanız, hayatınızda neyin eksik olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

5- Sigara içmenin sizin üzerinizdeki olumlu ve olumsuz sonuçları hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

Benlik Kurgusu Hakkında Sorular

Şimdi, kişisel özelliklerinize hakkında sorular yönelteceğim başka bir bölüme geçmek istiyorum.

6- Hayatınızla ilgili önemli kararlar almak sizin için zor mudur?

Evet ise,

- Bu zorlukla nasıl başa çıkıyorsunuz?

- Kararlarınızı genel olarak kendiniz mi alıyorsunuz yoksa diğer insanlardan tavsiye mi alıyorsunuz?

Hayır ise,

- Karar almak sizin için neden zor değil?
- Kararlarınızı genel olarak kendiniz mi alıyorsunuz yoksa diğer insanlardan tavsiye mi alıyorsunuz?

7- Belirli bir konuda yakın çevrenizle fikir ayrılığına düşmek size nasıl hissettirir?

- Fikir ayrılığına düştüğünüz bir konu olduğunda ne yaparsınız?
- Yapmayı çok istediğiniz bir şeyi yakın çevreniz onaylamazsa yapmaktan vazgeçer misiniz? Neden?
- Bu size nasıl hissettirir?

8- Hayatta başarılı olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

- Hayatta başarılı olmak sizin için ne kadar önemlidir?
- Hayatta sizi başarılı kılan faktörler nelerdir?
- Belirli bir konuda çevrenizdeki kişiler sizden daha başarılı olduklarında nasıl hissedersiniz? Böyle bir durumda ne yaparsınız?

9- Çevrenizdekilerden farklı olduğunuzu mu düşünüyorsunuz?

Evet ise,

- Sizi onlardan farklı kılan nedir?
- Bunun hakkında nasıl hissediyorsunuz?

Hayır ise,

- Neden onlardan farklı olmadığınızı düşünüyorsunuz?
- Bunun hakkında nasıl hissediyorsunuz?

10- Hayatınızda sigara içmenizden dolayı endişe duyduğunu ifade eden kimse var mı?

Evet ise,

- Bunu yaptıklarında nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
- Bu size sigarayı bırakmayı düşündürüyor mu? Neden?

Hayır ise,

- Sizce neden herhangi bir endişe duymuyorlar?
- Eğer endişe duysalardı, sigarayı bırakmayı düşünür müydünüz? Neden?

11- **Çizim Kısmı**: Şimdi sizden sizi yansıtan bir resim çizmenizi rica ediyorum. Kendinizi nasıl bir ortamda sigara içerken çizersiniz?

Sigara Karşıtı Kamu Spotları Hakkında Sorular

12- Televizyonda yayınlanan sigara karşıtı kamu spotları hakkında genel olarak ne düşünüyorsunuz?
13- İzlediğiniz sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarından aklınızda en çok kalan kısımları örnekleyebilir misiniz? Ve bu kısımlara karşı genel olarak tepkiniz ne olmaktadır?
14- Sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarını hazırlamaktan sorumlu kişi siz olsanız, kendinizi sigarayı bırakmaya teşvik etmek için ne tür içerikler düşünürsünüz?
    - Cevabınıza dayanarak, sigarayla ilgili vereceğiniz mesajın daha etkili olabilmesi için içeriğin sadece sigara içen kişiye yönelik olmasını mı (yani yalnızca kişiyi ilgilendirecek bir şekilde verilmesini mi) tercih edersiniz? Yoksa kişinin aile ve yakın çevresinin de sürece dahil edilmesini mi tercih edersiniz?
    - Bu şekilde oluşturacağınız içeriğin neden daha etkili olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?

Bitirme Sorusu

15- Tüm bu konuşmayı göz önünde bulundurduğunuzda, kendiniz için nasıl bir sonuç çıkarıyorsunuz?

Kişisel Bilgi Formu

Ad-Soyad:

Cinsiyet:

Yaş:

<u>Eğitim Düzeyi</u>

Lisans:

Yüksek Lisans:

Doktora:

Meslek:

Medeni Durum:

APPENDIX C: HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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19 ARALIK 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Dr.Forrest WATSON

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Mutlu ÖNEN'in **"Bağımlı ve Bağımsız Benlik Kurgusunun Sigara İçen Kişilere Yönelik Etkili Sigara Karşıtı Kamu Spotları Dizayn Etmedeki Rolü"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2018-SOS-231** protokol numarası ile araştırma yapması onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımla bilgilerinize sunarım.

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Başkan

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR (4.)
Üye

İZİNLİ
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Üye

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Üye

Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

APPENDIX D: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1. Giriş

İlk olarak Kotler ve Zaltman (1971) tarafından tarif edilen sosyal pazarlama fikri, pazarlamanın bireylerin davranış ve tutumlarını etkileyerek sosyal fayda için kullanılabileceğini göstermektedir (Fox & Kotler, 1980). Bu bağlamda toplum, sosyal pazarlama uygulamalarından birincil faydalanıcı olarak görülmekte ve sosyal pazarlama çalışmaları ile toplumsal kazanım elde edilebilmektedir (Kotler & Lee, 2008). Halk sağlığının iyileştirilmesi, hükümetlerin ve kâr amacı gütmeyen kuruluşların ana amaçlarından biri olduğu için bu tez, sosyal pazarlama yaklaşımını toplum için önemli bir sorun olarak görülen sigara kullanımı ile birleştirmektedir.

Sigara, sağlık çalışmalarında önemli bir ilgi alanıdır. Sigaranın, dünya genelinde milyonlarca insanın ölümünden sorumlu olduğu gerçeği, onu incelemeye değer önemli bir alan haline getirmektedir. Bu nedenle, hükümetler ve kâr amacı gütmeyen kuruluşlar, sigara kullanımını azaltmada önemli adımlar atmaktadır. Hükümetlerin ve kar amacı gütmeyen kuruluşların, sigara içme oranlarını azaltmak için kullandıkları çeşitli müdahaleler bulunmaktadır. Bu müdahalelerden sigara karşıtı kamu spotları, bu tezin ana odağını oluşturmaktadır. Pek çok insana kolayca ulaşabilmesi nedeniyle kamu spotları, bireyleri etkilemek ve tütün tüketiminin zararlı etkilerini göstermek için yaygın olarak kullanılmaktadır. Buna karşın, kamu spotlarının etkisizliği literatürde açık bir şekilde gösterilmiştir (Çoknaz, Umut, & Velioğlu, 2013; Güllülü & Türk, 2015; Yaman & Göçkan, 2015). Türkiye'deki sigara içme oranlarındaki artış ve sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarının etkisizliği birlikte düşünüldüğünde, sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarının temelini oluşturan mesaj stratejilerinin etkili bir şekilde tasarlanmadığı görülmüştür.

Sigara karşıtı kamu spotları için etkili mesaj stratejileri geliştirmek amacıyla, bu çalışmada kültürün sigara içen bireyler üzerindeki etkisi ele alınmıştır. Kültür, bir

toplumun özelliklerini ve bu toplumdaki bireylerin kişiliklerini gösteren çok önemli bir kavramdır. Toplumları birbirinden ayırmak için Hofstede (1980), kültürleri beş ana boyutta sınıflandırmış olup bunlardan kültürün bireycilik-toplulukçuluk boyutu literatürde çokça ele alınmıştır (Kağıtçıbaşı & Berry, 1989; Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990; Triandis, 1995). Hofstede'nin (1980) kültürün bireycilik-toplulukçuluk boyutuyla ilgili çalışmalarına dayanarak, Markus ve Kitayama (1991) tarafından benlik kurgusu (self-construal) kavramı geliştirilmiştir.

Benlik kurgusu kavramı, benliği diğerlerinden ayrı ya da diğerleriyle bağlantılı olarak ele almaktadır (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Bu tanımdan yola çıkarak, kültürleri ve bireyleri birbirinden ayırmak için bağımsız (independent) ve karşılıklı bağımlı (interdependent) benlik kurguları ortaya konmuştur. Bağımsız benlik kurgusu (independent self-construal) genellikle bireycilik ve özerklikle ilişkilendirilirken (Hofstede, 1984; Triandis, 1989), karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusu (interdependent self-construal) genellikle toplumsalcılık ile ilişkilendirilmektedir (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Her ne kadar benlik kurgusu kavramı başlangıçta daha kültürel bir düzeyde açıklanmış olsa da (Örneğin; bağımsız benlik kurgusu Amerikan kültürü ile ilişkilendirilirken, karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusu Japon kültürü ile ilişkilendirilmiştir) kavram sonraları daha bireysel bir düzeyde açıklanmıştır. Benliğin bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı özelliklerinin aynı kültürde ve aynı bireyde bir arada var olabileceği gösterilmiştir (Singelis, 1994; Triandis ve diğerleri, 1993). Bununla birlikte, bu benlik kurgularından birinin zaman içerisinde diğeri üzerinde baskın olabileceği de belirtilmiştir (Triandis, 1989).

Benlik kurgusu kavramı köklerini kültürden aldığı için bu kavramın özellikleri, bireylerin belirli kültürlerdeki davranışlarını ve tutumlarını dikkate alan farklı çalışmalarda yeterince belgelenmiştir. Bireyler, baskın benlik kurgularına göre farklı kişilik özelliklerine sahip olabilirler. Başka bir deyişle, bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip olan bireyler, motivasyonları ve davranışları yönünden karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip olan bireylerden farklılık gösterebilirler. Bu nedenle, davranışlarını

sosyal açıdan faydalı olacak şekilde etkilemek için bu bireyler arasındaki farkları anlamak önemlidir. Bu tez, sosyal pazarlama çerçevesinde benlik kurgusunun, etkili sigara karşıtı kamu spotları tasarlamadaki rolüne odaklanmaktadır.

1.1 Araştırma Sorusu

Bu tez aşağıdaki araştırma sorusunu cevaplamayı amaçlamaktadır:

> Bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına sahip sigara içenlerin sigarayı bırakma niyetlerini artırmak için sigara karşıtı kamu spotları, etkili mesaj içerikleri yönünden nasıl tasarlanmalıdır?

1.2 Çalışmanın Önemi

Her ne kadar benlik kurgusu kavramı ve sigara karşıtı kamu spotları literatürde ayrı ayrı tartışılsa da bu iki konuyu birlikte ele alan çok fazla çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Sigara içenleri sigara içmeye motive eden faktörlerin neler olduğunun anlaşılması önemli olduğundan, sigara içenlerin benlik kurgusu özelliklerini incelemek, bu motive edici faktörleri ortaya çıkarabilir. Bu incelemeden sonra bulunan faktörler, sigara içenleri sigarayı bıraktırmaya teşvik edici olarak da kullanılabilir. Bu nedenle bu tez, benlik kurgusu kavramını sosyal pazarlama perspektifi ile birleştirerek literatüre katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Literatürde, bireylerin kişilik özellikleriyle paralel mesajların daha etkili olduğu tartışılmıştır (Chang, 2009; Wang & Mowen, 1997). Bu görüş doğrultusunda, sigara karşıtı kamu spotları için de benlikle uyumlu mesajların bireyler için daha etkili olduğu düşünülmüştür (Chang, 2009). Chang (2009) çalışmasında, bireye odaklanan sigara karşıtı mesajların, bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip bireyler için daha etkili olduğunu (sigara içenlerin baskın bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip olduğu gösterilmiştir), diğerlerine odaklanan sigara karşıtı mesajların ise karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip bireyler için daha etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, sigara içenler için daha etkili sigara karşıtı içerikler tasarlama konusunda çok az tartışma olduğu görülmüştür. Literatürdeki çalışmalar çoğunlukla mevcut kamu spotlarının bireylerin sigarayı bırakma kararlarında ikna edici olup

olmadıklarına odaklanmaktadır. Bu nedenle bu tez, bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına sahip sigara içenlere yönelik sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarında kullanılmak üzere yeni mesaj içerikleri önermeye çalışmaktadır.

Bu tezin literatüre bir diğer katkısı, ana araştırma yöntemi olarak nitel bir metodoloji kullanmasıdır. Literatüre daha çok nicel çalışmalar hâkim olduğu için bu çalışma, konuyla ilgili nitel bir araştırma benimsemektedir. Bu metodolojiye ek olarak, benlik kurgusu literatüründe oldukça yeni olan ve bu analizi güçlendirmesi öngörülen sanat temelli bir yöntem de kullanılmıştır. Bu nitel yöntemler, zengin ve tanımlayıcı veriler elde etmeye yardımcı olmakta ve fenomen hakkında derinlemesine bir anlayış sağlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın önemi göz önüne alındığında, kamu politikası geliştirenler için önerilen sonuçları ile birlikte değerlendirilmelidir. Genel olarak sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarının geliştirilmesinden, devlet yetkilileri ve kâr amacı gütmeyen kuruluşlar sorumlu oldukları için, bu tezin bulguları etkili mesaj stratejileri tasarlama konusunda onlara kapsamlı bir tablo sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar, sigara içenlerin benlik kurgusu özelliklerine dayanarak bu özelliklerle uyumlu mesajlar tasarlama konusunda kamu politikası geliştirenlere yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu tezle ortaya konulan mesaj içerikleri devlet yetkilileri tarafından gerçekleştirilebilirse, uzun vadede toplumsal kazanımın elde edilmesine yardımcı olabilir.

2. Yöntem

Bu çalışma boyunca, sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarında kullanılan içeriklerin bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına sahip sigara içenler için etkili bir şekilde nasıl tasarlanabileceğini soran araştırma sorusu cevaplanmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmanın amacı göz önüne alındığında nitel araştırma metodolojisi, bireylerin sigara içme davranışlarını ve tutumlarını şekillendiren süreçleri yorumlamak için tercih edilmiştir.

Çalışmanın örneklemini, 25-35 yaş arası kadın ve erkek sigara içenler oluşturmaktadır. Yaş kriteri, Türkiye Sağlık Bakanlığı'nın istatistiklerine göre belirlenmiştir (2016). 25-35 yaş arasındaki bireyler, 2016 yılı itibariyle Türkiye'de sigara içen nüfusun yaklaşık %33'ünü oluşturduğundan, araştırılması gereken önemli bir yaş grubu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, çalışmaya 25-35 yaşları arasında toplam 17 sigara içen (8 erkek, 9 kadın) birey katılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve kişisel çizimler (sanat temelli yöntem) olmak üzere iki farklı nitel yöntem kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışma için hazırlanan görüşme kılavuzu, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme kriterlerini dikkate alarak hazırlanmıştır. Çalışma, bir tarafta bireyin benlik kurgusunu anlama ve diğer tarafta benlik kurgusu ile uyumlu sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarını inceleme açısından iki yönlü olduğundan, görüşme soruları buna göre hazırlanmıştır. Ek B'de sunulan görüşme kılavuzunda, araştırma sorusunun farklı kısımlarına cevap vermek için tasarlanmış üç ana bölüm bulunmaktadır. Görüşme kılavuzunun ilk kısmı, sigara içen kişinin sigara içme profili ile ilgili sorulardan oluşmakta olup, ikinci kısmı sigara içen kişinin baskın benlik kurgusunu anlamak için tasarlanmıştır. Son olarak, üçüncü bölümdeki sorular sigara içen kişinin benlik kurgusu ile uyumlu sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarını incelemeye çalışmaktadır. Görüşme sorularının hazırlanmasında INDCOL ölçeği (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk & Gelfand, 1995) yardımcı kaynak olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu ölçeğe ek olarak literatür, bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına yönelik diğer tanımlayıcı ifadeler için detaylıca taranmıştır.

Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelere ek olarak, bu çalışma için kullanılan bir başka veri toplama yöntemi de kişisel çizimler ile gerçekleştirilen sanat temelli yöntemdir. Eisner'e göre sanat içeren yöntemler, karmaşık konular hakkındaki kavrayışı artırabilmektedir (Eisner, 2008). Bu çalışma için geliştirilen çizim bölümü, Ek B'de sunulan görüşme kılavuzunun ikinci bölümünde yer almaktadır. Bu çalışmada katılımcılardan, sigara içerken kendileriyle ilişkilendirdikleri bir tür sahne çizmeleri istenmiştir. Katılımcılara çizim için boş bir kâğıt, renkli kalemler ve bir de silgi verilmiştir. Çizim bittikten sonra araştırmacı katılımcılardan, çizimin anlaşılmama

ihtimalini göz önünde bulundurarak, çizimi detaylı bir şekilde açıklamalarını istemiştir. Bu tür yaratıcı yöntemler, duygusal ve sembolik anlamları ana yöntemlere göre daha ayrıntılı olarak ortaya koyabildiğinden (Bragg, 2010), bu çizimler kazandırdığı yeni bakış açılarıyla çalışmaya değer katmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın veri analizinde, açık kodlama ve eksenel kodlama kombinasyonu kullanılmıştır (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Veriler analiz edilirken ilk olarak, tüm görüşmeler taranmış ve baskın temalar belirlenmiştir. Açık kodlama sırasında, görüşmelerdeki baskın temalar bir araya getirilmiş ve eksenel kodlama sırasında bu temalar kategorize edilerek birbirleriyle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Verilerdeki baskın ve ortak temalar bulunduktan sonra, bu çalışmanın bulgular bölümünde sunulmuştur.

Bu çalışmanın veri analizi üç adımda gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlk adımda, katılımcıların baskın benlik kurgularını anlamak için benlik kurgusu analizi yapılmıştır. Bu analiz neticesinde her bir katılımcı, benlik kurgusuna göre farklı bir grupta sınıflandırılmıştır. Daha sonra, her bir grubun sigara içme özellikleri ikinci adımda açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu noktada, katılımcıların çizimlerinin analizi de ilk iki bölümün analizinin güçlendirilmesine yardımcı olmuştur. Son adımda, her iki grubun benlik kurgusu özellikleri gözetilerek, kamu spotlarının içerik analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir.

3. Bulgular

Bulgular bölümünün ilk kısmında, sigara içenlerin benlik kurgusu analizlerine dayanılarak dokuz içici bağımsız sigara içen grup (independent smoker group) ve sekiz içici karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup (interdependent smoker group) olarak kategorize edilmiştir. Katılımcıların benlik kurgusu analizi; karar verme stilleri, çatışma stilleri, benzersizlik/sıradanlık algısı ve başarı algısı olmak üzere dört ana boyutta değerlendirilmiştir. Bu boyutlardan her biri, bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grupların birbirlerinden ne şekilde farklılaştıklarını göstermektedir.

Katılımcıların karar verme stillerine bakıldığında, bağımsız sigara içen grubun kendi tercihlerine göre karar verdiğini fakat karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun grup içi tercihlere göre karar verdiğini görmek mümkündür. Bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar için karar verme, genellikle kişisel bir süreçtir ve karar almadan önce takas analizi yapılır. Karar alma sürecinde diğer insanlara danışmak tercih edilse bile, bu genellikle önceden belirlenmiş kararların onaylanması amacıyla kullanılır. Karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar için ise karar verme, genellikle aile üyelerine ve yakın arkadaşlara danışılan bir süreçtir. Bu katılımcılar diğerleri tarafından onaylanmayı önemsedikleri için, karar vermeden önce herhangi bir kararın sosyal risklerini de göz önünde bulundururlar.

Katılımcıların çatışma stilleri göz ününe alındığında, bağımsız sigara içen grubun hâkim çatışma tarzı sergilediği, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun ise uzlaşmacı çatışma tarzı sergilediği görülmüştür (Oetzel, 1998). Bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar, bir çatışma sırasında genellikle diğer insanları ikna etmeye çalışırlar. İletişim tarzlarında, bir konu hakkında net ve emin oldukları zaman fikirlerini doğrudan diğer insanlara söylemeyi tercih ederler. Karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar ise genellikle grup içerisindeki uyumu devam ettirmek için çatışmayı önlemeye çalışırlar. Bu nedenle, başkalarıyla zıt düşecekleri davranışları sergilemekten kaçınırlar.

Katılımcıların benzersizlik/sıradanlık algısına bakıldığında, bağımsız sigara içen grup kendisini özel ve benzersiz olarak değerlendirirken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup diğer insanlarla olan benzerliklerini vurgulayarak kendilerini sıradan olarak değerlendirmektedir. Bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar, kendilerini çevrelerindekilerle kıyasladıklarında farklı oldukları yönlerini belirtmişlerdir. Buna karşın, kendilerini çevrelerindekilerle benzer olarak değerlendiren karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar, farklı olmayı olumsuz sıfatlarla eşleştirmişlerdir.

Son olarak katılımcıların başarı algısı göz önüne alındığında, bağımsız sigara içen grubun öz-odaklı başarıyı vurgularken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun grup-odaklı başarıyı ön plana çıkardığı görülmüştür (Feeny & Wang, 2010). Bağımsız

benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar, başarıyı rekabet ve kişisel özellikler ile ilişkilendirirken, karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar, ailenin ve grup üyelerinin başarıdaki önemine dikkat çekmişlerdir.

Bulgular bölümünün ikinci kısmında, sigara içen katılımcıların özelliklerine bakılmış ve katılımcıların pek çok özelliği paylaşırken pek çok yönden de farklılaştıkları görülmüştür. Bu benzerlikler ve farklılıklar her iki grup için de göz önüne alındığında, bulgular üç ana başlıkta sunulmuştur: sigaraya başlama sebepleri, sigara içenlerin rutinleri ve sigara içmenin olumlu/olumsuz anlamları.

Sigaraya başlama sebepleri düşünüldüğünde; akran etkisi, aile etkisi, ilgi/istek ve stres, katılımcılar tarafından belirtilen önemli sebepler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Akran etkisinin her iki grubun sigaraya başlamasında önemli bir neden olduğu görülürken, bu etkinin ilgi ve istek ile birlikte bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcılar üzerinde daha baskın olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra aile etkisinin de karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcıların sigaraya başlamaları üzerinde oldukça etkili olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Son olarak stresin, özellikle karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip katılımcıların sigaraya başlamasında önemli bir neden olduğu söylenebilmektedir.

Sigara içenlerin sigara içme rutinleri açısından yemeklerden sonra sigara içmek, kahve/çay ile birlikte sigara içmek ve alkolle birlikle sigara içmek, katılımcıların belirttiği önemli rutinlerin arasında yer almaktadır. Yemeklerden sonra sigara içmek her iki grubun da ortak rutini iken, kahve/çay yanında sigara içmek bağımsız sigara içen grubun baskın rutini ve alkolle birlikte sigara içmek ise karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun baskın rutini olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Sigara içmenin olumlu/olumsuz anlamları düşünüldüğünde, sigaranın bir sosyalleşme aracı olması ve stresi kontrol etmede kullanılan bir yöntem olması onun olumlu anlamları arasında yer almaktadır. Buna karşın, sigara içmenin ekonomik yükü ve sağlık üzerindeki uzun ve kısa vadeli etkileri, sigaranın katılımcılar tarafından ortaya konan olumsuz anlamları arasında bulunmaktadır.

Bulgular bölümünün üçüncü kısmında, katılımcı çizimlerinin analizi yapılarak bu çizimlerde yer alan ortak ve farklı temalar, katılımcıların benlik kurgularına göre iki başlık altında incelenmiştir. Her iki grubun da sigara içmeyi olumlu duygu durumlarıyla eşleştirdiği görülmüş ve sigara içmenin akla gelen ilk çağrışımının bu pozitif ruh halleriyle ilişkili olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Her iki grubun çizimleri karşılaştırıldığında, bağımsız sigara içen grubun çizimlerinde kendilerini genellikle tek olarak resmettikleri görülürken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun kendilerini genellikle yanlarında başkalarıyla birlikte sigara içerken resmettikleri görülmüştür. Ayrıca, bağımsız sigara içen grubun çizdiği resimlerde güzel manzaralara ya da rahatlatıcı ortamlara (ev ortamı) rastlanırken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun çizdiği resimlerde bu ortamların tamamlayıcısı olarak alkol ve arkadaşlar da vurgulanmıştır.

Katılımcı çizimleri, sigaranın fonksiyonel anlamlarının yanı sıra, sembolik birtakım anlamlarının da olduğunu göz önüne sermiştir. Bu sembolik anlamlar bağımsız sigara içen grup için daha çok kişisel keyif ve tatmini simgelerken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup için sosyal anlamda grup içi dinamikleri güçlendirici bir katalizör olarak ifade edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bağımsız sigara içen grup sigarayı daha çok işten sonra kazanılan özgürlük, serbest zaman ve doğal güzellikler olarak sembolize ederken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup sigarayı daha çok sosyal ilişkileri renklendiren bir fırça ya da ortama sıcaklık katan bir mum ışığı gibi sembollerle ilişkilendirmişlerdir.

3.1 Sigara Karşıtı Kamu Spotları için Etkili Mesaj İçerikleri

Görüşme kılavuzunun son bölümünde, katılımcılardan kendileri için etkili olabilecek sigara karşıtı mesaj içerikleri tasarlamaları istenmiştir. Katılımcıların baskın benlik kurguları ve sigara içme özellikleri de dikkate alınarak, sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarında kullanılabilecek iki farklı mesaj içeriğinin etkili olabileceği ortaya çıkmıştır. Yapılan analiz neticesinde elde edilen bulgular, bağımsız sigara içen grup için bireysel (individualistic) mesaj içeriğinin etkili olabileceğini gösterirken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup için ise kolektivist (collectivistic) mesaj içeriğinin etkili olabileceğini göstermiştir. Daha sonra, bu mesaj içeriklerinin her biri için üç

ayrı tema ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Tablo 1, bireysel ve kolektivist mesaj içeriklerini ve bu içeriklerin altında yer alan ilgili temaları göstermektedir.

Tablo 1 Etkili Mesaj İçeriği Kategorileri ve İlgili Temalar

Kategoriler	Temalar
Bireysel Mesaj İçeriği	Sigara içmenin ekonomik yükü
	Sigara içen kişinin bırakma girişimleri
	Sigara içenlerin olumsuz deneyimleri
Kolektivist Mesaj İçeriği	Sigara içmenin duygusal yükü
	Sigara içen bir grubun bırakma girişimleri
	Sigara içenlerin ailelerinin olumsuz deneyimleri

Bireysel mesaj içeriği için ortaya çıkan temalardan ilki olan sigara içmenin ekonomik yükünün, sigara için harcanan para kaybını vurgulayarak katılımcıları sigarayı bırakmaya teşvik edebileceği görülmüştür. Sigara içen kişiye sigaraya harcadığı para ile yapabileceği alternatifleri göstererek, günlük yaşamda bunun farkında olmayan sigara içenlere para israfı fikri de böylece hatırlatılabilir. İkinci olarak, sigara içen kişinin bırakma girişimlerini, sigaranın aslında bırakılabilir bir şey olduğu gerçeğiyle birlikte vermek ve bu bağlamda sigara bırakma yöntemlerini açıklamak da katılımcılar için alternatif bir kamu spotu içeriği oluşturmaktadır. Son olarak, sigara içenlerin olumsuz deneyimlerinin, sigaranın yarattığı uzun ve kısa vadeli olumsuz sonuçlarıyla birlikte verilmesi de bir başka etkili içerik olarak belirtilmektedir. Sigaranın uzun vadeli etkileri arasında kanser, solunum sistemi ve dolaşım sistemi hastalıkları yer alırken; kısa vadeli etkileri arasında kötü koku ve diş sararması bulunmaktadır. Son olarak, bu içeriklerin gerçek hayattan örneklerle desteklenmesi de katılımcıların üzerinde durduğu bir başka önemli noktadır.

Kolektivist mesaj içeriği için ortaya çıkan temalardan ilki olan sigara içmenin duygusal yükü, sigara içenlerin ailelerinin ve arkadaşlarının, sigara içen kişiye karşı duyduğu endişe ve kaygıları içermektedir. Bu kaygı ve endişelerin kamu spotlarında işlenmesinin, karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip sigara içenler üzerinde etkili olabileceği ortaya çıkmıştır. İkinci olarak, sigara içen bir grubun bırakma girişimleri, sigaranın bir grup ile birlikte bırakılabileceği fikrinin önemini göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, eşlerin sigarayı bırakırken birbirine destek olması ya da bir arkadaş grubunun birlikte sigarayı bırakmaya çalışması, katılımcılar tarafından sıkça vurgulanan temalar arasında yer almaktadır. Son olarak, sigara içenlerin ailelerinin olumsuz deneyimleri, özellikle sigaranın içen kişi üzerindeki etkilerinin iyice ortaya çıkması bakımından önem arz etmektedir. Bu temanın ilk temadan farkı şu şekilde açıklanabilir; ilk temada sigaranın sağlık üzerindeki olumsuz etkileri henüz içen kişi tarafından tecrübe edilmemiş olup bu temada bu etkilere maruz kalan kişinin ailesine yaşattığı olumsuz tecrübeler ön plana çıkmaktadır.

4. Tartışma

Çalışmanın birinci bölümünden elde edilen bulgular, benlik kurgusu literatürünü doğrular niteliktedir. Bu bağlamda, aynı kültürde yaşayan bireylerin benlik kurgularına göre farklılaşabileceği gösterilmiştir (İmamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). Başka bir deyişle, Hofstede'nin (1980) çalışmasında kolektivist bir kültürle ilişkilendirilen Türk kültüründe hem bağımsız hem de karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusu özelliklerinin birlikte görülebileceği söylenebilir. İkinci olarak, bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusu özelliklerinin aynı kişide var olabileceği görülmüştür (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). Bununla birlikte, bu benlik kurgularından birisinin zamanla diğeri üzerinde daha baskın olduğu da gözlenmiştir (Markus ve Kitayama, 1991). Çalışmanın amacı doğrultusunda, bu baskınlık göz önünde bulundurulmuş ve katılımcılar baskın benlik kurgularına göre sınıflandırılmıştır. Bu çalışma ayrıca, erkeklerin genellikle bağımsız benlik kurgusu özelliklerine sahip olduğunu ve kadınların genellikle karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusu özelliklerine sahip olduğunu da doğrulamaktadır (Cross & Madson, 1997).

Bu çalışmanın literatüre katkılarından birisi, katılımcıların benlik kurgularını nitel bir yaklaşım kullanarak analiz etmesidir. Nitel araştırma metodolojisi ile bu çalışma, literatürde ayrı ayrı tartışılan bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularının bazı belirgin özelliklerini bir araya getirmiştir. Aynı zamanda bu iki benlik kurgusu arasındaki farklılıklara derin bir anlayış da kazandırmıştır. Katılımcıların benlik kurgularına göre nasıl farklılaştıkları; karar verme stilleri, çatışma stilleri, benzersizlik/sıradanlık algısı ve başarı algısı olarak dört ana başlık altında incelenmiştir.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde, sigara içen iki grubun özellikleri analiz edilmiş ve bulgular bu iki grup arasındaki benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları ortaya koymuştur. Sigara içen iki grubun özellikleri; sigaraya başlama sebepleri, sigara içenlerin rutinleri ve sigara içmenin olumlu/olumsuz anlamları olmak üzere üç ana başlık altında sunulmuştur. İlk olarak, sigara içmeye başlama sebeplerini göz önüne aldığımızda, bulgular akran etkisinin önemini ortaya koymaktadır (De Vries et al., 2006). Bununla birlikte bu çalışma, akran etkisinin sigaraya karşı olan ilgi ve istekle birleştiğinde bağımsız sigara içen grup üzerinde daha etkili olduğunu da göstermiştir. Aile etkisi dikkate alındığında ise, bu etkinin karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup için daha etkin olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Stres açısından bakıldığında, literatürde karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip bireylerin bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip bireylere kıyasla daha fazla stres sahibi olduğu belirtilmektedir (Hu et al., 2018). Bu doğrultuda stresin, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup üzerinde diğer gruba kıyasla sigaraya başlamada daha önemli bir sebep olduğu görülmüştür.

Sigara içenlerin rutinleri düşünüldüğünde, her iki grubun da yemeklerden sonra sigara içmeyi ortak rutin olarak gerçekleştirdikleri görülürken; bağımsız sigara içen grubun çay/kahve yanında sigara içmeyi ve karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun alkol yanında sigara içmeyi bir rutin olarak vurguladıkları görülmüştür. Literatürde karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgusuna sahip bireylerin alkol tüketiminin daha az olduğu söylense de (Arli et al., 2016; Shell et al., 2010; Zhang & Shrum, 2009), bu çalışmanın sonuçları bunun aksini göstermektedir.

Son olarak sigara içmenin olumlu/olumsuz anlamları değerlendirildiğinde, bu anlamların katılımcılar için önemli olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Sigaranın olumlu anlamları arasında bir sosyalleşme aracı olması ve stresi kontrol etmede kullanılması yer almaktadır. Bulgular, her iki grubun da sigarayı sosyalleşmek için bir araç olarak gördüğünü göstermiştir. Buna karşın bu anlamın, bağımsız sigara içen grup için yeni insanlarla tanışmak ve ilişki kurmak olduğu; karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup için ise grup kimliğini oluşturmada önemli bir etken olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Sigaranın stresi kontrol etmede kullanılan bir araç olması, özellikle bağımsız sigara içen grup tarafından belirtilmiştir. Sigara içmenin olumsuz anlamları arasında sigaranın bütçe üzerindeki ekonomik yükü ile uzun/kısa vadeli olumsuz etkileri yer almaktadır. Bağımsız sigara içen grubun sigaranın yol açtığı ekonomik yükten daha fazla etkilendiği görülürken, uzun ve kısa vadeli olumsuz etkileri her iki grup için de önem arz etmektedir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde katılımcıların çizimleri analiz edilmiş ve her iki grubun da sigara içme davranışlarını benlik kurguları ile paralel bir şekilde resmettikleri sonucuna varılmıştır. Bulgulara dayanılarak, sigaranın her iki grup tarafından da olumlu duygu durumlarıyla eşleştirildiği görülmüştür. Ayrıca, bağımsız sigara içen grubun kendisini sigara içerken çoğunlukla yalnız olarak resmettiği, buna karşın karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun kendisini arkadaşlarıyla birlikte resmettiği dikkat çekmiştir. Bu durum, bağımsız sigara içen grubun sigarayı daha çok bireysel tatmin sağlayan bir araç olarak görmesi ve karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun ise sigarayı grup içi dinamikleri güçlendiren bir araç olarak görmesiyle açıklanabilir. Katılımcı çizimleri aynı zamanda sigaranın pek çok sembolik anlama da sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu bağlamda, bağımsız sigara içen grubun sigarayı daha çok özgürlük, serbest zaman ve doğal güzelliklerle ilişkilendirdiği görülürken, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grubun daha çok sosyal ilişkilere renk katan bir fırça ya da grup içi ilişkileri derinleştiren bir mum ışığı olarak sembolize ettiği görülmüştür. Katılımcı çizimleri ile gerçekleştirilen sanat temelli bu yöntem, bireylerin sigara içme davranışlarını, baskın benlik kurgusu özelliklerini yansıtarak resmettiklerini ortaya koymuş ve benlik kurgusu literatürüne katkıda bulunmuştur.

Çalışmanın son bölümünde, sigara karşıtı kamu spotları için oluşturulabilecek etkili mesaj içerikleri detaylı bir şekilde sunularak hem araştırma sorusu cevaplanmış hem de literatüre katkı sağlanmıştır. Bu kategorilerden, bağımsız sigara içen grup için bireysel mesaj içeriğinin ve karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup için ise kolektivist mesaj içeriğinin sigara bırakma niyetleri üzerinde daha etkili olacağı ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bağlamda, benlikle uyumlu mesajların bireyler üzerinde daha etkili olacağı görülmüştür (Wang & Mowen, 1997). Chang tarafından yapılan benzer bir çalışmada (Chang, 2009), sigara içenler bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip olarak sınıflandırılırken, bu çalışma sigara içenlerin baskın bağımsız ya da baskın karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına sahip olabileceğini göstermiştir. Bu nedenle Chang'in çalışmasından farklı olarak, kolektivist mesaj içeriğinin de sigara içen grup üzerinde etkili olabileceği sonucuna varılmıştır.

5. Kamu Yetkilileri için Sonuçlar

Bu çalışmanın bulguları, toplum için sağlık kampanyaları hazırlamaktan sorumlu kamu yetkilileri için önem arz etmektedir. Bu çalışma, sigara içenlerin baskın benlik kurgularına göre bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup olmak üzere iki gruba ayrılabileceğini ve her grubun farklı özelliklere sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu iki grubun farklılıkları göz önüne alındığında bu çalışma, etkili sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarının tasarlanması için bireysel ve kolektivist olmak üzere iki mesaj içeriği önermiştir.

Bu çalışmanın bulguları, kültürün ve algıların bireylerin sigara içme davranışları üzerinde önemli bir rol oynadığını göstermiştir. Benlik kurgusu kavramı da kültürün bir yansıması olduğundan, politika yapıcılar bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına sahip sigara içenlerin ihtiyaçlarını ayrı ayrı göz önünde bulundurmalıdırlar. Bu nedenle, sigara karşıtı mesaj içerikleri için hazırlanacak temaların, sigara içenlerin önceliklerine göre belirlenmesi gereklilik arz etmektedir. 2018 yılının sonuna doğru, hükümetin yeni sigara karşıtı kamu spotları geliştirmeyi planladığı da medyada sıkça dile getirilmiştir (Kuru, 2018). Bu nedenle, bu çalışmadan elde edilen bulgular daha da önemli hale gelmektedir.

Bağımsız ve karşılıklı bağımlı benlik kurgularına sahip sigara içenler için iki farklı mesaj içeriği (bireysel ve kolektivist) geliştirilirken, bu içerikleri aynı kamu spotunda birleştirmek etkili bir strateji olabilir. Kamu spotlarında yalnızca tek bir içeriğin gösterilmesi, tüm sigara içenler üzerinde sınırlı bir etkiye sahip olacağından, bu iki içeriği aynı kamu spotunda birleştirmek, iki grubun da dikkatini çekmeye yardımcı olabilir. Örneğin; çalışmanın bulgularında ortaya çıkan temalardan birisi, bağımsız sigara içen grup için sigaranın bireysel olarak, karşılıklı bağımlı sigara içen grup için ise sigaranın grup olarak bırakılabileceği şeklindedir. Bu iki tema aynı kamu spotunda işlenerek her iki grup için de etkili bir içerik oluşturulması mümkündür.

Son olarak, günümüz teknolojik dünyasında bireylerin alışkanlıklarının değiştiği bir gerçektir. Özellikle gençlerin, televizyon karşısında eskiye oranla daha az vakit geçirmeye başladığı söylenebilir. Bu nedenle, politika yapıcıların bu noktayı göz önünde bulundurarak, kamu spotlarını Youtube ya da diğer sosyal medya organları aracılığıyla da insanlara ulaştırması büyük önem arz etmektedir.

6. Çalışmanın Sınırlılıkları ve Öneriler

Çalışmanın ilk sınırlılığını, bulguların belirli bir grubun motivasyon ve yaşam tarzlarını yansıtması oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın örneklemini 25-35 yaş arasında bulunan sigara içen katılımcılar oluşturduğu için, önerilen sigara karşıtı kamu spotları bu grubun önceliklerini yansıtmaktadır. Bu nedenle, gelecekte yapılacak çalışmalar katılımcı profilini genişleterek bulguların değişip değişmeyeceğine odaklanabilir.

İkinci olarak, katılımcıların paylaştıkları bilgilerin güvenilirliği çalışmanın bir diğer sınırlılığını oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda katılımcılar, etkilenebileceklerini söyledikleri sigara karşıtı mesajlardan gerçekte etkilenmeyebilirler. Başka bir deyişle, katılımcılar sigara bırakma niyetleri üzerinde etkili olabilecek sigara karşıtı kamu spotlarını önermelerine rağmen, bu onların gerçekten sigarayı bırakacaklarını göstermemektedir. Bu nedenle gelecekteki çalışmalar, bu çalışmada ortaya konan mesaj içeriklerinin etkinliğini analiz edebilir.

Üçüncü olarak bu çalışma, katılımcıların benlik kurgusunu anlamada nitel bir araştırma metodolojisi benimsediği için, kullandığı görüşme formu başka bir sınırlılığa neden olabilir. Bu çalışmada kullanılan görüşme formu hem benlik kurgusu analizi hem de etkili sigara karşıtı kamu spotu analizini birlikte yapmaya odaklandığı için, benlik kurgusu analizinde kullanılan soru sayısı görece sınırlı tutulmuştur. Bu durum, benlik kurgusu kavramının başka yönlerini ortaya çıkarmayı engellemektedir. Gelecekteki çalışmalar, katılımcıların benlik kurgularını nitel araştırma metodolojisi ile analiz etmek için daha kapsamlı olacak farklı görüşme formları tasarlamaya odaklanabilir.

Son olarak, bu çalışmanın bulguları sigaranın insanlar için güçlü anlamları olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu durum, sigaranın yerini alabilecek alternatifler bulma açısından bu çalışmaya bir sınırlama getirmektedir. Gelecekte yapılacak çalışmalar, sigaranın yerini alabilecek alternatiflerin ne olduğunu açığa çıkarmaya odaklanabilir.

APPENDIX E: TEZ İZİN FORMU/THESIS PERMISSION FORM

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Önen
Adı / Name : Mutlu
Bölümü / Department : İşletme/Business Administration

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English) : Designing Effective Anti-Smoking Public Service Announcements Based on the Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals of Smokers

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master [x] **Doktora** / PhD ☐

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. [x]
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