MALUMAT

SEPDER
SOSYAL VE EKONOMİK PERSPEKTİF DERNEĞİ

Araştırma Makalesi

DİJİTALLEŞEN EMEK SÜREÇLERİNDE Z KUŞAĞI: ÖZEL SEKTÖR DENEYİMLERİNE DAYALI FENOMENOLOJİK BİR ÇALIŞMA

Elçin Süleymanov[1]*

[1] İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal bilimler, Endüstri İlişkileri ve İnsan Kaynakları, elcin.suleymanov1109@gmail.com, https://orcid.org/0009-0002-4054-3213

Öz: Gerçekleştirilen bu nitel çalışma, Z Kuşağı üyelerinin Türkiye'de özel sektör bağlamlarında dijital emek deneyimlerini nasıl yaşadıklarını araştırmakta ve sıklıkla bu dijital yerliler kuşağının incelikli gerçekliklerini göz ardı eden mevcut literatürdeki önemli bir boşluğu ele almaktadır. Dijital çalışanların kuşaksal özelliklerine odaklanan araştırma, Z Kuşağı çalışanlarının dijitalleşme ile şekillenen emek koşullarını nasıl yorumladıklarını, içselleştirdiklerini ve bu koşullara nasıl yanıt verdiklerini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu genç profesyonellerin esneklik, özerklik ve teknolojiye bağımlılık gibi unsurları, akışkan ve çoğu zaman güvencesiz iş ortamlarında nasıl müzakere ettiklerine özel bir önem verilmiştir. Dijital kapitalizm altında emeğin yapısal dönüşümüne bağlı olarak, bu araştırma esneklik, teknolojik entegrasyon ve maddi olmayan emeğin Z Kuşağı çalışanları için profesyonel yaşamı nasıl yeniden tanımladığını irdelemektedir. Çalışma, fenomenolojik ve eleştirel kuramsal bir çerçeveye, özellikle Marksist emek kuramına dayanmaktadır. Veriler, yaşları 20–29 arasında değişen ve serbest çalışan tasarımcılar, içerik üreticileri ve platform temelli "gig" çalışanları gibi çeşitli dijital ya da hibrit rollerde aktif olarak çalışan 20 katılımcı ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış çevrim içi görüşmeler yoluyla toplanmıştır. Görüşmeler birebir şekilde yazıya aktarılmış ve Braun ve Clarke'ın altı aşamalı tematik analiz yöntemiyle, MaxQda Pro 2024 yazılımı kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu süreç sonucunda toplamda 5 ana tema (Emek, Dijital Emeğin Olumlu Yönleri, Dijital Emeğin Dezavantajları, Dijital Emeğin Gündelik Yaşama Katkıları, Dijital Emekle İlgili Gelecek Beklentileri), 20 kategori ve 101 özgün kod ortaya çıkmıştır. Bulgular, Z Kuşağı çalışanlarının dijital iş deneyimlerinin çok katmanlı doğasını yansıtmaktadır. Katılımcılar, mekânsal-zamansal esnekliği, görevleri yerine getirmedeki özerkliği ve küresel iş ağlarına erişimi yüksek oranda değerli bulduklarını belirtmiştir. Ancak aynı zamanda fiziksel yorgunluk, psikolojik tükenmişlik, sosyal etkileşim kaybı ve iş-yaşam sınırlarının aşınması gibi zorluklardan da söz etmişlerdir. Katılımcılar hem mesleki gelişimi hem de kişisel iyilik hâlini destekleyen, anlamlı ve değerlerle uyumlu işler yapma arzularını ifade etmişlerdir. Özellikle kişisel ve iş alanlarının iç içe geçmesinin güçlendirici bir yanının olmasının yanı sıra, sınırlar ve sürdürülebilirlik açısından da gerilimler yarattığı vurgulanmıştır. Bu çalışma, Z Kuşağı'nın dijital çağda emekle kurduğu ilişkiye dair sahaya dayalı bir anlatı sunarak dijital emek üzerine hem kuramsal hem de uygulamalı bilgiye katkı sağlamaktadır. Elde edilen bulgular; iş gücü dinamikleri, dijital kapitalizm ve kuşaksal beklentilere ilişkin içgörüler sunmakta ve değişen çalışma dünyasında örgütsel politikalar ile insan kaynakları yönetimi açısından önemli çıkarımlara işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Z Kuşağı, Dijital Emek, Fenomenoloji, Uzaktan Çalışma, Dijital Kapitalizm, İş Yaşam Dengesi

Atıf: Süleymanov, E. Dijitalleşen Emek Süreçlerinde Z Kuşağı: Özel Sektör Deneyimlerine Dayalı Fenomenolojik Bir Çalışma. MALUMAT, (1), 45–68.

Geliş Tarihi: 14/05/2025
Kabul Tarihi: 28/06/2025

Generation Z in Digitalizing Labor Processes: A Phenomenological Study Based on Private Sector Experiences

Abstract: This qualitative study investigates how members of Generation Z experience digital labor in private sector contexts in Turkey, addressing a significant gap in existing literature that has often overlooked the nuanced realities of this digital-native cohort. Focusing on the generational characteristics of digital workers, the study aims to understand how Gen Z employees interpret, internalize, and respond to the shifting conditions of labor shaped by digitalization. Particular attention is given to how these young professionals negotiate flexibility, autonomy, and technological dependence within fluid and often precarious work environments. Given the structural transformation of work under digital capitalism, this research explores how flexibility, technological integration, and immaterial labor redefine professional life for Gen Z employees. The study was grounded in a phenomenological and critical theoretical framework, especially drawing on Marxist labor theory. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 20 participants aged 20–29, all actively working in various digital or hybrid roles, including freelance designers, content creators, and platform-based gig workers. The interviews were conducted online, transcribed verbatim, and analyzed using Braun and Clarke's six-phase thematic analysis via MaxQda Pro 2024 software. Through this process, five overarching themes emerged Labor, Positive Aspects of Digital Labor,

Disadvantages of Digital Labor, Contributions of Digital Labor to Daily Life, and Future Expectations Regarding Digital Labor supported by 20 categories and 101 unique codes. These findings reflect the multifaceted nature of digital work experiences among Gen Z employees. Key results indicate that participants highly valued spatial-temporal flexibility, autonomy in task execution, and access to global work networks. However, they also reported challenges such as physical strain, psychological fatigue, loss of social interaction, and the erosion of work-life boundaries. Participants expressed a desire for meaningful, value-aligned work that supports both professional development and personal well-being. Notably, the blending of personal and work spaces while empowering also produced tension regarding boundaries and sustainability. This study contributes to both theoretical and practical understandings of digital labor by offering a grounded account of how Generation Z navigates work in the digital age. It provides insights into workforce dynamics, digital capitalism, and generational expectations, with implications for organizational policy and human resource management in the evolving world of work.

Keywords: Generation Z, Digital Labor, Phenomenology, Flexibility, Remote Work, Digital Capitalism, Work-Life Balance

1. INTRODUCTION

The transformation of labor through digital technologies has led to the emergence of new work dynamics, particularly impacting younger generations born into the digital age. Among these, Generation Z roughly those born between the mid-1990s and early 2000s has been characterized as digital natives who navigate professional environments with a high degree of technological fluency (Betz, 2003; Wolfinger & McCrindle, 2014). Unlike Generation X, who adapted to digital tools during adulthood, Generation Z has developed within them, shaping distinct expectations, values, and practices in the workplace (Dorschel, 2022; Machová et al., 2021).

This generational divide is especially visible in how digital labor is perceived and enacted. While Generation X approaches digital tools with a sense of pragmatism and nostalgia for analog methods (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2014), Generation Z sees them as integral to all aspects of life from work and education to socialization and entertainment. Consequently, digital labor for Gen Z is not just about efficiency; it is embedded in their identities and aspirations, encompassing issues such as work-life balance, autonomy, and digital privacy (Mahmoud et al., 2020).

Despite the growing relevance of this cohort, scholarly attention to Generation Z's engagement with digital labor especially in private sector settings remains limited. While some studies address this generation's sustainability behaviors (Orea-Giner & Fusté-forné), media use (Mude & Undale), or work intentions (Achmad et al., 2021), there is a notable lack of in-depth, qualitative research capturing the lived realities of Gen Z workers. This study responds to that gap by exploring how digitalization shapes labor experiences among young professionals in diverse private sector roles.

The primary aim of this research is to uncover the motivational factors, expectations, and values that define Generation Z's approach to digital work. By applying a phenomenological methodology, the study captures the subjective meanings and daily practices embedded in digital labor experiences. It also investigates the perceived advantages such as flexibility, efficiency, and global connectivity as well as challenges like social isolation, physical strain, and technology dependence (Göçer, 2022; Bencsik et al., 2016).

The significance of this study lies in its capacity to contribute both theoretically and practically. On a theoretical level, it enhances our understanding of digital labor through the lens of generational differences and immaterial work theory. Practically, it offers insights for HR professionals, managers, and policymakers on how to attract and retain Gen Z employees by aligning workplace practices with their values especially around autonomy, development opportunities, and psychological well-being (Mahmoud et al., 2020; Meret et al., 2018).

2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Generational classifications are considered an important theoretical tool in understanding the social, cultural, and economic structures of societies. Generations are shaped through shared life experiences, historical events, and social transformations that

mold the values, work perceptions, and lifestyles of individuals (Neves, 2025). The use of generations in sociological analysis provides insight not only into individual life courses but also into the formation of collective identities. Particularly in periods of rapid social change, differences between generations become more visible, keeping generational studies relevant. In the social sciences literature, the concept of generation is not merely defined by birth year but also reflects mental and cultural tendencies specific to that era (Costanza, Rudolph, & Zacher, 2023).

Karl Mannheim's theory of generations argues that cohorts are defined not just by chronological proximity but by their capacity to develop shared responses to historical events (Mannheim, 1993). According to Mannheim, generations are cultural structures composed of individuals who experience a specific historical period similarly. This theoretical approach emphasizes the formation of generations through collective historical consciousness rather than individual differences. While individuals may live through the same period, their social positions and cultural contexts can lead to differing interpretations of the same events. This makes generations internally diverse rather than homogeneous. Mannheim's approach deepens generational analysis by situating it within both sociological and historical contexts (McCourt, 2012).

Sociological as well as psychological factors are taken into account in the analysis of generations. Shared life experiences shape individuals' worldviews and attitudes. Thus, the concept of generation is defined more as an extension of social identity than a purely individual construct. At the same time, generations act as carriers of collective memory, shaping individuals' value systems and behavioral patterns (McCrindle, 2018). Psychologically, individuals who share similar fears, hopes, and goals may develop a sense of generational belonging. Values and attitudes distinctive to each generation influence individual preferences across domains such as education, work, family, and politics. Hence, generational classifications are functional for predicting social behavior.

The impact of generations on work life is increasingly addressed in the organizational behavior literature. Each generation brings distinct attitudes, expectations, and values into the workplace. These differences can cause intergenerational conflict but also enrich organizational culture through diversity (Ng, Lyons, & Schweitzer, 2012). In today's fast-changing technological environment, generational differences have become more pronounced. For Generation X, work is central to identity, whereas Generations Y and Z tend to view work as a meaningful part of life. This divergence influences approaches to leadership, work styles, and motivation (Adıgüzel, Batur, & Ekşili, 2014).

The structure of the modern workforce has evolved into a multigenerational model. The coexistence of different generations in the same workplace necessitates new management strategies. While Baby Boomers tend to favor hierarchical and authoritative structures, Generations Y and Z prefer more horizontal, participatory, and flexible systems. This distinction does not simply reflect generational culture but also entails the redefinition of concepts such as productivity, loyalty, and engagement (Saha & Kiran, 2022).

With digitalization transforming work, the gap between generations has widened further. Generation Z, born into the digital world, has developed an integrated approach to work that relies on technology. They demand flexible hours, remote access, and digital work platforms. In contrast, Baby Boomers and the Silent Generation place more value on physical presence and traditional communication. These differing preferences can create adaptation issues in the workplace but also offer opportunities for innovation when managed effectively. Properly leveraged, this diversity fosters flexibility, creativity, and multi-perspective thinking in organizations (Seemiller & Grace, 2015).

One of the most prominent characteristics of Generation Z in the workplace is the pursuit of meaning. For this generation, work is not just a source of income but a field of contribution, self-development, and value alignment. They often prefer project-based, creative, and entrepreneurial opportunities over traditional career paths. Furthermore, autonomy, real-time feedback, and non-hierarchical relationships are more appealing to

Generation Z. These tendencies require organizations to redesign their human resource policies. If expectations are unmet, Gen Z employees are more likely to change jobs, making talent retention a growing challenge (Narayanan, 2022).

From a social-psychological perspective, Generation Z individuals exhibit a higher degree of individualization. With a globally integrated identity, they are more sensitive to diversity and adopt egalitarian perspectives. This drives their expectations for inclusive work environments. Their active involvement in collective movements through social media also increases their demand for meaningful social interaction in the workplace. These orientations compel traditional organizational structures to transform. Issues such as gender equality, environmental awareness, and social justice significantly influence Generation Z's employment choices (Fan, Shin, Shi, & Wu, 2023).

Generation Z's digital skills offer competitive advantages in the workplace. They not only use technology effectively but also integrate it into work processes and develop innovative solutions. As such, they tend to perform well in areas such as digital marketing, software development, data analytics, and remote collaboration. However, their technological proficiency can sometimes be offset by limited interpersonal communication skills. While they may struggle with face-to-face interaction and patience, their ability to compensate via digital tools is notable (Sidorcuka & Chesnovicka, 2017).

One of the challenges in integrating Generation Z into the workforce is their distant attitude toward authority. This generation adopts a more critical and questioning stance toward traditional hierarchies. Expectations for rapid promotion, focus on individual achievement, and a desire for autonomy may clash with classical management models. To engage effectively with Gen Z, more flexible, inclusive, and transparent leadership styles are needed (Leslie, Manchester, Rogelberg, & Landis, 2021).

Generation Z places strong emphasis on continuous learning and growth opportunities. They are driven by a desire to renew themselves and advance their careers through education. Lifelong learning is one of their core values. This increases the relevance of mentorship systems, ongoing training programs, and personalized career paths within organizations. A workplace culture that values their ideas and provides space for expression enhances engagement. Institutions must recognize and cultivate the potential of young employees through responsive policies (Konakay, 2018).

Generation Z's multitasking ability and rapid decision-making make them well-suited for high-paced sectors. However, their short attention spans and impatience can undermine long-term sustainability. When work processes are perceived as too slow or meaningless, motivation tends to decline. As a result, speed, transparency, and flexibility have become organizational priorities. To meet Gen Z's expectations, companies are designing innovative job structures and streamlining processes (Spitznagel, 2020).

The pandemic introduced remote work to Generation Z at an early stage, encouraging a new model of employment. This shift has accelerated the adoption of hybrid work models and reshaped workplace norms. Flexible hours, location-independent roles, and digital platforms support productivity and autonomy. Yet unstructured flexibility may jeopardize work-life balance (Albrychiewicz-Słocińska, 2024).

Generation Z's career goals are less about climbing traditional hierarchies and more about making an impact, gaining visibility, and realizing personal potential. They seek feedback, want inclusion in decision-making, and expect personal development opportunities (Bejtkovsky, 2016).

The conceptual foundations of the notion of digital labor are assessed in conjunction with multidimensional approaches to the historical transformation of labor. The evolution of labor from physical exertion to cognitive production is being reconsidered, particularly through the lens of Marx's labor theory of value. Marx's concept of surplus value production parallels the commodification of user-generated content on digital platforms, often created without users' awareness. Unlike traditional forms of labor, digital labor produces value not through physical goods, but through data, knowledge, and attention

economies. This characteristic of digital labor processes is critically important for understanding new configurations of capitalist production relations within the information society (Fuchs, 2015; Törhönen et al., 2019).

The concept of "immaterial labor", which emerged alongside digitalization, focuses on areas such as the production of knowledge, cultural content, and emotional capital. User activities on digital platforms are increasingly defined as invisible forms of labor, challenging conventional understandings of productivity. The content creation activities of social media users not only generate economic value but also directly contribute to capital accumulation. These forms of labor, which are not based on material production yet yield economic outcomes, have become characteristic of post-Fordist regimes of production (Savul, 2015; Göçer, 2022).

One of the key distinguishing features of digital labor is its formation under flexible yet precarious working conditions. Models such as remote work and on-demand labor, enabled through digital platforms, hinder labor organization and restrict access to traditional union rights. As a result, labor becomes detached from formal systems of job security and is instead framed as an individual responsibility. These new work structures, while promising flexibility, simultaneously impose the expectation of constant availability (Huws, 2018; Güven, 2023).

The concept of digital labor is also closely related to emerging terms such as *playbour*, *audience labor*, and *crowdsourcing*. *Playbour* denotes the generation of economic value through activities initially undertaken for entertainment. *Crowdsourcing*, on the other hand, adds a collective dimension to digital labor by enabling platforms to generate value through the voluntary contributions of many individuals. The fact that such labor is often performed without monetary compensation raises important questions about the visibility and value of work. (Fuchs, 2014; McCutcheon & Hitchens, 2020).

Another frequently discussed aspect in digital labor debates involves the effects on knowledge production, access, and intellectual property. As knowledge dissemination in digital environments accelerates, the economic value of labor becomes increasingly tied to access to information. The commodification of knowledge benefits those with ownership, while the tightening of copyright laws weakens the collective nature of labor and emphasizes individual ownership (Erdoğan, 2018; Kayın, 2019).

Classifying labor based on productivity is also being reconsidered in the context of digital labor. While Marx's definition of productive labor includes only labor that creates surplus value, many forms of labor in today's service sector directly contribute to capital. Consequently, the distinction between productive and unproductive labor has largely lost its relevance, as all forms of labor subordinated to capital now fulfill similar functions. Data generation and content contributions within digital environments directly serve capital accumulation and are therefore regarded as productive (Altınok, 2011; Savran et al., 2012).

The theoretical framework of digital labor is not limited to economic analyses; it also encompasses sociological and cultural dimensions. Digital labor processes reshape forms of subjectivity, everyday practices, and social roles. With the rise of the platform economy, individuals become integrated into the economic system without fully grasping the value of their own production. This aligns closely with Marx's concept of alienation (Fuchs, 2016; Zhou & Liu, 2021).

3. METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative research design grounded in critical theory, with a particular emphasis on the Marxist conceptualization of labor and its transformation within digital economies. The approach is interpretivist in nature, aiming to uncover the subjective experiences and perceptions of individuals engaged in forms of digital labor. Given that digital labor encompasses not only economic but also social and cultural dimensions such as alienation, value creation through data, and blurred lines between

leisure and work qualitative methodology enables a holistic exploration of these phenomena.

A thematic analysis was selected as the primary analytic strategy due to its flexibility in capturing patterned meanings across participant narratives. The research further aligns with a socio-materialist perspective, which views digital labor not merely as an economic exchange but as a complex interplay of technological infrastructure, user participation, and capitalist value extraction processes (Fuchs, 2015; Huws, 2018). Accordingly, the study does not treat digital labor as a homogenous experience but rather seeks to examine its diverse articulations ranging from remote freelance work to unpaid content generation on social platforms.

This methodological orientation also allows for a critical interrogation of key concepts such as surplus value, commodification of knowledge, and the erosion of formal labor protections, all of which are integral to understanding the political economy of the digital age (McCutcheon & Hitchens, 2020; Kayın, 2019).

Study Group

The study group consisted of 20 participants aged between 20 and 29, all of whom were members of Generation Z currently employed in private-sector digital or hybrid work environments in Turkey. Participants were selected through purposive sampling, ensuring representation across a spectrum of digital labor types, including content creators, social media moderators, freelance designers, online customer service agents, and platform-based gig workers.

The sample composition was guided by the conceptual interest in exploring how digital labor manifests in flexible yet precarious working arrangements particularly among young adults who are often expected to navigate self-responsibility, constant connectivity, and insecure employment in digital capitalism (Güven, 2023; Zhou & Liu, 2021). All participants had at least six months of experience in digital labor roles and were engaged in either paid or unpaid tasks contributing to digital value creation.

In line with ethical standards, informed consent was obtained, and anonymity was ensured throughout the data collection and reporting processes. Participants' diverse experiences were essential for tracing how digital labor shapes contemporary work identities and reproduces broader socio-economic inequalities.

Data Collection Tool

The primary data collection tool employed in this research was a semi-structured interview form. This form was developed to elicit in-depth insights into participants' experiences with digital labor, with particular attention to themes such as flexibility, job insecurity, content production, platform governance, emotional exhaustion, and perceptions of exploitation.

The interview guide included both open-ended and thematically focused questions, structured around the conceptual pillars of digital labor theory, including surplus value extraction, playbour, and immaterial labor. The questions were designed to capture not only concrete job-related experiences but also participants' reflections on the social meaning, autonomy, and precarity of their digital labor roles (Fuchs, 2016; Göçer, 2022).

Prior to the main study, the interview form was piloted with two participants to ensure clarity, thematic relevance, and adequacy in addressing the research questions. Based on feedback, minor modifications were made to improve flow and eliminate redundancy.

Data Collection Process

Data collection took place was conducted through one-on-one online interviews via secure video conferencing platforms (Zoom or Google Meet). The virtual format was chosen to accommodate participants' digital work habits and ensure flexibility, especially considering the geographic dispersion and hybrid work conditions of the sample group.

Each interview lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes and was audio-recorded with the participant's permission. All interviews were conducted in Turkish, the participants' native language, and subsequently transcribed verbatim for analysis. Participants were fully informed about the purpose of the study, their rights as research subjects, and the voluntary nature of their participation.

Ethical protocols such as confidentiality, anonymity, and data protection were rigorously upheld throughout the process in compliance with institutional review board (IRB) standards and national data protection regulations.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was employed as the principal method for analyzing the transcribed interview data. Following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase framework, the analysis began with familiarization through repeated readings, followed by initial coding of salient features across the dataset. Codes were then clustered into potential themes, which were refined and defined to best reflect the research questions and theoretical framework.

Thematic categories were generated both deductively guided by the literature on digital labor (e.g., immaterial labor, playbour, algorithmic management) and inductively, allowing emergent meanings from participants' own narratives to shape the final thematic map. MaxQda 2024 Pro software was used to organize, code, and visualize the qualitative data, ensuring systematic and transparent analytical procedures.

The analysis sought to connect micro-level experiences of digital labor with macro-level theoretical concepts such as alienation, surplus value, and commodification, thereby providing both empirical depth and conceptual coherence (Törhönen et al., 2019; Savran et al., 2012). Triangulation was also ensured through cross-case comparisons and peer debriefing, enhancing the credibility and robustness of the findings.

4. FINDINGS

In this study, participants' experiences related to digital labor were analyzed through qualitative data analysis methods. Initially, the interview transcripts were coded by identifying meaningful units from participant statements, which were organized into lower-level codes. These codes were then grouped into broader categories based on thematic similarities. Subsequently, the categories were clustered into overarching themes, reflecting the multi-dimensional structure of digital labor as perceived by participants. As a result of the coding process, a total of 5 themes, 20 categories, and 101 codes were generated. The full structure of themes, categories, and related codes is presented in detail below in Table 1. Codebook.

Table 1. Codebook

Theme	Category	Codes
Labor	Perseverance	Continuous self-improvement, Commitment to progress, Overcoming challenges, Resilience, Client satisfaction as motivation
	Effort	Cognitive investment, Emotional labor, Attention to detail, Routine dedication, Value of diligence
	Routine	Personal work structure, Daily rituals, Focus maintenance, Time consistency, Predictable workflow
	Discipline	Self-regulation, Goal orientation, Time management, Accountability, Autonomous planning
	Success	Client satisfaction, Personal achievement, Emotional fulfillment, Spiritual reward, Professional recognition

	Personal Satisfaction	Autonomy, Work-life integration, Meaningful labor, Growth mindset, Intrinsic motivation
Positive Aspects of Digital Labor	Motivation	Desire for quality, Professional dedication, Client-oriented performance, Work enthusiasm, Resilience
	Perceived Freedom	Spatial autonomy, Temporal flexibility, Independent scheduling, Choice of work environment, Freedom of expression
	Professional Development	Upskilling, Learning access, Technological adaptability, Certification pursuit, Specialization
	Global Connectivity	Cross-border collaboration, International clients, Multilingual work, Global projects, Remote teamwork
	Flexibility	Personalized workflows, Energy-based scheduling, Custom routines, Role integration, Freelance adaptability
Disadvantages of Digital Labor	Physical Health Issues	Eye strain, Neck/back pain, Sedentary fatigue, Need for breaks, Physiological toll
	Technology Dependency	Constant connectivity, Blurred boundaries, Emotional fatigue, Online compulsion, Work-life merging
	Social Isolation	Reduced interaction, Loneliness, Weakened collaboration, Loss of social routines, Team disconnection
Contributions of Digital Labor to Daily Life	Work-Life Balance	Family engagement, Less commuting, Personal well-being, Integrated routine, Psychological ease
	Everyday Efficiency	Time use improvement, Home comfort, Autonomous flow, Focus enhancement, Daily energy alignment
Future Expectations Regarding Digital Labor	Importance of Digital Skills	Lifelong learning, Platform fluency, Continuous development, Competence in tools, Learning mindset
	Flexibility Normalization	Custom scheduling, Freedom from offices, Task ownership, Well-being promotion, Autonomy structure
	Capacity Development	Self-growth, Cross-functional learning, Digital literacy, Online education, Career empowerment
	Rising Competition	Market saturation, Performance pressure, Need for distinction, Peer benchmarking, Excellence pursuit

Labor

Increased interaction capacity is identified by participants as one of the most transformative aspects of digital labor. Digital tools and platforms are seen to significantly enhance communication speed, task coordination, and responsiveness. Especially in team-based or client-facing roles, these capabilities allow for smoother project execution, real-time feedback, and collaborative creativity. Participants describe this as a shift from hierarchical, delayed decision-making processes to more agile and interconnected modes of working. The immediacy of communication enables a more dynamic and fluid workflow, empowering employees to respond quickly and iterate efficiently.

"Digital tools allow me to complete my projects more efficiently. I can communicate with clients quickly and effectively." (Participant 2)

"The ability to give and receive feedback in real time has completely changed the way we work as a team." (Participant 5)

"We don't have to wait for meetings anymore—decisions happen instantly through chat tools." (Participant 13)

The interactive potential of digital platforms also facilitates global connectivity. Several participants highlight that they now collaborate with international teams, serve clients across continents, and exchange knowledge in multilingual settings. This expanded reach not only diversifies their work experiences but also strengthens their sense of relevance in the global economy. The globalized interaction infrastructure provided by digital labor makes participants feel professionally empowered and socially integrated.

"Digital labor gives me access to global job opportunities. I work with clients from different parts of the world." (Participant 10)

"Just last month, I worked on a project with a client from the UK. We managed everything smoothly through digital platforms." (Participant 12)

"The global communication network we operate in now is something unimaginable just a decade ago." (Participant 7)

Participants also link increased interaction capacity with improved teamwork and project alignment. Especially in remote and hybrid teams, the use of collaborative platforms helps synchronize efforts, distribute tasks clearly, and track progress transparently. This enhances mutual accountability and reduces misunderstandings. Moreover, it supports flatter hierarchies, allowing junior team members to contribute more freely.

"I can now coordinate tasks with teammates seamlessly, even when we're not in the same country." (Participant 6)

"It's easier to assign responsibilities and keep track of who is doing what thanks to project management tools." (Participant 14)

Nonetheless, some participants caution that the high volume of interaction can lead to cognitive overload and emotional fatigue. Constant notifications, simultaneous conversations, and overlapping deadlines can overwhelm individuals, making it difficult to focus deeply or unplug from work. For these participants, the challenge lies in learning to manage the very tools that were meant to empower them.

"Sometimes I feel mentally drained by the endless pings and messages. It's hard to concentrate." (Participant 3)

"The downside of always being connected is never being able to disconnect." (Participant 9)

Despite these concerns, most participants express that the benefits of increased interaction outweigh the drawbacks. They emphasize that successful use of interaction tools requires learning digital etiquette, setting boundaries, and fostering mutual trust in teams. With these supports in place, participants describe themselves as more connected, capable, and efficient.

"If you know how to manage the flow, it really boosts productivity. It's all about knowing when to engage and when to pause." (Participant 4)

"We've developed our own rhythm as a team. The tools are just enablers—the real value is how we use them." (Participant 18)

Remote work has emerged as a defining feature of digital labor, and participants frequently emphasized its transformative role in their professional lives. For many, the shift away from traditional office settings has brought not only logistical convenience but also a sense of autonomy and control over their daily routines. Participants highlighted that being able to work from home or any other preferred location allows them to save commuting time, reduce stress, and channel their energy more directly into productive tasks. This relocation of labor into domestic or flexible environments is considered to improve focus and personal well-being.

"Remote work gives us a better work-life balance. Working from home helps us manage tasks more comfortably and spend more time with our families." (Participant 15)

"The freedom to work without going to the office is a great advantage. During the pandemic, I continued my job from home thanks to digital platforms and tools." (Participant 8)

Participants also associated remote work with improved time management and increased job satisfaction. The ability to plan one's own schedule, take breaks when necessary, and engage in deep work without office-related distractions was described as empowering. Particularly for those with caregiving responsibilities or those who live in areas with limited employment opportunities, remote work has opened doors to previously inaccessible career paths. However, this perceived benefit is contingent upon the individual's ability to maintain structure and discipline in an unsupervised setting.

"Being able to work from home gives me the freedom to organize my day around my energy levels. I'm much more productive this way." (Participant 14)

"It used to be hard juggling work and family. Now I manage both better because I can work from home." (Participant 11)

Despite its advantages, remote work also presents challenges, particularly related to social connection and team cohesion. Several participants noted that prolonged isolation from colleagues can lead to feelings of loneliness or disconnection from the workplace culture. The absence of face-to-face interaction, spontaneous conversations, and physical cues was seen to diminish the richness of professional relationships. To address this, participants mentioned the importance of scheduling regular virtual meetings and engaging in non-work-related chats to maintain camaraderie.

"One downside is that working remotely sometimes makes me feel isolated. I miss interacting with my teammates in person." (Participant 9)

"To prevent burnout and loneliness, I try to have video calls with my colleagues regularly. It helps keep the connection alive." (Participant 5)

Participants also reflected on how remote work requires the development of new communication skills and digital competencies. In the absence of in-person supervision, clarity, self-motivation, and accountability become essential. Mastering digital collaboration tools and adopting asynchronous workflows were mentioned as vital for maintaining efficiency and transparency across geographically dispersed teams.

"Managing tasks remotely means being extra clear in communication. I've had to improve my written skills and stay more organized." (Participant 6)

"We work across time zones, so I had to learn how to contribute asynchronously and still feel part of the team." (Participant 17)

Ultimately, remote work is portrayed by participants as a liberating yet demanding practice. While it offers considerable flexibility and work-life balance, it also places greater responsibility on the individual to regulate their time, maintain motivation, and nurture professional relationships. Participants generally view these trade-offs as worthwhile and believe that remote work will remain a permanent fixture of the evolving labor landscape.

"Working from home has become more than a necessity—it's a lifestyle. I don't see myself returning to an office full-time anymore." (Participant 4)

"The digital transformation has shown us that remote work is both possible and sustainable if done right." (Participant 13)

Flexibility is one of the most emphasized benefits of digital labor according to participant narratives. The freedom to choose when and where to work significantly enhances the sense of autonomy and control among digital workers. This autonomy allows participants to align their work routines with personal energy rhythms, family responsibilities, and lifestyle preferences, which would be impossible in traditional fixed-schedule jobs. Flexibility was particularly valued by participants who juggle multiple responsibilities, such as caregiving or freelance work across multiple projects. Rather than adhering to rigid work hours, they reported being able to optimize productivity during their personal peak hours.

"I can work anytime, anywhere, and manage our projects through digital platforms. My achievements and earnings during this period have truly satisfied me." (Participant 15)

"Digital labor means flexibility. The ability to work from home without going to the office is a huge advantage." (Participant 8)

This freedom is closely tied to higher job satisfaction and psychological well-being. Participants described how flexible working conditions help reduce burnout and increase their capacity for creativity and innovation. The lack of commuting and office distractions creates a mental space conducive to deep work. Several participants also noted that the ability to control their schedule improves their ability to concentrate, leading to higher-quality outputs and more positive client feedback. These improvements in productivity further reinforce their perception of flexibility as a professional advantage.

"Digital labor allows me to work with flexibility and freedom. The freedom to work when and where I want is a great advantage for me." (Participant 11)

"I can work from anywhere, anytime, and that gives me a lot of flexibility." (Participant 14)

Yet, flexibility is not without its tensions. Participants acknowledged that working without set hours can blur the boundaries between work and rest. In the absence of external structure, some reported a tendency to overwork, skip breaks, or find it difficult to disconnect. Others discussed how the flexibility that initially felt liberating could evolve into an expectation to always be available. These contradictory experiences highlight the importance of self-regulation and time management in flexible digital labor environments.

"Sometimes I find myself still working late at night, even when I planned to take the evening off." (Participant 7)

"The freedom can be a double-edged sword. If you don't set boundaries, work starts to seep into every part of your day." (Participant 12)

To mitigate the risks associated with excessive flexibility, participants developed personal strategies to create structure in their workdays. These included setting start and end times, taking scheduled breaks, and using productivity tools to track progress. Flexibility, then, is not perceived as an unstructured or chaotic experience, but rather one that empowers the individual to take ownership of their workflow—provided they establish clear personal boundaries.

"I've had to learn how to manage my time better. I use timers and to-do lists so I don't get overwhelmed." (Participant 9)

"It took me a while, but now I have a system where I know when to stop. That's how I stay productive and healthy." (Participant 6)

Flexibility also fosters inclusivity by making work accessible to those who might otherwise be excluded from the labor market. This includes individuals with disabilities, caregivers, and those living in rural areas. Participants viewed digital labor's flexible structures as leveling the playing field, enabling diverse populations to participate in meaningful work and maintain financial independence. The democratizing potential of flexibility was consistently framed as a societal good.

"Without flexible work, I wouldn't be able to care for my kids and still earn an income. Digital tools make it possible." (Participant 5)

"I live far from major cities, but I can still find clients and complete projects online. That's what flexibility means to me." (Participant 16)

Overall, flexibility stands out as a cornerstone of digital labor, perceived not only as a logistical convenience but as a source of empowerment and equality. However, the benefits of flexibility are maximized only when accompanied by disciplined self-management and supportive digital infrastructure. Participants agreed that flexibility should not mean availability around the clock, but rather the ability to align professional life with personal values and capacities.

"Digital labor gives us freedom, but we also need discipline to use that freedom wisely." (Participant 13)

"It's all about balance. Flexibility helps me stay focused, but only if I make time for rest too." (Participant 18)

Positive Aspects of Digital Labor

The theme on the positive aspects of digital labor reveals how deeply participants appreciate the affordances that digital tools offer in shaping meaningful, satisfying, and productive work experiences. One of the most emphasized benefits is the psychological empowerment participants gain from their digital working environments. Motivation, in particular, emerges as a consistently reinforced emotional driver. Participants report that the sense of control, efficiency, and recognition they experience enhances their willingness to perform and fuels a cycle of engagement. This motivation is not superficial or short-lived; it is rooted in the personal relevance of their tasks, the autonomy they exercise, and the visible outcomes they produce. Such motivational energy seems to grow stronger as participants witness how digital platforms enable smoother communication and faster execution, which in turn solidifies their confidence in the system and in their own capabilities.

"I love what I do, and I feel deeply motivated when working. Software development constantly requires me to follow innovations and keep improving myself." (Participant 15)

"Each project is a reflection of my effort, and my clients' satisfaction proves that my work is meaningful." (Participant 11)

"In the end, the client's satisfaction and the success of the project confirmed that my effort paid off." (Participant 10)

A related psychological benefit is the intensified sense of freedom that digital labor fosters. Participants describe the ability to work from any location and at any time not merely as a logistical convenience but as a symbolic shift in agency. This sense of spatial and temporal autonomy allows them to structure their days around personal rhythms and non-work priorities, leading to a heightened feeling of independence. Importantly, this freedom supports not just mental comfort but also productivity, as participants find themselves more focused, creative, and in tune with their tasks when freed from rigid office schedules. The fusion of freedom and responsibility appears to reframe work from being an obligation to an opportunity.

"Digital labor gives me flexibility and freedom while working. The ability to work from wherever I want, whenever I want, is a huge advantage." (Participant 11)

"It means flexibility and independence to me. I can plan my time and work from home without leaving the house." (Participant 14)

"I can work from anywhere, anytime, and this gives me great flexibility." (Participant 13)

The psychological gains of digital work are not only inwardly experienced but also intersect with broader aspects of everyday life. The clearest manifestation of this lies in the ways digital labor enhances work-life balance. Participants consistently refer to how working from home or on their own schedule allows them to invest more in family life and personal well-being. This balance is not a secondary bonus; it is a core benefit that many actively strive to preserve. The luxury of easing into work with morning routines, the absence of commutes, and the capacity to integrate social interaction throughout the day are often celebrated as transformative improvements. However, some also acknowledge that without mindful strategies, the same conditions that support balance can lead to physical strain or social withdrawal, especially in long-term remote settings.

"Digital labor helps us achieve a better work-life balance. Working from home lets us manage tasks more comfortably and spend more time with our families." (Participant 15)

"Waking up and starting work while sipping coffee is a luxury. Thanks to digital tools, I can complete my projects more efficiently and quickly." (Participant 9)

"Being constantly at the computer tires my eyes and back. Working on digital platforms sometimes reduces face-to-face communication with colleagues." (Participant 10)

This perceived work-life balance facilitated by digital labor not only improves day-to-day experiences but also strengthens long-term job satisfaction and emotional well-being. Participants feel less constrained by traditional work structures and more in control

of their time, which allows them to incorporate leisure, caregiving, and personal development into their schedules more fluidly. Importantly, this sense of equilibrium is not limited to convenience it also serves as a foundation for sustainable work engagement. Many participants describe how this balance prevents burnout, fosters emotional resilience, and enhances their overall quality of life. Yet, this positive effect depends on the ability to manage boundaries effectively; without discipline, some admit that the lines between work and home can blur, diluting the advantages they initially celebrated.

"Digital labor lets me keep work-life balance intact. Remote work enables us to manage our workflow more comfortably and spend more time with our families." (Participant 13)

"It's important to protect work-life balance. Remote options help us manage our routines while still being with family." (Participant 15)

"I now have time for both work and social life. This reduces my stress and makes me feel psychologically better." (Participant 9)

Contributions of digital labor to professional development are also striking. Many participants emphasized how digital tools give them direct access to learning platforms, online courses, and global communities of practice. This access supports a culture of continual self-improvement and career advancement. Particularly in fields like software development and digital marketing, staying current with technological trends is not optional it is a necessity. Participants value how online environments offer low-barrier entry to specialized knowledge and real-time skill application. These opportunities increase not only their competence but also their sense of self-efficacy and professional identity. Development, in this sense, is not an abstract goal but a daily practice embedded in their digital work routines.

"I keep taking new courses and trying to improve myself. Last year I took a class on AI and machine learning, which taught me many new skills." (Participant 12)

"Digital platforms help me complete projects more efficiently. I can communicate quickly and effectively with clients." (Participant 17)

"I'm constantly working on improving myself. The digital world's competitiveness pushes us to be more creative and innovative." (Participant 14)

The global connectivity enabled by digital labor marks another critical benefit. For many participants, the ability to work with clients and teams across borders has expanded their professional horizons in ways that traditional work environments could not. They describe this connectivity as both practical and aspirational it allows for immediate collaboration on international projects while also offering a sense of global citizenship. Exposure to diverse cultural practices and professional standards is cited as an enriching experience that builds intercultural competence and broadens their perspectives. Digital platforms act not only as tools for task management but as bridges to a transnational labor market where geographical limitations no longer apply.

"Digital labor offers global work opportunities and adds richness to my career. Tools help me finish projects efficiently and make my efforts more valuable." (Participant 10)

"I had a project last month with a client in England. We completed it smoothly through digital platforms." (Participant 12)

"Last month I worked with a financial advisor from the U.S. It was a great experience that enriched my career globally." (Participant 14)

This sense of global connectivity intertwines seamlessly with the flexibility that digital labor affords. Many participants articulated how flexibility is not merely a matter of adjusting work hours but reflects a broader redefinition of autonomy and agency in the workplace. They described being able to choose not only when to work, but how to work setting their own pace, designing their own workflows, and tailoring their environments to personal productivity rhythms. This flexibility is frequently cited as a crucial factor in sustaining long-term engagement and creative output. For those working in creative or cognitively demanding roles, flexibility enables them to align their peak mental energy with their most challenging tasks. It also contributes to a more humane work model, one

that accommodates daily fluctuations in motivation, health, and external responsibilities without compromising performance.

"Working from home helps us manage our processes more comfortably and allows us to spend more time with our families. Tools and software help us run things more efficiently, which gives us real freedom." (Participant 15)

"I can work whenever and wherever I want, and we manage our projects on digital platforms. That makes the success and earnings in my job more fulfilling." (Participant 15)

"Flexibility and freedom are key. I plan my time and work without leaving home." (Participant 14)

The efficiency gains made possible through digital platforms are another central element shaping participants' positive evaluations. Rather than viewing digital tools as mere conveniences, participants frame them as productivity accelerators and essential instruments in their professional toolkit. With the help of project management software, collaborative platforms, and AI-supported tools, they are able to streamline communication, reduce redundancy, and execute complex tasks more rapidly. Many noted that digital labor reduces bureaucratic overhead and logistical delays, allowing them to focus on what they consider the "real" work. This efficiency leads to shorter turnaround times, higher output, and greater satisfaction for both the workers and their clients. However, a few also cautioned that this increased efficiency can sometimes raise expectations and intensify deadlines, requiring them to self-regulate their pace.

"Thanks to digital tools, I can finish my projects more quickly and efficiently. I manage my time better, and that gives me a big advantage." (Participant 9)

"We use digital tools to improve efficiency and offer better service. It made me realize how effective digital platforms really are." (Participant 7)

"For example, I joined a digital illustration course last year, which really helped me. I'm always trying to improve myself in this field." (Participant 12)

Collectively, the participants' reflections present digital labor not simply as a novel form of employment, but as a transformative mode of working that reconfigures professional identities, daily habits, and long-term aspirations. By enabling mobility, continuous learning, creative autonomy, and access to a global market, digital labor represents more than a shift in tools it represents a shift in values. The promise of freedom, self-direction, and expanded opportunity resonates deeply with participants, many of whom express not only satisfaction but gratitude for the structures that digital labor affords. And yet, this ideal is not unbounded; its benefits depend heavily on the user's ability to self-regulate, stay updated, and set firm boundaries between work and rest.

Contributions of Digital Labor to Daily Life

While digital labor brings flexibility and opportunity, participants consistently highlighted the bodily toll of prolonged computer use, especially the lack of physical movement. Many described sitting for extended hours, staring at screens without interruption, and experiencing fatigue that accumulates over time. These routines seem to gradually erode not just physical stamina but also motivation. The repetitive nature of screen-based tasks appears to cause discomfort in the neck, back, and eyes, suggesting that digital labor even when efficient has unintended physiological consequences. For some participants, this tension manifests as a strain that diminishes overall life quality, especially when proper ergonomic practices and breaks are neglected.

"Constantly being in front of the computer tires my eyes and back. Sitting for long hours sometimes causes headaches and neck pain." (Participant 12)

"Working continuously at the computer can lead to health problems. Eye fatigue, back pain, and general physical discomfort are some of them." (Participant 11)

"This is why I try to take regular breaks and engage in physical activities." (Participant 9)

Beyond the physical dimension, participants reported psychological tension stemming from the intense digital immersion their work requires. As their daily routines

become increasingly technology-centered, a subtle form of dependency begins to emerge. This dependency, while enhancing efficiency, has a darker edge: many expressed the feeling of being "always online." The blurred boundary between work and personal time especially for freelancers or remote workers can foster a compulsive relationship with technology. Such relationships often reduce the space for rest, socializing, and even basic disconnection, ultimately undermining mental clarity and emotional resilience.

"Technological developments allow us to manage work processes more effectively. But the problems brought by digitalization, like social isolation and technological dependency, cannot be ignored." (Participant 8)

"Because of digitalization, I'm sometimes isolated. I feel like I have to always be connected, and it affects my stress levels." (Participant 9)

"My interest and skills in technology led me to this field. But having to constantly adapt to new technologies can sometimes be stressful." (Participant 15)

These mental and physical pressures of digital labor are not isolated experiences but rather echo throughout the participants' accounts. Many described how the ongoing exposure to digital platforms amplifies stress, reduces recovery time, and sometimes leads to burnout. The demand to be technologically agile and perpetually responsive contributes to an always-working mindset. Over time, the body's signals such as muscle tension or persistent fatigue serve as warnings that this rhythm is unsustainable without intentional intervention like scheduled breaks or structured offline time.

Social withdrawal emerged as another significant challenge shaped by digital labor. Many participants noted a gradual erosion of in-person contact and spontaneous social exchange due to prolonged remote work. While virtual communication tools exist, they often lack the emotional immediacy of face-to-face interaction. This decline in direct socialization can intensify feelings of loneliness, and in more extreme cases, foster alienation from professional communities or peers. The absence of everyday workplace interactions seems to deprive workers of support structures that are critical for emotional wellbeing.

"Sometimes working on digital platforms reduces face-to-face communication with my colleagues. This leads to a decrease in social interaction." (Participant 9)

"The social isolation brought by digital labor and technological dependency are issues that must not be overlooked." (Participant 12)

"Being deprived of office interactions sometimes makes me feel lonely. To minimize these effects, I take breaks and participate in social activities." (Participant 11)

As these reflections suggest, the downsides of digital labor lie not only in the physical realm but in deeper psychological and social layers as well. The cumulative impact of physical discomfort, constant digital exposure, and weakened social ties can gradually diminish the sense of personal wellbeing. Despite these challenges, many participants also showed a proactive attitude, indicating an awareness of the need to balance the affordances of digital work with self-care strategies. Still, the findings underline that digital labor, while efficient and accessible, requires deliberate structuring to avoid long-term health and social costs.

Disadvantages of Digital Labor

While digital labor offers flexibility and autonomy, it simultaneously imposes subtle and accumulative physical burdens that often go unnoticed until they manifest in serious health issues. Participants recurrently emphasized that remaining sedentary for prolonged periods had become an unavoidable consequence of their work, leading to physical discomfort and even chronic conditions. The absence of movement and sustained focus on screens created a persistent strain, diminishing their physical well-being over time. These discomforts extended beyond momentary fatigue, evolving into a constant backdrop of tension that interfered with their work satisfaction. Even though many participants attempted to mitigate these effects with breaks and stretches, their statements revealed a shared sense of resignation, suggesting that digital work environments, despite

their freedom, silently tax the body. This physical toll, in turn, feeds into the psychological landscape of digital workers, intertwining bodily discomfort with cognitive depletion and emotional disengagement.

"Sitting for long hours in front of the screen really tires my eyes and my back. I try to take breaks, but the pain comes back every day." (Participant 12)

"Staring at the screen for hours often gives me neck pain and headaches, especially when I'm under deadline pressure." (Participant 15)

"Sometimes I feel like my body is deteriorating even though I don't do physically hard work. It's this strange paradox of working digitally." (Participant 9)

"I know I need to move more, but when you're caught up in a task, time flies and suddenly you've been sitting for five hours." (Participant 10)

These embodied experiences of fatigue are not isolated but rather amplified by the cognitive demands and continuous exposure to technology. A recurring concern among participants was the creeping sense of dependency on digital platforms not just as tools, but as environments they felt unable to disconnect from. The need to remain constantly available online generated a form of psychological confinement, where the line between voluntary engagement and compulsive connectivity blurred. The persistent flow of notifications, updates, and tasks left many participants in a state of vigilance, where disengaging from work felt like a dereliction of duty. Over time, this tethering to digital interfaces cultivated feelings of restlessness, mental fatigue, and even guilt associated with stepping away. This internalized pressure diminished the restorative value of personal time, undermining the flexibility that digital labor ostensibly promised.

"Even when I'm not working, I find myself checking my emails and messages just in case. It's like I'm wired to be on alert all the time." (Participant 8)

"I chose this field because I love technology, but now I feel like I can't escape from it. It's always there, waiting for me." (Participant 15)

"The freedom to work from anywhere turns into an obligation to work from everywhere." (Participant 13)

"I sometimes feel anxious if I'm away from my laptop too long, even if there's nothing urgent." (Participant 9)

The isolating nature of digital labor emerged as one of the most deeply felt disadvantages among participants, particularly in how it disrupted social rhythms and eroded a sense of belonging. While remote work allowed autonomy, it also meant the disappearance of spontaneous interactions, shared moments, and collective work culture. Several participants reflected on the loneliness that slowly crept into their routines, replacing communal experiences with solitary labor. This solitude, unlike chosen privacy, was marked by emotional flatness and the fading of interpersonal warmth that typically energizes in-person work. Some individuals acknowledged that their social skills had dulled or that their motivation waned in the absence of co-workers' physical presence. The digital environment, while efficient, seemed to lack the emotional texture that face-to-face collaboration provides leading to a kind of psychological thinning of the workday. This condition, over time, contributed to decreased engagement, lower morale, and in some cases, mild depressive states.

"Working online means I don't talk to anyone all day, and after a while, it gets really lonely." (Participant 9)

"There's no small talk, no spontaneous conversations—just tasks and screens. It feels very mechanical." (Participant 12)

"Sometimes I miss the simple act of having lunch with colleagues. Even that felt like a break from stress." (Participant 11)

"I've noticed that I speak less now, even outside of work. It's like my social muscles are getting weak." (Participant 10)

This growing isolation intersected with another recurring theme: the psychological wear caused by the lack of clear work-life boundaries. Digital labor, despite its flexibility, often extended beyond conventional work hours and invaded participants' personal time.

Without the physical transition between home and workplace, individuals struggled to mentally disengage from tasks. As a result, many experienced a constant undercurrent of stress and cognitive overload, which in turn impacted their sleep, focus, and overall sense of well-being. The home once a space of rest became infused with professional obligations, and this merging of spheres blurred identity boundaries as well. Some participants voiced confusion about when they were "on" or "off" the clock, leading to guilt for not being productive or anxiety over unfinished work even late into the evening.

"I used to enjoy my evenings, but now it feels like I never really stop working. There's always something left to do." (Participant 8)

"The days blur together. I can't tell where work ends and personal life begins." (Participant 15)

"Even my living room feels like an office now. It's hard to relax in a space that also causes stress." (Participant 13)

The physical toll exacted by prolonged digital labor was another frequently emphasized disadvantage, closely linked to participants' routines of extended screen exposure and sedentary lifestyles. Many reported developing chronic bodily discomforts particularly eye strain, back and neck pain, and joint stiffness as a direct consequence of spending long, uninterrupted hours at their desks. These physical complaints, while sometimes normalized, often disrupted workflow and diminished overall productivity. Participants frequently noted that although digital work increased accessibility and efficiency, it did so at the cost of movement and bodily well-being. A few even mentioned needing medical intervention or physiotherapy to alleviate the long-term effects of their work posture. The irony was not lost on them: in a system meant to increase productivity, their bodies were wearing out faster than before.

"Sitting all day has given me neck and back pain. I used to walk during breaks, now I just sit and scroll." (Participant 12)

"I never thought working from home would send me to a physical therapist." (Participant 10)

"Even with ergonomic chairs and screens, I still feel stiff by the end of the day. I miss moving around more." (Participant 15)

Closely tied to physical strain was the creeping emergence of emotional fatigue—a less visible, but equally profound disadvantage of digital labor. Emotional fatigue manifested through a sense of monotony, reduced creativity, and a growing feeling of psychological detachment from one's work. The absence of real-time social feedback and camaraderie created an emotional vacuum that many struggled to fill. For creative professionals especially, the lack of shared enthusiasm or collaborative brainstorming sessions reduced the vibrancy of their work. Instead of inspiration, routine often took over, and participants described their days as repetitive, uninspired, and draining. A few admitted that they missed the simple joy of being seen or appreciated by peers a subtle but powerful motivator in traditional workspaces.

"I used to get inspired just by watching others work. Now, I don't even know what my team is doing." (Participant 9)

"Everything feels repetitive. There's no spark, just deadlines." (Participant 13)

"It's like I'm producing work, but not really engaging with it emotionally." (Participant 11)

Cumulatively, these physical and emotional disadvantages of digital labor underscored the paradox faced by participants: the freedom and convenience offered by digital tools often came entangled with costs to health, social connection, and mental clarity. While participants appreciated the autonomy that came with remote digital work, they also expressed a strong need for balance through structured routines, periodic in-person meetings, or digital wellness strategies. Several emphasized the importance of intentional rest, physical exercise, and building virtual communities that mimic the emotional safety of traditional workplaces. Their reflections pointed toward a future

where digital labor must be humanized, not just optimized, in order to sustain long-term productivity and well-being.

Future Expectations Regarding Digital Labor

Participants' perspectives on the future of digital labor reveal a mixture of optimism and concern. Many foresee that digital skills will become increasingly indispensable across a wide range of professions, not only in technology-related sectors but also in fields such as education, design, and communication. The rapid pace of technological advancement has led to a sense of urgency among participants, who feel the constant pressure to remain up-to-date. Digital literacy is no longer perceived as an asset but as a fundamental requirement. Participants associate the mastery of digital tools with increased employability, smoother project execution, and broader access to global markets. The capacity to adapt quickly to evolving tools and platforms is considered essential for long-term success in digital work.

"In the digital world, you have to keep yourself constantly updated and adapt to new technologies. That's why I'm always in a process of learning and development." (Participant 3)

"Digital labor gives me global work opportunities. I can work with clients from different parts of the world, and this adds tremendous richness to my career." (Participant 3)

"With digital tools and platforms, I can complete my projects more efficiently and communicate with clients more effectively." (Participant 2)

Another key expectation for the future involves the normalization of flexible working conditions. Many participants emphasized that the flexibility afforded by digital labor is not just a convenience but a major improvement in quality of life. The ability to choose when and where to work has allowed workers to organize their tasks around personal schedules, family obligations, and preferred work rhythms. This level of autonomy is associated with reduced stress and increased job satisfaction. Participants widely agreed that this flexibility boosts their motivation and creativity, ultimately enhancing the quality of their outputs. They expressed hope that such flexibility will become the default rather than the exception in the years to come.

"Digital labor also means flexibility. I can start working whenever I want without having to go to an office in the morning. It helps me establish a better work-life balance." (Participant 2)

"I can work anytime, anywhere and run our projects through digital platforms. My achievements and earnings in this process are highly satisfying." (Participant 3)

"Digital labor allows me to work with flexibility and freedom. Being able to work anytime and anywhere is a great advantage." (Participant 4)

A closely related expectation is the expansion of personal capacity through constant development. Participants noted that digital labor encourages them to learn continuously and refine their skills in line with industry trends. They spoke about actively engaging in online courses, attending virtual workshops, and exploring interdisciplinary knowledge areas. This self-directed growth was often seen as both a necessity and a reward essential for staying competitive but also intrinsically fulfilling. The intersection of technical competence, global communication, and self-paced learning defines what many saw as the new professional standard. Participants believed that those who invest in skill-building will be the ones to thrive in the evolving digital economy.

"I constantly have to keep myself up to date and adapt to new technologies. So I'm always in a process of learning and development." (Participant 12)

"Digital labor provides a great opportunity to make work processes more efficient and faster. Technological advancements allow us to manage our work more effectively and give us greater flexibility." (Participant 18)

"I've joined multiple training programs to enhance my skills. Last year, I took a course on artificial intelligence and machine learning, which really helped me improve." (Participant 10)

Alongside this drive for growth, participants expressed heightened awareness of increasing competition within digital labor markets. As digital opportunities expand, so too does the number of professionals entering these spaces. Participants noted that while technology lowers the barrier to entry, it simultaneously raises the bar for excellence. This has led to a competitive environment where differentiation through innovation and specialization is critical. Several participants acknowledged the emotional toll of having to consistently outperform peers in a saturated market. Yet, they also viewed competition as a motivating force that drives excellence, fuels learning, and keeps digital professionals sharp.

"But as everyone enters this field, competition increases. That's why we constantly need to improve ourselves." (Participant 5)

"Digital platforms and tools make our work faster and more efficient. That's a huge advantage for expanding our business and entering new markets." (Participant 11)

"The increasing competition pushes us to be more innovative and creative, even though it's exhausting at times." (Participant 12)

Taken together, these expectations portray a future in which digital labor becomes both more inclusive and more demanding. Participants anticipate greater freedom and opportunity, paired with continuous adaptation and high performance standards. While they welcome the expanding global reach and personalized workflows that digital tools enable, they remain acutely aware of the pressures involved. This duality between empowerment and obligation will likely define the next phase of digital labor. Those able to maintain balance between skill acquisition, self-care, and strategic positioning are seen as the ones most likely to succeed. For the participants in this study, the future of digital labor is not simply a matter of technological evolution, but of human resilience and intentional growth.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Participants' conceptualization of labor not merely as physical effort but also as a mental and emotional investment aligns with contemporary interpretations of classical labor theories. Labor is regarded not only as a productive input but also as a space of self-expression, emotional engagement, and value production, especially in digital contexts. This interpretation reflects a shift from purely transactional understandings of work toward a more subjective, identity-laden model, which has become increasingly salient in post-industrial societies (Dąbrowska et al., 2022). In line with this, participants emphasized that digital tools enable them to execute tasks with greater speed, precision, and autonomy. This supports findings on the instrumental role of digital transformation in enhancing task efficiency and perceived self-efficacy (Davidson & Vaast, 2010).

A core theoretical contribution of this study lies in foregrounding how digital labor, when interpreted through Gen Z's lens, becomes both a site of liberation and a terrain of tension. The values of autonomy, mobility, and continuous development are not abstract ideals but lived practices that shape Gen Z's daily labor experiences. This aligns with, yet also extends, existing literature by demonstrating that the intersection of digital capitalism and generational identity produces distinct subjectivities a phenomenon underexplored in empirical studies to date.

Despite these positive evaluations, the findings reveal underlying physical and psychological costs. Many participants expressed concern about ergonomic strain and cognitive overload due to prolonged screen time and lack of physical movement. These experiences confirm prior studies linking sedentary digital work to physical health risks such as eye strain, musculoskeletal discomfort, and chronic fatigue (Andersen et al., 2011; Owen et al., 2010). However, unlike in older generations, Gen Z workers tend to normalize such conditions as part of the "price of freedom," thereby internalizing risk in exchange for autonomy an insight that sharpens critical readings of digital precarity.

One of the most original empirical insights concerns participants' narratives of digital dependency and emotional exhaustion, which reflect a blurring of personal and

professional boundaries. The always-on culture, reinforced by mobile technologies and performance expectations, transforms flexibility into an obligation, echoing concerns raised in critical digital labor theory (Kim & Chon, 2022; Andreassen et al., 2012). This paradox between control and control loss emerges as a central tension shaping Gen Z's work experience.

Social isolation was another recurring theme, with participants describing feelings of disconnection, emotional flatness, and loss of informal support networks due to the absence of face-to-face interaction. While prior studies have acknowledged this outcome, especially in the post-pandemic landscape (Annamalai, Vasunandan, & Mehta, 2024; Turkle, 2011), this research reveals a generation-specific sensitivity to these dynamics. Gen Z participants raised on digital media do not necessarily reject digital tools, but express a strong desire for hybrid relationality: they want the option to choose when and how they engage socially, rather than being forced into digital exclusivity.

From a practical standpoint, this finding suggests that organizations targeting Gen Z talent should not assume that digital-native employees are indifferent to social presence. Designing digital labor infrastructures that integrate opportunities for informal socialization, virtual community-building, and periodic in-person interaction may improve retention, cohesion, and well-being among younger workers.

Participants also underscored the importance of continuous learning and skills development in navigating the dynamic demands of digital labor. Unlike traditional work structures where career advancement followed predefined paths, Gen Z workers view professional growth as a self-directed and platform-mediated journey. Many participants described using digital labor not only to earn income but to build personal brands, acquire certifications, and join global learning communities. This finding expands upon existing literature on lifelong learning (Ellis & Goodyear, 2010) by showing that for Gen Z, skill development is not supplemental but central to labor identity. The perceived link between employability and adaptability encourages a proactive learning mindset, which can be leveraged by organizations through micro-learning modules, mentoring systems, and open-access educational resources (Lazar, Zbuchea, & Pînzaru, 2023).

Another significant contribution of this study lies in its attention to global connectivity as both an opportunity and a form of empowerment. Participants frequently highlighted how digital platforms allowed them to collaborate with international clients, expand cultural competencies, and access new labor markets. While prior research has examined the globalizing effect of digital tools (Chesbrough, 2010; Lopez, Lopez, & Abadiano, 2023), this study uniquely captures how Gen Z perceives global engagement as a baseline expectation rather than an exceptional benefit. They see the global stage not as a stretch goal, but as an everyday working reality. This perspective redefines the boundaries of labor and positions Gen Z as boundaryless digital professionals who value location-independent autonomy and cross-cultural fluency.

Closely related to this is the central theme of flexibility and autonomy, which participants consistently framed not merely as perks but as non-negotiable conditions for job satisfaction. The freedom to organize time, select projects, and define personal productivity rhythms contributes significantly to motivation and psychological well-being. While existing literature affirms the positive effects of flexible work on job satisfaction (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007; Kossek et al., 2010), this study deepens that understanding by showing how Gen Z internalizes flexibility as a moral and professional right, not just a circumstantial benefit. Consequently, rigid organizational systems are perceived not as stable, but as alienating or even obsolete. Employers hoping to retain young talent must therefore shift from control-based to trust-based models of management.

Nevertheless, this autonomy comes at a cost. Participants also described the pressures of increasing competition in digital environments, where visibility, innovation, and self-promotion become prerequisites for survival. Unlike traditional labor markets that reward tenure or hierarchy, digital platforms reward performance, differentiation,

and constant presence. This accelerates the pace of self-optimization and intensifies the emotional labor associated with maintaining a professional identity. Several participants described experiencing burnout, self-doubt, or imposter syndrome findings that align with critical studies on platform labor and entrepreneurial anxiety (Johnson et al., 2016). Importantly, however, participants did not reject competition; instead, they viewed it as a disciplinary mechanism that pushes them to excel. This paradox of empowerment through pressure constitutes one of the most complex features of Gen Z's relationship to digital labor.

In sum, the findings of this study present a nuanced portrait of Generation Z as digitally fluent yet emotionally taxed; autonomous yet structurally vulnerable; globally connected yet socially isolated. From a theoretical standpoint, the study contributes to labor sociology by showing how digital capitalism and generational habitus intersect to shape new forms of labor subjectivity. Empirically, it offers granular insights into how flexibility, precarity, and identity formation co-evolve in digital work settings.

From a practical perspective, the implications for organizational policy and HR strategy are substantial. Companies aiming to recruit and retain Gen Z workers must design work environments that prioritize autonomy, continuous development, psychological safety, and hybrid interaction spaces. This includes rethinking performance evaluation systems, investing in digital wellness initiatives, and offering transparent career progression pathways. Above all, employers must recognize that for Gen Z, work is not just a task to complete it is a domain of self-actualization, social meaning, and value alignment.

6. CONCLUSION

This study offers a generationally informed perspective on how digital labor is experienced, negotiated, and internalized by members of Generation Z within Turkey's private sector. By integrating phenomenological insights with critical labor theory, the research reveals that digital labor is not merely a mode of task execution for Gen Z but a domain through which identity, autonomy, and values are expressed. This intersection of flexibility, precarity, and digital fluency constitutes the foundation of a new labor subjectivity one defined by both empowerment and vulnerability.

The findings carry several practical implications. First, organizations must recognize that Gen Z workers place high value on autonomy, meaningful work, and continuous development. Designing roles and workflows that enable temporal flexibility, learning integration, and cross-functional mobility is likely to enhance both engagement and retention. Second, the negative effects of digital immersion such as social isolation, emotional fatigue, and physical strain necessitate proactive human resource strategies. These may include hybrid interaction opportunities, digital wellness programs, and periodic in-person gatherings that restore a sense of collective belonging.

At the policy level, companies and institutional stakeholders should revisit performance metrics, onboarding processes, and leadership models to align with Gen Z's expectations of participation, feedback, and personal relevance. Hierarchical, static systems are increasingly at odds with the expectations of a generation raised in fast-paced, interactive digital ecosystems. Equally important is ensuring that digital upskilling is accessible and responsive, as the ability to adapt to new tools remains essential for long-term employability.

This study also opens avenues for future inquiry. Comparative cross-national research could illuminate how digital labor is differently experienced by Gen Z cohorts across diverse economic or cultural contexts. Additionally, more longitudinal studies are needed to understand how sustained exposure to digital work environments affects career trajectories, mental health, and social integration over time. Ultimately, this research demonstrates that Generation Z is not simply adapting to the digital economy they are actively shaping its contours. To support this transformation constructively, labor systems

must evolve in ways that foster not only productivity, but also dignity, adaptability, and psychological sustainability.

REFERENCES

Achmad, L., Noermijati, Rofiaty, & Irawanto, D. (2023). Job satisfaction and employee engagement as mediators of the relationship between talent development and intention to stay in Generation Z workers. *International Journal of Professional Business Review*.

Adıgüzel, O., Batur, H. Z., & Eksili, N. (2014). Kuşakların değişen yüzü ve Y kuşağı ile ortaya çıkan yeni çalışma tarzı: Mobil yakalılar. *Süleyman Demirel University Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, 1*(19), 165–182.

Albrychiewicz-Słocińska, A. (2024). Knowledge exchange in the context of remote work—Generation Z perspective. *European Conference on Knowledge Management, 25*(1), 10–17.

Altınok, M. (2011). Üretken ve üretken olmayan emek ayırımı üzerine bir değerlendirme: Adam Smith'in "emeği" mi? Karl Marx'ın "değeri" mi? *Cumhuriyet University İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi, 12*(1).

Andersen, L. L., Mortensen, O. S., Hansen, J. V., Burr, H., & Holtermann, A. (2011). A prospective cohort study on severe pain as a risk factor for long-term sickness absence in manual and sedentary occupations. *Journal of Occupational Rehabilitation, 21*(3), 330–342.

Andreassen, C. S., Griffiths, M. D., Gjertsen, S. R., Krossbakken, E., Kvam, S., & Pallesen, S. (2012). The relationships between behavioral addictions and the five-factor model of personality. *Journal of Behavioral Addictions, 2*(2), 90–99.

Annamalai, S., Vasunandan, A., & Mehta, A. (2024). Social isolation and loneliness among Generation Z employees: Can emotional intelligence help mitigate? *Cogent Business & Management*, *12*. https://doi.org/10.1080/23311975.2024.2441474

Bejtkovsky, J. (2016). The employees of baby boomers generation, Generation X, Generation Y and Generation Z in selected Czech corporations as conceivers of development and competitiveness in their corporation. *Journal of Competitiveness, 8*(4), 105–123.

Bencsik, A., Juhász, T., & Horváth-Csikós, G. (2016). Y and Z generations at workplaces. *Journal of Competitiveness, 6*, 90–106.

Betz, F. (2003). *Managing technological innovation: Competitive advantage from change*. John Wiley & Sons.

Chesbrough, H. (2010). Open innovation: A new paradigm for understanding industrial innovation. In *Open innovation: Researching a new paradigm* (pp. 1–12). Oxford University Press.

Costanza, D. P., Rudolph, C. W., & Zacher, H. (2023). Are generations a useful concept? *Acta Psychologica*, *241*, 104059. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.actpsy.2023.104059

Dąbrowska, J., Almpanopoulou, A., Brem, A., Chesbrough, H., Cucino, V., Di Minin, A., Giones, F., Hakala, H., Marullo, C., Mention, A.-L., Mortara, L., Nørskov, S., Nylund, P. A., Oddo, C. M., Radziwon, A., & Ritala, P. (2022). Digital transformation, for better or worse: A critical multi-level research agenda. *R&D Management, 52*(5), 930–954. https://doi.org/10.1111/radm.12531

Davidson, E., & Vaast, E. (2010). Digital entrepreneurship and its sociomaterial enactment. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, 34*(5), 763–790.

Dorschel, R. (2022). Reconsidering digital labour: Bringing tech workers into the debate. *New Technology, Work and Employment, 37*(2), 288–307. https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12225

Ellis, R. A., & Goodyear, P. (2010). *Students' experiences of e-learning in higher education: The ecology of sustainable innovation*. Routledge.

Erdoğan, T. (2018). *Sosyal bilimler: İnsan ve toplum*. Akademisyen Kitabevi.

Fan, A., Shin, H. W., Shi, J. (Jade), & Wu, L. (2023). Young people share, but do so differently: An empirical comparison of peer-to-peer accommodation consumption between Millennials and Generation Z. *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly, 64*(3), 322–337. https://doi.org/10.1177/19389655221119463

Fuchs, C. (2013). *Digital labour and Karl Marx*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315880075

Fuchs, C. (2014). Digital prosumption labour on social media in the context of the capitalist regime of time. *Time & Society, 23*(1), 97–123. https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X13502117

Fuchs, C. (2015). Dallas Smythe today – The audience commodity, the digital labour debate, Marxist political economy and critical theory. *In Brill Companion to Marxism and Media Studies* (pp. 494–529). https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004291416_019

Fuchs, C. (2016). Digital labor and imperialism. *Monthly Review, 67*(8), 14–22. https://doi.org/10.14452/MR-067-08-2016-01_2

Fuchs, C., & Sandoval, M. (2014). Digital workers of the world unite! A framework for critically theorising and analysing digital labour. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique, 12*(2), 486–563. https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v12i2.549

Fuchs, C., & Sevignani, S. (2013). What is digital labour? What is digital work? What's their difference? And why do these questions matter for understanding social media? *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique, 11*(2), 237–293. https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v11i2.461

Gajendran, R. S., & Harrison, D. A. (2007). The good, the bad, and the unknown about telecommuting: Meta-analysis of psychological mediators and individual consequences. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*(6), 1524–1541.

Göçer, F. (2022). Gerçekliğin içinde sanalın gölgesinde: Öznenin gayri-maddi ve dijital emeği. *NOSYON: Uluslararası Toplum ve Kültür Çalışmaları Dergisi, 9*, 11–23.

Güven, Ö. (2023). Dijital emek ve alışveriş: Kamusal bir deneyim ve müştereklik talebi olarak kullanıcı incelemeleri. *İletişim Kuram ve Araştırma Dergisi*. https://doi.org/10.47998/ikad.1288753

Güzel, D., & Aydın, G. (2021). Covid-19 döneminde uzaktan çalışma sisteminde iş performansını etkileyen faktörler: Banka çalışanları üzerine bir uygulama. *Ardahan University İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi, 3*(2), 128–133.

Huws, U. (2018). *Küresel dijital ekonomide emek* (M. Şahin, Trans.). Yordam Kitap.

Johnson, R. D., Gueutal, H. G., & Falbe, C. M. (2016). Technology, trainees, metacognitive activity and e-learning effectiveness. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 23*(6), 545–564.

Kayın, M. (2019). Gayri maddi emeğin görünümleri: "Freelance tasarımcılar". *ARTS: Artuklu Sanat ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi*(1), 42–59. https://doi.org/10.46372/arts.570196

Kim, K., & Chon, M.-G. (2022). When work and life boundaries are blurred: The effect of after-hours work communication through communication technology on employee outcomes. *Journal of Communication Management*, *26*. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCOM-06-2022-0073

Konakay, G. (2018). Y kuşağı değerlerinin kariyer tercihleri açısından incelenmesi. *Girişimcilik ve Kalkınma Dergisi, 13*(1), 79–92.

Kossek, E. E., Lautsch, B. A., & Eaton, S. C. (2010). Telecommuting, control, and boundary management: Correlates of policy use and practice, job control, and work-family effectiveness. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 68*(2), 347–367.

Lazar, M.-A., Zbuchea, A., & Pînzaru, F. (2023). The Emerging Generation Z Workforce in the Digital World: A Literature Review on Cooperation and Transformation. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Business Excellence*, *17*(1), 1991-2001. https://doi.org/10.2478/picbe-2023-0175

Leslie, B., Anderson, C., Bickham, C., Horman, J., Overly, A., Gentry, C., … King, J. (2021). Generation Z perceptions of a positive workplace environment. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 33*(3), 171–187. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10672-021-09366-2

Lopez, E. N., Lopez, B., & Abadiano, M. (2023). *Understanding Generation Z,The New Generation of Learners: A Technological-Motivational-Learning Theory*. *44*, 770-784.

Machová, R., Korcsmáros, E., Šeben, Z., Fehér, L., & Tóth, Z. (2021). Developing the competences of Generation Z with innovative teaching methods in the context of the requirement of labour market by Industry 4.0. *International Journal of Advanced Corporate Learning (iJAC), 14*(2), 17–26. https://doi.org/10.3991/ijac.v14i2.24993

Mahmoud, A. B., Fuxman, L., Mohr, I., Reisel, W. D., & Grigoriou, N. (2020). "We aren't your reincarnation!" workplace motivation across X, Y and Z generations. *International Journal of Manpower, 42*(1), 193–209. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-09-2019-0448

Mannheim, K. (1993). *From Karl Mannheim*. Transaction Publishers.

McCourt, D. M. (2012). The "problem of generations" revisited: Karl Mannheim and the sociology of knowledge in international relations. In B. J. Steele & J. M. Acuff (Eds.), *Theory and application of the "generation" in international relations and politics* (pp. 47–70). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137011565_3

McCrindle, M. (2018). *The ABC of XYZ: Understanding the global generations*.

McCutcheon, C., & Hitchens, M. (2020). eSport and the exploitation of digital labour. *The Journal of Fandom Studies, 8*(1), 65–81. https://doi.org/10.1386/jfs_00010_1

Meret, C., Fioravanti, S., Iannotta, M., & Gatti, M. (2018). The digital employee experience: Discovering Generation Z. In C. Rossignoli, F. Virili, & S. Za (Eds.), *Digital technology and organizational change* (pp. 241–256). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62051-0_20

Miller, N. (2014). Workplace trends in office space: Implications for future office demand. *Journal of Corporate Real Estate, 16*(3), 159–181. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCRE-07-2013-0016

Mude, G., & Undale, S. (2023). Social media usage: A comparison between Generation Y and Generation Z in India. *International Journal of E-Business Research*.

Narayanan, S. (2022). Does Generation Z value and reward corporate social responsibility practices? *Journal of Marketing Management, 38*(9–10), 903–937. https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2022.2070654

Neves, H. D. C. (2025). The Anxious Generation Theory and Generation Z Behaviour in the Workplace: A Correlation Analysis. *International Journal of Business Administration*, *16*(1), 74. https://doi.org/10.5430/ijba.v16n1p74

Oral, T. (2024). Dijital emek platformlarında algoritmik yönetim ve sendikalar. *Sağlık Akademisyenleri Dergisi, 11*(1), 170–180.

Orea-Giner, A., & Fusté-Forné, F. (2023). The way we live, the way we travel: Generation Z and sustainable consumption in food tourism experiences. *British Food Journal*.

Organ, İ., & Yavuz, E. (2017). Emek ve sermayenin vergilendirilmesine yönelik uygulamaların analizi. *Pamukkale Journal of Eurasian Socioeconomic Studies, 4*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.5505/pjess.2017.30502

Owen, N., Healy, G. N., Matthews, C. E., & Dunstan, D. W. (2010). Too much sitting: The population-health science of sedentary behavior. *Exercise and Sport Sciences Reviews, 38*(3), 105–113.

Saha, P., & Kiran, K. B. (2022). What insisted baby boomers adopt unified payment interface as a payment mechanism?: An exploration of drivers of behavioral intention. *Journal of Advances in Management Research, 19*(5), 792–809. https://doi.org/10.1108/JAMR-01-2022-0022

Savran, S., Tonak, E. A., & Satlıgan, N. (2012). *Kapital'in izinde*. Yordam Kitap.

Savul, G. (2015). Gayri-maddi emeğin üretkenleşmesi: "Talihsizliğin" görünümleri. *Çalışma ve Toplum, 1*(44), 293–322.

Seemiller, C., & Grace, M. (2015). *Generation Z goes to college*. John Wiley & Sons.

Sidorcuka, I., & Chesnovicka, A. (2017). Methods of attraction and retention of Generation Z staff. *CBU International Conference Proceedings, 5*, 807–814. https://doi.org/10.12955/cbup.v5.1030

Spitznagel, E. (2020). Generation Z is bigger than millennials—and they're out to change the world.

Törhönen, M., Hassan, L., Sjöblom, M., & Hamari, J. (2019). Play, playbour or labour? The relationships between perception of occupational activity and outcomes among streamers and YouTubers. In *Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences 2019 (HICSS-52)*.

Turkle, S. (2011). *Alone together: Why we expect more from technology and less from each other*. Basic Books.

Wolfinger, E., & McCrindle, M. (2014). *The ABC of XYZ*.

Zhou, M., & Liu, S.-D. (2021). Becoming precarious playbour: Chinese migrant youth on the Kuaishou video-sharing platform. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review, 32*(3), 322–340. https://doi.org/10.1177/10353046211037090