**DIGITAL VIRTUAL MEDIATION AND
THE FORMATION OF JILBAB GIRLS
AS MODERN CONSUMER SUBJECTS**

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The degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

BOURNEMOUTH UNIVERSITY
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THE FORMATION OF JILBAB GIRLS
AS MODERN CONSUMER SUBJECTS

By Nurist S. Ulfa

This thesis investigates the experiences of Jilbab girls with digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games, which offer opportunities for active participation in global consumer culture and have the potential to shape the formation of modern consumer subjects. The study addresses key gaps in the literature, focusing on three areas: 1) the mediation process of global consumer culture within the digital virtual space; 2) the dialectic between global and local consumer experiences in DVC; and 3) the transformative potential of DVC in shaping modern consumer subjects. Drawing on Giddens' theories of the formation of modern subjects and the mediation of experience (1984, 1991), as well as Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's work on DVC (2010, 2012, 2013), the study adopts a hermeneutic phenomenological approach. Data were collected through phenomenological interviews and visual narrative inquiries with twenty-eight Jilbab girls from a traditional Javanese Muslim community in Indonesia.

This research presents three significant contributions to the understanding of DVC and the formation of modern consumer subjects. First, it introduces the concept of digital virtual mediation, explaining the mediation process of DVC practices through four stages: embeddedness, disembedding, DVC practices, and reembedding. These stages provide a clearer understanding of how DVC mediates consumer experiences. Second, the study explores DVC experiences among non-Western consumers, revealing how the global-local dialectic unfolds in DVC. It highlights the interconnectedness and mutual influence of global and local consumption, even within digital virtual spaces. The findings suggest that glocalization in DVC occurs through experimentation, imagination, desire stimulation, and the regimentation of global consumer culture, while local culture influences DVC through recontextualization and moral entanglement. This novel insight provides an elaborative understanding, as most existing research focuses primarily on material culture. Finally, the thesis emphasizes the transformative potential of DVC, particularly in girl games, in shaping modern consumer subjects. It shows how DVC contributes to the routinization of modern subjectivity and the sequestration of experiences, which ultimately shape the formation of modern consumer subjectivities.

In addressing the need for research on global consumer culture in digital spaces, the thesis highlights the complex interplay between local and global consumer cultures in both material and digital virtual contexts. It demonstrates how DVC, global consumer culture, and the formation of consumer subjects interact, shaping the global consumption experiences of young consumers in diverse cultural settings. Moreover, the study underscores the crucial role of DVC in modernising young Muslim girls living in traditional Muslim societies.

3

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Nurist Surayya Ulfa, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

DIGITAL VIRTUAL MEDIATION AND THE FORMATION OF JILBAB GIRLS AS MODERN CONSUMER SUBJECTS

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been presented and published as:

Ulfa, Nurist, Denegri-Knott, Janice and Jenkins, Rebecca (2018) The Tales of Hijabist Girls and Swimsuits, in Proceedings of CCT Conference 2018.

Ulfa, Nurist (2019) Gaming Beyond Boundaries: Muslim Girls, Girl Games and Digital Virtual Consumption in Online Proceedings of the 33rd The International Communication Association (ICA) Conference 2019.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Wardah:	"…Angela finished studying, she will go dancing…"
Interviewer:	"...dancing?"
Wardah:	"Yes. Because it is red here" (Showing the low level of happiness indicator, changing Angela's clothes)
Interviewer:	"You changed her clothes?"
Wardah:	"She will go dancing"
Interviewer:	"Not wearing the previous dress for study?"
Wardah:	"No, not suitable … Here is (the party-styled dress) to go dancing. She has many clothes here, see… Ehm, then change this lipstick".

(Wardah (10 years), the Talking Angela Games)
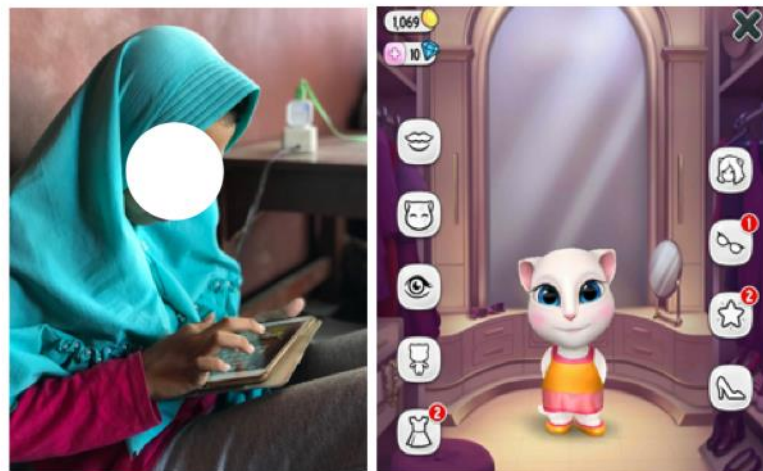
Figure 1.1: Wardah and her design in Talking Angela Games

Wardah and all participants in this study are Jilbab girls living in a traditional Javanese Muslim society in Indonesia. Their daily lives are regimented by local Muslim culture, including the requirement to wear full-body-covering Muslim clothing and *Jilbab* (veils /hijab). Despite these cultural restrictions, however, they are able to make choices regarding their appearance and fashion preferences. Wardah can experiment with colourful lipsticks, try out different hairstyles to achieve a particular look, purchase purses and sunglasses, and select swimsuits appropriate for summer parties. She can even choose dresses to wear to go dancing in a pub and flirt with some campus guys. All of these options are made available to her through *girl games* (Cassell and

10

Jenkins 1998; Subrahmanyam and Greeneld 1998; Jeroen et al. 2010; Vosmeer et al. 2015), which provide consumer experiences of desiring, window shopping, buying, and mix-matching unlimited digital virtual fashion goods (Cassell and Jenkins 1998; Van Reijmersdal et al. 2013; Cummings 2018). Girl games, which are a type of computer game genre, have been targeting young girls and women (Cassell and Jenkins 1998), primarily focus on fashion consumption but also include themes such as cooking, home design, and childcare, all of which are characterised by simple drag-and-drop game mechanics (Cummings 2018). However, despite their simplicity, girl games provide numerous opportunities for experimentation with consumer roles and experiences through various gameplay mechanics and rules (Marsh 2010; Cummings 2018). Most girl games are situated within digitised versions of traditional sites of consumption, such as shops, cafes, beauty salons, and shopping malls (Carrington and Hodgetts 2010; Jensen and Jensen 2010; Marsh 2010; Black et al. 2014), thereby reproducing a consumption-oriented world. Interestingly, some researchers have already highlighted that the consumption play in girl games specifically reinforces the Western model of consumer culture, promoting consumerism and materialism. through the game's display of goods, settings, narratives, and mechanics—the way a player operates in the games (Grimes 2015; Carrington and Hodgetts 2010; Black et al. 2014; Cummings 2018). Engagement with girl games also often involves real money transactions, purchasing virtual items, and engaging with product branding and pay-per-click advertising (Grimes 2015; Sinker et al. 2017).

Recent research suggests that girl games serves as market mediation that is increasingly significant in facilitating active participation in consumer culture (Cumming 2018; Grimes 2015; Marsh 2010; Carrington and Hodgetts 2010). The literature documented how young girls' engagement with girl games has influenced their identities and subjectivities as consumers (Willett 2008a; Hyeshin 2009; Cody 2012a; van Reijmersdal et al. 2013, Jessica 2016, Tsaliki 2016). These studies highlight how girls gain heightened agency through their involvement with market discourses and ideologies embedded in girl games. These experiences have a significant impact on numerous facets of their lives, including body image views, future aspirations, consumer competences, and identity formation (Willet 2008; Jensen and Jensen 2010; Tsaliki 2016; Hyesin 2010; and Van Reijmeersdal 2013). While existing research sheds light on the transformative potential of girl games, it also reflects ongoing debates within children's consumption studies (Buckingham and Sefton-Green 2003; Cook 2004; Kline 2018) concerning the desired nature of young consumers—whether passive recipients or active agents in consumer culture (Cook and Kaiser 2004; Cody 2012b; Cook et al. 2018). Consumer socialisation is the dominant perspective in the majority of the aforementioned discussion, which frequently portrays young girls as passive and vulnerable consumers (Cook 2005), who are vulnerable consumers (Spotswood and Nairn 2016) and discerning protection from potential adverse consequences of

11

commercialization (Jensen and Jensen 2010; Mascheroni and Pasquali 2013; Tsaliki 2016; and Sinker et al. 2017). Contrary to the prevalent concerns, a growing body of evidence suggests that young girls are not passive recipients of consumer culture; rather, they demonstrate agency and savvy in navigating the marketplace, particularly through their participation in girl games (Willet 2008; Cody 2012; and Webb 2016). This contradiction emphasises the significant role that girl games play not just in forming the self-identity and consumer subjectivity of young girls (Cody 2012 and Kline 2010), but also in shedding light on the broader cultural and social practices that shape these consumer subjects' formations (Cook 2005; 2010).

Furthermore, it is important to note the recent proliferation of girl games around the world, which highlight its potential significance as market mediators that shape consumer subjects' formations, beyond geographical borders and cultural contexts. Girl games were introduced to the market in North America in the 1990s. Since then, they have swiftly gained popularity, expanding their reach to over 150 countries. This is shown by the large player base that can be found on platforms such as Spillgames (2020). The terms "dress-up games" (Mascheroni and Pasquali 2013; Ulfa and Setyabudi 2016) and "pink games" (Dickey 2006; van Reijmersdal et al. 2013 Wohlwend and Kylie 2013) are used interchangeably to refer to these digital games. These games have a significant impact on the development of contemporary digital practices for young girls, particularly through mobile applications and online platforms (Wohlwend and Kylie 2013; Lehdonvirta et al. 2014). Popular websites such as girlgames.com, girlsgogames.com, games2girls.com, and girlg.com continue to attract a large audience in the present day (Spillgames, 2023). Academic research has uncovered the intricate ways in which these games affect young girls all over the world. For example, researchers have investigated how girl games challenge gender norms in Japan (Hyosin 2010); persuade brandscaping practices among young American girls (Jensen and Jensen 2010); nurture gender and neoliberal market ideologies among adolescent girls in the UK (Willet 2008; Cody 2012); aspire fashion and career aspirations among young Dutch girls (Reijmeersdal 2013); learn fashion and women sexuality among Greek adolescent girls (Tsaliki 2016); and fashion consumption among Italian young girls (Mascheroni and Pasquali 2013). In Indonesia, girl games have gained considerable popularity, with websites such as girlsgogames.co.id garnering an extensive monthly visitor of 94.8 thousand (SimilarWeb, 2023). In addition, mobile versions of girl games like "Shopping Mall Girls: Chic Game" and "Stylist Girls: Make Me Fabulous!" have together accumulated over 50 million downloads. Additionally, over 10 million people have downloaded the game "Fashion Stylist: Berdandan" (Bahasa title) (Google Play Store 2023). This widespread adoption showed how much girl games are popular among young Indonesian girls; some of them are spending as much as seven hours a week engaged in these online games (Ulfa and Setyabudi 2016). Nevertheless, there is still a noticeable gap in the literature in understanding the roles these games play in

mediating the formation of consumer subjects in many other localities, outside the Western contexts, which necessitates this study. In consumer culture theory (CCT), extensive research has explored the influential role of global media, such as girl games—including advertising (Schwarzkopf 2018), popular media (Jafari and Goulding 2013), magazines (Iqani 2016a), and toys (Lemish 2002)—as powerful market mediators that propagate ideas, values, and ideologies of global consumer culture (Iqani 2016a; Askegaard and Linnet 2011; Sandikci and Jafari 2013a). This growing body of research highlights the critical need to examine how girl games shape the formation of consumer identities in diverse cultural settings, especially beyond the Western context.

Global mediated experiences expose young people to a wide range of styles, choices, and lifestyles that extend beyond their local environments, playing a pivotal role in shaping their identities (Nilan et al. 2011a; Jafari and Goulding 2013; Nisa 2013; Mathur 2015). Within this body of research, the intersection between local and global cultures has sparked considerable academic discussions, particularly in relation to the transformative impacts of global consumer culture on local identity formations (Jafari and Guolding 2013; Ger et al. 2018). Giddens (1991) characterises the encounter between the global and the local as being embedded within a 'dialectic relationship' (p.23), where global forces and local traditions continuously interact and influence one another. "The local" is often understood as rooted in traditional practices and a commitment to ways of life perceived as either nostalgically authentic or conventionally upheld (Giddens 1991, p.20). It encompasses the distinct social, cultural, familial, and market dynamics of specific communities or neighbourhoods within particular geographic regions. These local social structures are shaped by a tapestry of customs, beliefs, values, and regulatory frameworks that collectively influence consumption patterns and commercial activities (Wilk 1998; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006; Ger 2017; Ger et al. 2018). In contrast, "the global" is frequently equated with Western consumer culture, reflecting the dominant social structures present in Western Europe, North America, and Japan (Kravets and Sandikci 2014; Ger et al. 2018). Western consumer culture is typically characterised by values such as individualism, commercialisation, and the prioritisation of personal choice (Slater 1999; Arnould and Thompson 2005; Ger 2017). Giddens (1991) underscores that the dialectical global local interaction is fraught with tensions, as local communities must navigate the pressures of global modernity while striving to maintain a sense of cultural authenticity and continuity (Jafari and Guolding 2013). Scholars frequently examine the tensions and dissonances that arise when deeply rooted local traditions encounter global consumerism, highlighting the complexities inherent in such cultural interactions (Sharifonnasabi et al. 2019; Jafari 2008; Kravets and Sandikci 2014; Jafari and Goulding 2013, Belk and Ger 1996). This dialectical relationship often leads to the heterogenisation and hybridisation of cultural practices, where global influences are integrated into local traditions,

reshaping identities, values, and consumption patterns (Ger et al. 2018; Ger 2017). Studying this dialectic shed light on the complexities of identity formation in a world where individuals constantly balance globalised modernity with local traditions.

Aligning with this research tradition, this study explores the experiences of young Jilbab girls in local contexts as they engage with girl games, which are known to mediate Western consumer culture (Cumming 2018; Marsh 2010; Willet 2008; Grimes 2015) and are potent sites for the dialectic between the global and the local (Giddens 1991). Existing literature has developed a deep understanding of the global-local dialectic in material culture (Eckhardt and Mahi 2004; Izberk-Bilgin 2012; Sobh et al. 2014), often highlighting how the encounter between global and local cultures frequently creates tensions, anxieties, and feelings of insecurity among consumers (Eckhardt and Mahi 2014; Nisa 2012). Numerous studies have examined the interaction between Western consumer culture and Muslim societies, particularly where clothing and fashion choices are guided by Islamic norms and cultural values (Brenner 1996; Jones 2010, Sakai and Fauzia 2016). However, the manifestation of the global-local dialectic within digital virtual spaces remains relatively understudied (Ger et al. 2018). In the digital space, global and local boundaries are less constrained by time and geography (Ger et al. 2018). To better understand such consumer experiences, this study draws on recent CCT literature, which views consumer practices and experiences in digital games as instances of digital virtual consumption (DVC) (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012; 2013a). DVC refers to the experiential aspects of consumption that occur within digital virtual environments, such as online shopping and virtual reality games. It emphasises consumer experimentation, the actualisation and stimulation of desires, and the exploration of various consumer identities (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012; 2013a). This thesis seeks to understand both the process and the experiential dimensions of engaging with global consumer culture, focusing on how Jilbab girls navigate the global-local dialectic in digital virtual spaces—a topic that remains underexplored in CCT literature (Firat and Dholakia 2003; Bevir and Trentmann 2004).

The DVC framework enables this study to focus on the "in-between" consumer experiences, specifically those "in-between" material and digital virtual realms (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012), as well as the intersection of global and local influences (Ger et al 2017). This study sheds light on how Jilbab girls actively engage with global consumer culture through girl games, participating in activities such as mixing and matching fashion styles, expressing desires, making virtual purchases, creating personalised meanings, and accumulating virtual fashion items (Willett 2007; 2008b; Marsh 2010; Cody and Lawlor 2011; Cody 2012c; Grimes 2013; 2014a; Tsaliki 2016; Kline 2018). Additionally, it explores how these players navigate cultural values, market discourses, and ideologies (Tsaliki 2016; Cody 2012; Willet 2008) that

extend beyond the confines of their local material culture. By focusing on this dynamic interaction, the study delves into how DVC practices within girl games serve as sites of negotiation in the dialectic of global and local, deepening our understanding of contemporary global consumer culture in the digital age. This approach allows the research to bridge a gap in the existing literature by examining how digital virtual spaces amplify the tensions inherent in the global-local dialectic, providing consumers with the means to engage with global consumer culture while retaining their local cultural identity. Furthermore, recognising that subject formation is culturally situated and requires a multifaceted analytical and normative approach (Adams 2003), this study offers insights into the dynamic and evolving nature of modern subject formation within contemporary digital culture.

1.2. Aims of the Study

The primary aim of this study is to explore how young Jilbab girls engage with digital virtual consumption (DVC) practices in girl games and how these experiences mediate their formation as modern consumer subjects.

The study aims to shed light on the multifaceted dynamics shaping the formation of modern consumer subjectivity by investigating how global consumer experiences mediated by DVC girl games intersect with everyday consumption practices in traditional Muslim societies. In doing so, this study addresses the limited understanding in the current literature of consumer research in terms of 1) the mediation process in DVC through which modern consumer subjectivity is formed, 2) the dialectic of the global and local within the digital virtual context, and 3) the transformative potential of DVC in mediating global consumer culture. In addressing these research gaps, the study draws on Giddens' theory of self-identity, modernity and mediated global experiences (Giddens 1991a, 1991b), as well as Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's work on DVC. This thesis addresses the previous gaps in the existing literature, as follows:

Firstly, this study addresses the limited understanding in the current literature regarding the mediation process in digital virtual consumption (DVC) through which modern consumer subjectivity is formed. While much of the existing research focuses on material consumption and its impact on identity formation (Giesler and Veresiu 2014), there is a significant gap when it comes to understanding how digital spaces mediate consumer experiences and contribute to the shaping of modern consumer subjects. The process by which individuals interact with digital platforms, such as girl games, involves more than simple gaming activities (Willett 2008c; 2008b; Jensen and Jensen 2010; Taliki 2016); it also entails a complex interplay of disembedding from

local cultural norms and reembedding those experiences within both global and local contexts (Nilan et al. 2011b; Nilan 2012). This mediation process is crucial for understanding how digital virtual platforms foster the formation of modern consumer subjectivity, particularly among younger consumers, who are increasingly engaging in virtual consumption practices (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012; 2013). By focusing on the specific ways in which girl games mediate these experiences (Thompson 2005), this study highlights the necessity of rethinking consumer subject formation beyond traditional material frameworks and acknowledging the significant role that DVC plays in forming modern consumer subjectivities.

Secondly, this study addresses the limited understanding in the current literature regarding the dialectic of the global and local (Giddens 1991) within the digital virtual context. While significant work has explored the tensions between globalisation and local culture in material consumption (Eckhardt and Mahi 2004; Belk and Sobh 2018; Ger and Belk 1996; Sharifonnasabi et al 2018), there remains a notable gap in understanding how these dynamics operate in digital virtual spaces. Specifically, the study seeks to examine the dynamic interaction between global and local influences within digital spaces and investigate how these girls navigate and negotiate cultural values, market discourses, and global consumer ideologies. The interaction between global and local forces in the digital realm is far more complex than in traditional settings, as digital platforms often blur the boundaries between the two, creating spaces where global consumer culture is seamlessly integrated with local customs and values (Ger et al 2017). In addressing this gap, the study contributes to the broader conversation about the dialectic of the global and local in digital virtual spaces, this study brings attention to the complexities of how digital platforms mediate global local encounters (Ger et al 2017; Cochoy et al. 2020).

Furthermore, this study addresses the limited understanding in the current literature with respect to the transformative potential of digital virtual consumption (DVC) in mediating global consumer culture. While much research has explored how global media shapes identity and consumption in material contexts (Iqani 2012; 2016b; Jafari and Goulding 2013), there has been limited attention given to how DVC enables transformative processes that alter the ways consumers interact with global consumer culture in virtual spaces. Digital virtual spaces offer unique opportunities for experimentation, desires actualization and stimulation, which differ from traditional material consumption (Rebecca and Jonathan 2011; Lehdonvirta 2012; Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2012b). By focusing on the transformative potential of DVC, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of how digital virtual spaces serve as crucial mediators in the dissemination of global consumer culture (Cochoy et al. 2020), ultimately reshaping consumer subjectivity and the ways in which global culture manifests in everyday life among the local.

16

1.3. Contributions to research

This research adopts a hermeneutic phenomenological approach to explore the lived experiences of consumer practices within a specific sociohistorical context, an aspect often overlooked in prior studies on digital virtual consumption (DVC). A key consideration within this hermeneutic approach was 'the fusion of horizons' (Thompson, Polio and Locander 1994, p. 434). This concept underscores the vital role of integrating multiple perspectives and understandings to gain a comprehensive and nuanced interpretation of the Jilbab girls' experiences. Consequently, this approach allowed for a richer, deeper exploration of the interplay between DVC and the formation of consumer subjectivities within a modern sociohistorical context. This methodology illuminates the experiential dimensions of consumer practices in order to effectively address the research questions presented in this study. Throughout a two-year period, the study involved an in-depth investigation of thirty Jilbab girls aged eight to thirteen. The research methodology consisted of multiple phenomenological interviews and visual narrative techniques for each participant. The latter involved collecting visual narrative data from the designs that the participants created in DVC girl games.

The results add to the body of research by combining the ideas of self-identity and modernity, the mediation of experiences (Giddens 1991a;1991b), and digital virtual consumption (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010; 2012; 2013).

Firstly, this thesis introduces the concept of digital virtual mediation (DVM), which offers a novel lens to understand how global consumer culture is mediated through digital virtual consumption (DVC). By conceptualising DVM as a dynamic process, this thesis provides a theoretical framework for examining the consumer practices that occur within digital virtual spaces—practices of disembedding and reembedding to the local culture, as rooted in individuals' ontological securities. DVM sheds light on how digital virtual consumption allow young consumers to experiment with global consumer culture (Cochoy et al. 2020) and develop their relationship to both global and local cultural norms (Lin & Steger 2022). It highlights the role of digital virtual consumption as active mediators in the process of cultural globalisation, where global ideas, practices and desires are not simply simulated through digital virtual platforms, like girl games, but are also experimented, recontextualised and regimented as part of their day to day routines. By theorising DVM, this thesis makes a significant contribution to consumer culture theory (CCT) by expanding the understanding of how globalisation operates within the digital realm (Ger et al 2018; Kozinet 2018; Cochoy et al. 2020), underscoring its importance as sites of cultural mediation.

17

Secondly, the significance of this study lies in its critical examination of the dialectic of global and local within digital virtual consumption (DVC). By exploring how this dialectic emerges in the DVC realm, the study revisits and challenges previous conceptualisations of DVC, which often portray it as a space facilitating unlimited freedom of experience (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010, 2012, 2013). This thesis demonstrates that, contrary to earlier perspectives, digital virtual spaces are not entirely detached from local cultural contexts or moral constraints. Instead, the findings reveal that local cultural values, moral frameworks, and standards of consumption appropriateness continue to play a pivotal role in shaping digital consumer practices and experiences, relevant to those of previous studies (i.e. Woermann and Kirschner 2015; Humphery and Jordan 2018; Kozinets 2019). This study shows that while digital platforms allow for greater exposure to global trends and the possibility of engaging with new identities and desires (Belk, Weijo and Kozinet 2020), consumers still navigate these experiences through the lens of their local cultural norms and moral values. This insight is particularly significant as it provides a more nuanced understanding of the interplay between globalisation and local culture in digital contexts (Ger et al 2018). Ultimately, this study enriches the existing body of consumer research by providing valuable insights into how the digital world interacts with and reflects the complexities of global and local cultural dynamics (Ito 2001; Roudometof 2023), highlighting that digital consumption is deeply embedded in local socio-cultural frameworks (Kozinets 2018; Giesler 2012; Parmentier and Fischer 2015; Woermann and Kirschner 2015).

Further, this study extends the current literature on the transformative potential of digital virtual consumption (DVC), beyond the current understanding of DVC's role in facilitating reflexive practices and experiences (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013), offering a deeper analysis of how DVC in girl games transforms consumer subjectivity in multifaceted ways. DVC in girl games acts as a powerful mediator of global consumer culture, reshaping consumers' identities, subjectivities, and senses of agency (Ekchart and Mahi 2004). This study demonstrates that DVC, particularly in the context of girl games, has a transformative impact by facilitating the sequestration of experiences (Giddens 1991), where consumers engage in practices that provide a sense of freedom from the limitations of local material culture (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010). Furthermore, DVC plays a critical role in the routinisation of modern subjectivity (Ekchart and Mahi 2004). Through repetitive engagement with global consumer culture in digital spaces, users begin to develop and internalise new forms of subjectivity that reflect modern, globalised identities. This study underscores the significance of digital virtual spaces as sites of cultural mediation and identity transformation (Cochoy et al. 2020), revealing the powerful role DVC plays in shaping modern consumer subjectivity in a globalised world.

Finally, this research unveils the dimensions of mediation inherent in the formation of modern consumer subjects (Slater 1997; Eckhardt and Mahi 2014) within the context of digital virtual consumption (DVC) practices (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012; 2013). It explores the intricate processes of cultural mediation that contribute to consumer subject formation, particularly within the global-local dialectic. The findings highlight how consumer agency emerges as individuals actively negotiate market-mediated meanings (Slater 1997; Trentmann 2006) within this global-local framework, involving a process of embeddedness, disembedding from DVC practices, and reembedding into their everyday material lives. These insights not only deepen our understanding of DVC and its role in shaping consumer subjectivity (Karababa and Ger 2011; Trentmann 2006), but also offer a more nuanced perspective on the complex mediation processes underpinning consumer subject formation (Belk 2012).

1.4. The Structure of the thesis

Chapters 2 and 3 of this study critically examine existing literature in consumer research to provide a comprehensive review that establishes the rationale for the present research. In Chapter 2, the focus is on exploring the formation of consumer subjects, specifically highlighting the prevailing depiction of young girls as both passive objects and active subjects within the realm of children's consumption. Additionally, the chapter emphasises the significance of digital media in shaping consumer subject formation. Drawing from the literature on global consumer culture, Chapter 2 further delves into the dynamic interplay between the global and local dimensions that characterise the engagement of local consumers with global media. It also reviews the literature in consumer culture theory (CCT) with a specific focus on cultural mediation, highlighting the potential role of digital virtual consumption (DVC) in mediating consumer experiences within the context of global consumer culture. Through this comprehensive review, Chapter 2 reveals that our understanding of the formation of the modern consumer subject among young girls in non-western contexts remains limited. Moreover, it underscores the lack of knowledge regarding the process of global-local mediation, particularly in the digital space, and its implications for modern subject formation. Consequently, the chapter establishes that exploring the experiences of DVC in girl games among young consumers in non-western contexts presents an opportunity to develop a theoretical framework that comprehensively addresses global-local mediation through digital virtual consumption.

Chapter 3 delves into the theoretical framework employed to comprehend the role of digital virtual consumption (DVC) girl games in mediating the formation of consumer subjects. The chapter critically examines Giddens' theory on modernity and self-identity (Giddens 1991a;

1991b) and Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's theory (2010, 2012, 2013) of DVC, which together provide the foundation for this study's theoretical framework. Initially, the chapter delves into Giddens' perspective on the formation of modern subjects, emphasising his focus on understanding everyday routines and ontological security. This exploration sheds light on the crucial aspects Giddens highlights in comprehending how individuals construct their identities in contemporary society. Subsequently, the chapter expands upon Giddens' viewpoint on mediated global experiences, aiming to grasp the process of global cultural mediation. This analysis encompasses the experiences of disembedding and reembedding mechanisms that individuals encounter as they navigate the complexities of global mediated experiences (Giddens 1991). To further enrich this conceptualization, the chapter integrates the interplay of DVC theory, illustrating how DVC practices play a significant role in facilitating the process of global cultural mediation. An outline of the research questions and objectives that this thesis seeks to address follows a summary of the chapter's key findings. This ensures clarity regarding the specific areas of inquiry and the intended outcomes of the study.

Chapter 4 provides a thorough description of the research design employed in this study. The chosen approach is hermeneutic phenomenology, which entails interpreting individuals' experiences based on their subjective descriptions. The chapter begins by introducing the underlying research philosophy that guides the study. Subsequently, it presents the research context and provides an overview of the participants involved in the research. The chapter then proceeds to outline the methods employed for this study, offering a detailed description of the research design and covering the research philosophy, context, participants, data generation methods, data analysis and interpretation, research quality, ethical conduct, and researcher reflexivity.

Chapter 5 serves as the first finding chapter, focusing on the everyday routine of Muslim clothing to establish a foundational understanding of the study's context. The adoption of a mediation perspective in this study necessitates an exploration of the specific contextual settings that shape the process of global cultural mediation. The chapter delves into three key aspects of the everyday routine of Muslim clothing among Jilbab girls. Firstly, it examines the experiences associated with Muslim clothing routines, shedding light on the lived realities and perceptions of individuals within this context. Secondly, it explores the routinization of Muslim clothing, highlighting how this practice becomes ingrained in daily life and habits. Lastly, the chapter delves into the psychological processes that underlie the incorporation of Muslim clothing into everyday routines. By addressing these aspects, the chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of the routine and ontological security associated with Muslim clothing among Jilbab girls, which emphasises the embeddedness of the practice within the local context.

Chapter 6 focuses on the next stage of the global cultural mediation process, which is the disembedding mechanism, which represents the individual process of navigating the experiences of being uplifted or disembedded from certain practices and identities within the local context. The chapter begins by examining various forms of experiences related to disembedding from the local, specifically in relation to engagement with DVC practices in Girl games. These experiences encompass being disembedded from traditional girlhood habits and deviating from prescribed practices and societal expectations of what constitutes a "good" Muslim girl. Additionally, the chapter explores the underlying psychological processes that contribute to these experiences, which can be characterised by a sense of unstable ontological security. Furthermore, the chapter delves into the different strategies employed by participants as disembedding mechanisms when engaging with DVC girl games. These strategies involve the reasoning and motivations behind their decision to disengage from the local context. By investigating these aspects, the chapter sheds light on the complexities and nuances of the disembedding process within the realm of DVC practices.

Chapter 7 delves into a critical stage of the global cultural mediation process, wherein individuals engage in global consumer experiences mediated by DVC practices while simultaneously becoming disembedded from their local context. The chapter explores various forms of DVC practices centred around global fashion consumption in girl games, which were actively undertaken by the participants. Then the chapter examines the underlying ontological security associated with these DVC practices among Jilbab girls. I characterise this ontological security as linked to the sequestration of experiences, drawing upon Giddens' (1991) concept of separating certain modern consumer practices from everyday experiences in the local context. By exploring these practices and their psychological processes, this chapter sheds light on the intricate intertwined material and digital-virtual realms (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013) and the dialectic of the global and the local (Giddens 1991) within DVC experiences.

Chapter 8 focuses on the stage of reembedding mechanism, which is the individual process of re-embedding and integrating global consumption practices and experiences into the practices and identity in the local contexts. The chapter describes forms of disembedding mechanisms that are interpreted through Giddens' concept of fragmentation and unification. The chapter then addresses the psychological process underlying the disembedding mechanism, which I characterise as restabilising and re-establishing ontological security. In doing so, this chapter speaks to the research question on the formation of modern consumer subject

In Chapter 9, I reflect upon the theoretical significance of the study's findings, demonstrating the ways in which this thesis addresses the three core limitations of existing theories as identified in Chapter 3. First, I propose the conceptualization of digital virtual

mediation (DVM) to address the lack of understanding in the literature about the process of global cultural mediation through DVC, shedding light on its importance in the shaping of modern subject formation. Secondly, I discuss the DVC practices within the context of global and local, integrating the cultural, instrumental, and temporal aspects of DVC experiences while also addressing the dialectic of global and local emerging in DVC, thereby extending the current understanding of DVC literature. Thirdly, I address the transformative potentials of DVC practices through the mediation perspective and within the context of global and local. In doing so, I speak to the limitations of the literature in consumer research.

Finally, Chapter 10 serves as the concluding chapter of this thesis, where I consolidate the theoretical contribution it has made to the field of consumer research. I provide a comprehensive summary of the key theoretical insights and advancements that have emerged from this study, emphasising their significance in expanding our understanding of consumer behaviour and subject formation. Then, this chapter critically reflects on the study's limitations, offering valuable insights for future research endeavours the field of consumer research.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review: The formation of Consumer Subjects, Global Consumer Culture and Digital Virtual Consumption

To develop a conceptual understanding of Jilbab girls' experiences in engaging with girl games, this study incorporates three scholarly traditions within Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): the formation of consumer subjects, digital virtual consumption, and global consumer culture. This chapter serves the purpose of presenting a thorough literature review that not only enhances the conceptual understanding of the topic but also establishes the importance and relevance of the study. Through a comprehensive literature review, this chapter not only provides a foundation for understanding the research topic but also highlights the significance of studying Jilbab girls' experiences in engaging with girl games. By bridging insights from the formation of consumer subjects, digital virtual consumption, and global consumer culture, this study aims to contribute to the existing body of knowledge within CCT and shed light on the experiences of a specific group of consumers within the digital and globalised consumer landscape.

To begin with, the literature review focuses on the formation of consumer subjects and delves into existing scholarly works that explore how young girls become consumer subjects. By drawing insights from literature on fashion consumption and tween consumers, this section aims to describe the ongoing debates regarding whether young girls are active or passive consumer subjects. Furthermore, it highlights the potential of girl games to enable a better understanding of young girls as active consumer subjects. Moving on, the literature review proceeds to explore how the formation of consumer subjects among young girls living in traditional non-western contexts represents a transformation from traditional to modern consumer practices. By referring to the literature on global consumer culture, this section emphasizes the increasing consumer subjectivities required for young girls to navigate the dialectic of global and local influences in consumer culture. However, it also acknowledges the emphasisesof the current cultural approach and highlights the need for an alternative perspective that can better explain the mediation process. This section contributes to broadening our understanding of the cultural dynamics shaping consumer subjectivity among young girls in traditional, non-western contexts. Subsequently, the literature review emphasises the crucial role of market mediation and

underscores the potential of digital virtual consumption in mediating consumer subjectivity within the context of global consumer culture. By exploring the intersection of digital technologies and consumer practices, this section aims to shed light on how young girls actively participate in consumer culture, thereby perpetuating the formation of consumer subjects. The inclusion of digital virtual consumption in the analysis highlights its significance in shaping the development of consumer subjectivity among young girls in both global and local contexts. Finally, the literature review concludes by underscoring the overall significance of the study in enhancing our understanding of the formation of consumer subjects among young girls in traditional non-western contexts.

2.1. The Formation of Consumer Subjects

This study aims to investigate the formation of consumer subjectivity through engagement with girl games. However, the concept of the consumer has been interpreted diversely across different traditions and discourses, resulting in distinct portrayals that often neglect alternative perspectives. Gabrielle and Lang (2006) described that conservative economists emphasise the consumer as a rational decision-maker, while consumer activists perceive them as vulnerable individuals in need of support. Cultural theorists view consumers as communicators of meanings that contribute to the social fabric, while many ecologists criticise their irresponsible and self-centred behaviours (Gabriel and Lang 2006). Consequently, the precise definition of the consumer has become elusive, with various social and cultural agendas appropriating the term and adapting it to different interpretations (Trentmann 2006).

From the perspective of consumer culture theory (CCT), being a consumer is closely associated with modernity (Slater 1999, Firat and Dholakia 2003). While consumption has been present throughout history, the idea of being a consumer as a distinct identity emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries (Slater 1997). Scholars have engaged in debates to define the characteristics of a consumer, utilizing dichotomies such as rational or irrational, sovereign or manipulated, autonomous or other-determined, active or passive, creative or conformist, individual or mass, and subject or object to conceptualise consumers (Slater 1997). Within the CCT tradition, consumers are defined as individuals who actively shape the meanings of products and use them to construct their identities and social relationships (Slater 1999, Firat and Dholakia 2003, Arnould and Thompson 2005). Within these recent years, there has been a growing understanding of the significant role that consumers play in influencing globalisation. Previous literature depicted consumers in emerging and traditional markets as passive entities, subject to the manipulations of corporate and governmental interests (Eckhardt and Mahi 2004, 2012).

24

Consequently, consumers were marginalised and considered insignificant players in shaping these profound changes (Appadurai 1990). However, a paradigm shift has occurred, challenging the passive portrayal of consumers in emerging local markets. Scholars and researchers now acknowledge that these consumers possess agency and actively influence the impact and trajectory of globalisation (Sandikci and Omeraki 2007, Gökariksel and Secor 2010, Sandikci and Rice 2011, Sandikci and Jafari 2013b). This revised perspective emphasises the active and influential role of consumers in shaping the dynamics of globalisation, highlighting their ability to influence market dynamics, challenge established norms, and reshape the global economic order (Eckhardt and Mahi 2004, Sobh et al. 2014). By actively participating in local markets, consumers in emerging economies exert their influence on the global stage, contributing to the ongoing processes of globalisation (Ger 2017, 2018).

To develop a comprehensive understanding of the formation of consumer subjectivity, it is imperative to delve into how individuals actively appropriate market-mediated meanings to create social relationships through consumption (Trentmann 2006, Karababa 2012). The sense of agency plays a central role in consumers' active engagement, enabling them to act upon their subjective experiences and choices (Slater 1997). At the same time, subjectivity is a historically and culturally constructed awareness that depends on cultural frameworks (Luhrmann, 2006). Subjectivity, as defined by Holland and Leander (2004), encompasses individuals' thoughts, emotions, embodied sensibilities, and their perception of themselves in relation to the world. Therefore, it is essential to examine how individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and agency necessary to become consumers and how these processes are shaped by political, intellectual, and cultural traditions (Trentmann 2006). Scholars argue that the formation of consumer subjects takes place within social, cultural, and market contexts that establish specific norms and expectations regarding consumer behaviour (Belk et al. 2003, Trentmann 2006, Chessel and Dubuisson-Quellier 2018). By investigating the evolving categories of collective and individual identity and the roles played by the market, media, civil society, state, and commercial interests, valuable insights can be gained into the formation of consumer subjects (Chessel and Dubuisson-Quellier 2018). This understanding illuminates the biographies of consumers within particular social contexts, the factors shaping their consumer identities, and how these processes reflect shifting values in society (Trentmann 2006; Slater 1997).

2.1.1. CCT Perspectives on the Formation of Consumer Subjects

The literature on consumer research, specifically the formation of consumer subjects, has been extensively studied from various perspectives, such as historical, sociological, and

anthropological (Arnould and Thompson 2005, Trenmann 2006, Miller 1995). These studies have been conducted across different social and periodical contexts, ranging from the Middle Ages to the contemporary period, and across diverse geographical regions, including China, the West, the Soviet Union, Eastern countries, the USA, and other regions (Hartmut Berghoff et al. 2012, Charpy et al. 2016, Chesse 2012). Within this body of literature, several theoretical approaches have been recognised in understanding the formation of consumer subjects, including perspectives from Foucault, Habermas, Trentmann, and Giddens, which I will elaborate on below.

Several studies (Humphreys 2006, Beckett and Nayak 2008, Sandikci and Ger 2010, Giesler and Veresiu 2014) on consumer subjects draw from Foucault's approach, which emphasises the relationships between power, knowledge, and the formation of consumer subjects (Foucault 1984). By adopting Foucault's perspective, scholars have shed light on the power relations and knowledge regimes within the field of consumer culture theory, contributing to a deeper understanding of modern consumer subjectivity (Shankar et al. 2006). According to Foucault (1984, 1986), modern societies are characterised by a dispersed regime of power that operates through various institutions (Thompson 2017). These institutions exert a form of power that shapes and regulates the behaviour and beliefs of individuals, resulting in the creation of subjects who conform to societal norms and values. Individuals internalise this power rather than using coercion to enforce it, which results in self-regulation and the regulation of their own freedom. The technology of self plays a crucial role in influencing how individuals perceive themselves as subjects in society (Thompson 2017, Thompson and Kumar 2018). These mechanisms encourage individuals to construct their own identities, treating life as an aesthetic pursuit. Consumption has emerged as one such mechanism, enabling individuals to shape their lives through their purchasing power and exercise their freedom of choice in the market (Shankar et al. 2006). This fosters a discourse of enterprise and excellence, portraying consumers as autonomous individuals who seek to optimise their quality of life through personalized acts of choice in the marketplace (Shankar et al. 2006).

Other studies in consumer culture theory (CCT), such as those by Karababa and Ger (2011) and Schulz (2007), make use of Jürgen Habermas' viewpoint to comprehend how consumer subjectivity develops. These studies explore contexts like premodern Turkiye (Karababa and Ger 2011) and Urban Mali (Schulz 2007). This viewpoint asserts, building on Habermas' theories, that modern societies' rationalisation processes have a significant influence on modern subjects (Habermas, 1992). People are no longer subject to traditional forms of authority as a result of modernization and rationalisation; instead, they have autonomy and self-determination (Karababa and Ger 2011). Consequently, modern subjects exhibit a strong sense of self and possess the capacity for critical and reflective thinking. Habermas further argues that the

growth of the public sphere plays a significant role in the formation of modern subjects (Thompson 1983). The public sphere serves as a platform where individuals can gather to engage in critical discourse and debate. It provides a space in which individuals can challenge and critique the prevailing forms of authority and power while participating in collective decision-making processes (Karababa and Ger 2011). Habermas's ideas underscore the autonomy, self-determination, and critical engagement of modern subjects, which are outcomes of historical processes of modernization and rationalisation (Thompson 1983)

Other scholarly works, such as Spaargaren and Oosterveer (2010) and Payne (2012), draw on the historical perspective put forth by Frank Trentmann (2006). Trentmann's work sheds light on the interplay of various cultural and historical forces that have shaped the concept of individuals as consumers. These forces include the rise of mass media and advertising, the growth of consumer movements, and the emergence of new forms of political and economic power. According to Trentmann (2006), the growth of consumer culture throughout history has engendered a new form of subjectivity that encourages individuals to perceive themselves primarily as consumers. Trentmann emphasises the active process through which people establish a relationship and identity with the act of "appropriation," wherein consumption goes beyond mere acquisition of goods from the market. Instead, commodities become possessions that are intricately linked to the configuration of knowledge and identity (Trentmann 2006). The process of consumer appropriation draws upon political, intellectual, and cultural traditions, encompassing the situated nature of needs, desires, acquisition, and utilisation. This perspective highlights the diverse histories and evolving boundaries of consumers, the dynamic relationships between consumers and other social groups, the utilisation of knowledge, and the flow of ideas and practices across social systems (Trentmann 2006).

Previous studies contribute to our understanding of how consumer subjectivity emerges, they primarily focus on the notions of agency and autonomy. For instance, they explore how consumer subjects are constructed through technologies of surveillance and individuation (Humphreys 2006) and how consumers have the capacity to challenge and transform the authority of the state and religion (Karababa and Ger 2011; Karababa 2012). Within the global and local context, Ekchard and Mahi (2014) identify the emergence of consumer agency and the ability to actively navigate and transform the cultural meanings associated with global consumption. However, it is important to note that these approaches may overemphasize agency and overlook the challenges and complexities involved in the formation of consumer subjectivity and agency. They may underestimate the emotional and moral consequences of such processes and overlook the routine aspects of social life that shape consumer experiences. Scholars in the practice tradition, such as Bourdieu (1984) and Giddens (1984 1991), highlight individuals often take the

27

everyday routines of life for granted, considering them to be the natural order of their reality. These routines consist of deeply ingrained and practiced behaviors that are often unspoken but accepted as given within a particular society (Bourdieu 1977). Practical consciousness refers to the experience in which the natural and social world appears self-evident, and are deeply rooted and enduring, operating at a preconscious level (Giddens 1984). In this view, it is important to understand the everyday routines that shape individuals' subjectivity and agency on how to act and interact on a daily basis, influencing their taken-for-granted ways of living life (Giddens, 1984).

Furthermore, a recent perspective in consumer culture theory (CCT) has provided a distinct approach to understanding the formation of consumer subjects, emphasising the process by which they are shaped. Giesler and Veresiu (2014) argue against viewing the formation of the consumer subject as a natural consequence of the capitalist market. Instead, they propose that it should be understood as a process that serves the development and stability of the market system. They introduce the concept of the responsible consumer subject as a governmental process, which can be elucidated through a fourfold process encompassing personalisation, authorization, capability, and transformation (Giesler and Veresiu 2014). This perspective challenges the notion that consumer subjectivity is solely determined by individual agency and choice, acknowledges the influence of broader social, cultural, and institutional forces in shaping consumer subjectivity, and highlights the role of ongoing processes in shaping responsible consumers. Askegaard and Linnet (2011) noted that the emphasis placed by consumer researchers on consumers' subjective experiences has led to a neglect of the "context of context"—the institutional structures and societal influences that shape and constrain consumer behaviour. By emphasising the dynamic and multifaceted nature of the formation of the consumer subject, this paradigm offers novel insights into the complexities of consumer culture and subjectivity in contemporary society (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014). It prompts us to consider the intricate interplay between individuals, social structures, and cultural dynamics in the construction of consumer subjectivity.

Aligned with this perspective, I draw upon Giddens' perspective, which underscores the significance of everyday routines in the formation of consumer subjectivity. Moreover, it recognises the potential role of mediated global experiences in shaping transformation in local society. According to Giddens (1991a, 1991b, 2004), individual behaviours are shaped by social structures that are created and reproduced through repetitive daily activities and the maintenance of ontological security. Ontological security refers to the psychological mechanisms that individuals employ to establish a sense of order and continuity in their lives within a specific local context (Phipps and Ozanne 2017). Notably, such an understanding of the affective factors and psychological processes underlying routine activities involved in consumer subject formation has

not been extensively explored in previous studies (Meyer and Jepperson 2000, Cote, James E. and Levine 2002). Additionally, Giddens (1991a) addresses the experiences of consumers within the local context, shedding light on how global experiences can influence the transformation of self-identity from traditional to modern forms (Jafari 2008, Jafari and Goulding 2013). He contends that the process of forming modern self-identity can be observed through the routinization of modern practices and values, as well as shifts in ontological security (Giddens 1991a). These shifts may involve integrating modern referentiality into previously anchored external referentiality, especially in culture, religion, traditions, and familial relationships (Eckhardt and Mahi 2004, Jafari and Goulding 2013). To examine this shift, this perspective focuses on examining everyday routines and how individuals maintain their ontological security by anchoring themselves to both external and internal referentiality (Giddens 1991a). This perspective is particularly relevant as a theoretical framework to illuminate how young girls, in their day-to-day routines of Muslim clothing, engage with mediated global experiences through girl games. Such engagements may give rise to the emergence of agency and subjectivity among young girls and the potential for societal change.

By adopting Giddens' perspective, I can delve into the intricate dynamics that exist between individuals' everyday routines, their sense of ontological security, and their interactions with global media. This approach provides valuable insights into the processes through which consumer subjectivity is both shaped and transformed within the context of daily life. It highlights the routinization of agencies and their potential to challenge and reshape societal norms in relation to consumption practices. In Chapter 3, I delve further into the explanation of Giddens' theoretical framework, elucidating its relevance and applicability to the present study.

2.1.2. Young Girls' Formation of Consumers Subjects

The study of consumer subjects among young girls holds great significance due to their developmental stage and the desire to shape their identities and aspirations during the transition into womanhood (Cook and Kaiser 2004, Cody et al. 2010b, Cook 2012). Previous research has primarily focused on understanding the formation of consumer subjects within the domain of fashion consumption (Cook and Kaiser 2004, Cody et al. 2010b, Marion and Nairn 2011, MacDonald 2016). Within the framework of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), fashion consumption emerges as a vital domain where the concept of consumerism evolves (Simmel 1971). Fashion consumption goes beyond the mere act of acquiring clothing and apparel; it serves as a context in which young girls utilise material and symbolic market resources and consumer culture to grasp their own identity, how others perceive them, and the cultural environment they

are immersed in (Harris 2005, Andersen et al. 2007, Willett 2008, Marion and Nairn 2011, Kennedy and Coulter 2018)

Earlier studies have indicated that teenage girls do not inherently possess an interest in fashion consumption (McDonald 2016, Cook and Kaiser 2004). Instead, their engagement with fashion is influenced by shared meanings within specific cultural contexts (McCracken 1986, Don Slater 1999, Slater 2012). The commercialization of clothing and accessories targeted at this consumer segment has been particularly pronounced (Cook and Kaiser 2004a), prompting marketers to construct discourses and meanings that embody this segment, often encapsulating the notion of "girlness" (Harris 2005, p. 13). Previous research suggests that market resources play a defining role in shaping cultural positions and identities among young girls (Cody 2012, Tsaliki 2016, McDonald 2016, Cook and Kaiser 2004, Harris 2009), with their identities predominantly shaped within the realm of feminine commercial personas (Cook and Kaiser 2004). Therefore, the examination of young girls' engagement with fashion consumption provides valuable insights into their identity formation, interpersonal relationships, and broader socio-cultural processes (Catherine Driscoll 2002, Bragg et al. 2011, Hill 2011, Cody 2012c, MacDonald 2016, Kennedy and Coulter 2018).

Furthermore, Braudel (1992) suggests that fashion plays a crucial role in shaping various aspects of civilization. Sociological research emphasizes how fashion consumption informs fundamental sociological concepts such as identity, social structure, and social order (Aspers and Godart 2013, Crane 2000, Kawamura 2005). Fashion has the power to both unify and differentiate individuals, providing a sense of belonging while allowing for self-expression and offering temporary and ever-changing stability (Thompson and Haytko 1997, Murray 2002, Marion and Nairn 2011). The symbolic meanings and practices associated with fashion consumption are deeply ingrained in daily life and reflect culturally specific values (Thompson and Haytko 1997, Murray 2012). Simmel (1971) argued that fashion mirrors and influences societal tendencies such as standardisation, diversity, individualization, and change (Ferguson and Levine 1973). Therefore, examining young girls' engagement with fashion consumption is not only valuable for understanding their development as consumer subjects (Ekstrom 2006, Cook 2010, Buckingham 2008, Kline 2010), but also for comprehending the central role of consumer culture in cultural reproduction and social transformations (Don Slater 1999, Ekstrom 2006, Cook 2010).

A discussion about how to conceptualize young girls as consumer subjects has shaped the literature on fashion consumption and consumer culture among them. Scholars have identified a distinct segment within this age group called "tweens," typically comprising children between 8 and 12 years old who are in a transitional phase between childhood and adolescence (Cody 2012, Cook and Kaiser 2004). This phase is characterised by a growing desire for independence

and autonomy, coupled with an increasing awareness of peer pressure, social status, and the importance of fitting in (Cody 2012). However, there are concerns that young girls in this segment may be particularly vulnerable to negative outcomes associated with consumerism, marketization, and sexualization (Schor 2007, Calvert 2008, Schor et al. 2010). Consequently, scholars have engaged in a discussion regarding the potential risks and benefits of consumer culture for young people, especially tweens (Cody 2012, Cook 2004, McDonald 2016).

This debate surrounding the characterization of tweens as consumer subjects stems from a broader discourse on the interplay between structure and agency, as well as the subject-object dichotomy in children's consumption studies (Cody 2012). The concept of "becoming" is associated with dependence, powerlessness, and change, while "being" is linked to independence, responsibility, and the capability to live in the present moment (Boocock and Scott 2005, Johansson 2010). Adults are often viewed as competent consumers who make logical and rational decisions, shaping the perception of what it means to be a good consumer (Cook 2009, 2010). However, this perspective overlooks the positive aspects of children's engagement with consumption and the potential for the market to foster their autonomy, creativity, and socialisation (Martens et al. 2004, Cook 2008, Cook et al. 2018). This discourse emphasises the need to explore the nuanced and dynamic relationships between young consumers, consumption, and agency, moving beyond binary categorizations of subjects and objects in consumption studies.

Recent studies have shown that young girls possess a keen sense of fashion and are savvy consumers (Hill, 2014; McDonald, 2016). While they may be susceptible to marketing messages promoting unrealistic beauty standards, materialism, and social conformity, which can lead to negative outcomes such as body dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, and excessive consumption (Cody, 2010, 2012), tweens also exert significant influence on family purchasing decisions, particularly in the realms of fashion, media, and technology products (McDonald, 2016; Hill, 2014; Pomerant, 2008). Therefore, scholars have suggested that the concepts of being and becoming need to be understood in different ways, as they encompass distinct meanings and implications that may be desirable or undesirable depending on the situation and the definitions generated within that context (Cook, 2010; Johansson, 2010; Cody, 2012).

In the literature on young girls' consumption, market-mediated experiences such as TV advertising, advergames, and the internet play a significant role in demonstrating how young girls can be both active and passive consumers (Dotson and Hyatt 2005, Lenka and Vandana 2015, Mikeska et al., 2017). These studies take into account factors such as parental mediation, peer influence, and sociocultural background, including national or ethnic culture, in shaping the subjectivity of young consumers (Mikeska et al. 2017, McNeal and Yeh 2003, Chan 2006, 2008). Moreover, the literature recognizes that being an active and competent consumer varies across

different sociocultural backgrounds and is shaped by ongoing changes in society (Ekstrom 2006). Therefore, researchers should focus on how young consumers can be "effective consumers" (Ekstrom 2006, p. 74). In addition, analyses that describe girls as passive consumers overlook the centrality of consumer culture in sociocultural transformations (Slater 2007). To address this gap, alternative approaches are needed to explore young girls' subjectivities and activeness in their formation of consumer subjects (Harris 2004, Pomerant 2008).

2.1.3. Active Consumer Subjects in Girl Games

Literature has recognised the importance of digital platforms in the shaping of consumer subjects. The proliferation of digital spaces means that young consumers can now access diverse market-mediated practices and consumer experiences with ease (Bragg and Buckingham 2013, Mascheroni and Pasquali 2013, Bassiouni and Hackley 2014, Johnston 2018). Such market-mediated experiences in digital virtual worlds offer a safe and secure space for young consumers to experiment with multiple identities and diverse practices that may not be accessible in their everyday lives (Turkle 1995, Molesworth 2012, Vicdan and Ulusoy 2012). These experiences can encourage young consumers to engage in consumer culture through their participation in fashion discourses and shopping (Cody 2012, Willet 2008, Jensen and Jensen 2010). It is important to note that these digital experiences extend existing forms of social interaction, providing young consumers with new ways to connect with others and explore their identities. Research shows that young girls engage in fashion consumption through a range of digital media, including video games (Jensen and Jensen 2010), blogs (Muratore 2008), online shopping (Strublel, Petrie, Pookulangara 2018, Mikeska et al., 2017), and social media (Tiggemann and Slater 2013, Veer and Golf-Papez 2018). It is also notable that video games, in particular, have been identified as an effective way of teaching children about consumerism, as they combine playfulness with consumerism (Ulfa and Setyabudi 2015, Grimes 2015, Buckingham and Tingstad 2010, Buckingham 2011, Agren 2020).

This study focuses on exploring the active participation of young girls in "girl games," which belong to the category of casual digital games specifically designed for girls. These games provide a platform for children and young consumers to actively engage with consumer culture (Castell 2020, Cook, 2010, Kline, 2010). The activities within girl games predominantly revolve around shopping and consumerism, perpetuating stereotypical gender roles associated with women's involvement in these domains (Chess 2012, Cummings 2018). Examples of such activities include dressing up, applying makeup, cooking, and shopping (Subrahmanyam and

GreenÞeld 1998, Willett 2008c, Reifel 2009, Chittenden 2010, Mascheroni and Pasquali 2013, Tsaliki 2016).

Research indicates that these games prominently feature goods and elements associated with global fashion systems and well-known brands. They often simulate virtual urban marketplaces, offering settings such as stores, cafes, beauty parlours, and shopping malls through avatars (Louisa Stein 2009, Jensen and Jensen 2010, Merchant 2013, Montes and Campbell 2013, Black et al. 2014, Grimes 2015a, Cummings 2018). Girl games have evolved into a form of "brandscaping," encouraging young individuals to identify with specific brands such as Pixie Hollow, Barbie Girls, Ty Girls, American Girls, and Bellasara (Jensen and Jensen, 2010). The online nature of these games allows for the seamless integration of commercial messages and consumer-driven logic into the immersive gaming experiences, facilitating the promotion of consumer culture (Grimes 2008, 2010, 2014b, 2015b, Montes and Campbell 2013) (Grimes 2008, 2015, Buckingham, 2011). Notably, girl games embed marketplace ideologies that emphasise individual choices aimed at self-improvement, portraying consumer culture as a desirable prerequisite for personal development, aligning with neoliberal subject characteristics (Rottenberg 2014). These games often promote liberal lifestyles and acquisitiveness, which are integral components in the formation of the consumer subject (Buckingham 2008, Grimes 2010, 2015b, Montes and Campbell 2013). Girl games also tend to reinforce patriarchal and misogynistic narratives, promoting ideals such as dressing up to attract boys' attention (Cumming, 2017).

Young girls' engagement with girl games not only enhances their literacy in consumption activities and practices but also allows them to experiment with various lifestyles and social roles that are perceived as possible, acceptable, and valued within their predominantly Western-based society (Black et al., 2014, Kline, 2003). Through collaborative participation and the enactment of consumer subjectivities within these games, players are presented with diverse ways to appreciate and celebrate goods (Pybus in Grimes, 2014, p. 127). The mediated marketplace practices facilitated by girl games contribute to the development of girls' sense of agency and reinforce their identification as global consumer citizens (Jensen and Jensen 2010, Tsaliki 2016, Willett, 2008b).

2.1.4. Identification of the First Research Gaps

In reviewing the existing literature on consumer subject formation, it became evident that mediated experiences play a crucial role in shaping consumers' identities. To fully grasp the

33

process of consumer subjectivity formation, it is essential to explore how individuals actively appropriate market-mediated meanings to create social relationships through their consumption practices (Slater 1997, Trentmann 2006). The concept of agency is central to consumers' active engagement, empowering them to exert influence and make choices based on their subjective experiences (Ger and Belk 1996). Understanding how individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and agency necessary to become consumers is crucial to comprehending the formation of consumer subjectivity. Meanwhile, the literature recognises that subjectivity is not a fixed or universal construct (Ekchard and Mahi 2014), but rather a culturally and historically constructed awareness influenced by the cultural frameworks within which individuals exist (Giddens 1984, Bourdieu 1986). As discussed in the literature review, to gain a better understanding of the formation of consumer subjects and their environments, it is crucial to comprehend the everyday routines within the context in which such subjects are formed (Bevir and Trentmann 2004, Trentmann 2006, Slater 1997). Also, the formation of consumer subjects is often conceptualised within the realm of material culture (Gabrielle and Lang 2006), little is known about the role of consumer experiences in digital culture and how they may shape consumer subject formation beyond the material realm.

This thesis is grounded in the assumption that experiences of consumption within girl games have significant effects on young consumers, comparable to material consumption. Previous research by Willett (2008), Tsaliki (2016), Webb (2016), and Ruckenstein (2013) supports this idea by highlighting the impact of consumption experiences on various aspects of individuals' lives. These games provide young girls with opportunities to actively participate in consumer culture, enabling them to make choices, express preferences, and engage with brands and products. By immersing themselves in digital virtual consumption practices within girl games, girls develop a sense of agency and increased subjectivity, allowing them to influence their surroundings and make choices aligned with their desires and aspirations, thereby shaping their consumer identities (Willett 2008, Tsaliki 2016, Webb 2016). Moreover, engaging with these games exposes young girls to global brands, fashion trends, and the broader global consumer culture. This exposure contributes to their identification as global citizens who actively engage with and navigate the global marketplace, further reinforcing their sense of belonging as global consumer citizens (Jensen and Jensen 2010, Tsaliki 2016, Willett 2008b).

This study departs from existing literature on girl games, which often overlooked the roles they play in the lives of young girls in terms of play, learning, and performances (Reifel 2009, Jensen and Jensen 2010, Edwards 2014, Tsaliki 2016). Instead, this study adopts the Digital Virtual Consumption (DVC) theory (Denegri-Knott and Moleworth 2012, 2013) to explore consumer roles and practices beyond the scope of material culture. According to the DVC

paradigm, the practices of Jilbab girls in girl games are considered consumer practices, encompassing materially mediated human activities organised around a shared sense of practical understanding and experiential consumption (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010). Further elaboration on the DVC theory is provided in the subsequent section (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010a, 2012, 2013b, Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2012b, 2015). This study focuses on the subjective experiences and meanings of adolescent consumers as they engage with mediated experiences of global consumer culture in a digital virtual context, rather than taking a critical or puritanical stance towards children's consumer pleasures (Langer 2002, Buckingham and Tingstad 2017). It examines how young girls' experiences with girl games allow them to engage with consumer culture and lifestyle options that extend beyond the realm of material culture (Tsaliki 2016, Willett 2008).

This study adopts Giddens' perspective (Giddens, 1984, 1991), which offers valuable insights into the intricacies of global consumer culture, local subjectivity, and the interplay between social structures, daily routines, and agency. It is Giddens's view that everyday routines and ontological security play a big role in shaping consumer subjectivity. He also recognises that mediated experiences from the global context may play a role in driving societal change (Giddens, 1991). This perspective allows for an examination of everyday consumption practices and the underlying psychological processes that contribute to the maintenance of local structures and the formation of modern self-identity (Giddens, 1991). By adopting Giddens' perspective, this thesis investigates how routine engagements with global consumer experiences as mediated by the DVC girl games can influence the formation of modern subjects.

2.2. Global Consumer Culture and the Formation of Modern Consumers

Several studies (Cumming 2018, Marsh 2010, Willet 2008, Grimes 2015) have shown that girl games are often referred to as simulating and enacting Western consumer culture. This understanding of Western consumer culture has its roots in the seventeenth-century historical introduction of consumer culture to the West. As a modern society, it enabled the West to distinguish itself from the rest of the world (Slater 1997). "Western" is a term that is frequently used to refer to the social structures that are prevalent in Western Europe, North America, and Japan. These social structures are generally referred to as "the centre" or "the global" (Kravets and Sandikci 2014, Ger et al. 2018). These arrangements are defined by values such as individualism, market relations, an aptitude for change, innovation, commercialization, novelty, and personal choice (Don Slater 1999, Arnould and Thompson 2005, Ger 2017). On the contrary, the concept of "the local" is associated with the practice of customs and the commitment to ways

of life that are either nostalgically genuine or conventional. In addition to this, it contains the cultural, social, family, and market dynamics that are specific to a given community or neighbourhood in a particular geographic region. These structures encompass traditional customs, traditions, beliefs, values, and regulatory frameworks that shape patterns of consumption and commercial activities (Wilk 1998, Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006, Ger 2017, Ger et al. 2018).

The notion of consumer culture, according to Slater (1997), has significantly propelled the development of Western markets, lifestyles, and businesses. With both aspirations and a global reach, it is regarded as a cornerstone of the universalizing endeavour of Western modernity. There is a strong connection between consumer culture and the concepts of modernity, modern experiences, and modern social topics. In the modern world, people are seen as autonomous, logical beings that navigate a world that is always changing instead of being static and formed by reasoned structure and scientific understanding. In light of this, the concept of the consumer and the experience of consumerism are the epitome of the essence of this new world and play an essential part in its growth. According to Kravets and Sandicki (2014), the current Western consumer culture is the apex of contemporary consumerism because it is that culture that sets the norm for markets, products, elite customers, transnational brands, and media.

The globalisation of modern consumer culture, primarily emanating from Western origins, has had a profound impact on societies worldwide (Ger et al., 2017). Slater (1997) argues that while consumer cultures may share similarities in the rational and functional nature of the objects they consume, the significant distinctions lie in the systems that define, produce, distribute, and organize these goods, deeply rooted in local socio-historical contexts (Ger and Belk, 1996; Ger, 2017). As a result, the interconnectedness that globalization has fostered has facilitated the emergence of hybrid consumption patterns and objects that reflect the blending of global and local influences (Ger and Belk, 1996). This diffusion of modern consumer culture has reshaped social dynamics, lifestyles, and consumption practices globally, leading to the formation of a cohesive global consumer culture (Ger et al., 2017). However, the adoption of global brands and products is often perceived as synonymous with Westernisation or modernization, perpetuating power dynamics that position non-Western regions as "the periphery" in contrast to the West's "centre" (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014; Ger, 2018). This phenomenon is particularly prevalent in emerging markets and less industrialised countries, where traditional divisions based on class, gender, and local kinship may lose significance in favour of identities constructed through marketing strategies and media representations (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Jafari 2008). Yet, the pervasive influence of global consumer culture raises concerns among observers in non-Western countries about the erosion of local cultures and identities under the dominance of global influences (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; El-Bassiouny, 2018).

Scholars of global consumer culture explore the impact of globalisation on the development of consumer culture and investigate how local cultural practices intersect with the global consumer culture phenomenon (for a comprehensive review, see Sharifonnasabi et al. 2019). Additionally, they delve into the ways in which consumers negotiate their identities and meanings through consumption practices within different cultural contexts (for a review, see Ger et al., 2018). In examining the interaction between global and local cultural forces, scholars have often highlighted the concept of "the dialectic of global and local," which underscores the dynamic interplay between globalising influences and local cultural traditions (Giddens 1991, p.23). This dialectic captures the tension and negotiation between global brands, media, and technologies and local cultural values and practices that shape consumer behaviour and identities (Jafari and Goulding 2008, Jafari and Suerdem 2011, Jafari and Sandikci 2016). Giddens (1991) stated that the tensions and interactions between globalising forces, like the rise of global brands, media, and technologies, and localising forces, like cultural traditions, values, and practices, shape consumer behaviour and identities (Jafari and Goulding 2008; Jafari and Suerdem 2011; Jafari and Süerdem 2012; Jafari and Sandikci 2016). The dialectic emphasises the ongoing negotiation and interplay between global and local influences as individuals and communities engage with and respond to global consumer culture while drawing upon their local cultural contexts. As individuals and communities engage with global consumer culture, they navigate their identities and social relationships through the lens of market-mediated meanings, leading to the formation of modern consumers (Kjalgaard and Askeergard 2006; Belk et al. 2003).

Engagement with global consumer culture among local communities often gives rise to the formation of modern consumers as they navigate their identities and social relationships through market-mediated meanings (Kjalgaard and Askeergard 2006, Belk et al. 2003). Many studies have found signs of global consumer culture in different areas, such as status consumption (Üstüner and Holt 2010), youth consumer behaviour (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006), global desires (Belk et al., 2003), and even in how religion and piety are understood differently (Nilan 2012, Beta 2014) and consumer lifestyles (Wijaya, 2021; Sarwono, 2014; Wallach, 2008). Moreover, the increasing exposure of young consumers in non-Western contexts to globalised market experiences, such as playing the same games (Tsaliki 2016, Ulfa and Setyabudi 2015, Hyosin 2010), desiring the same toys (Paterson, 2005), and aspiring to consumeristic lifestyles (White 2015) as their Western counterparts, underscores the global reach of consumer culture. As a result, local examples of social phenomena show both similarities and differences within the bigger picture of global cultural flows. Ideas like "glocalization" or "sameness-within-difference" (Robertson and White 2012) and "structures of common difference" (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006) demonstrate this. These terms encapsulate the idea that local cultures adapt and reinterpret

global influences, resulting in unique expressions that maintain a connection to broader global trends while retaining local distinctiveness (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006, Ger 2017).

In order to better understand how Jilbab girls' engagements with the experiences of global consumer culture as mediated by DVC girl games, the research tradition of global consumer culture (GCC) offers a valuable framework. This tradition enables us to comprehend how consumer culture is shaped and experienced across diverse cultures and regions of the world (Ger 2017, Ger et al. 2018). Especially by understanding the dialectic of global and local, we gain valuable insights into the complex dynamics of consumer behaviour and identity formation within the context of global consumer culture. This perspective highlights the interplay between globalising and localising forces, challenging the notion of a one-way flow of influence. It recognises the active agency of individuals and communities in shaping their own consumer identities within this dynamic framework.

2.2.1. The Dialectic of Global and Local

The understanding of global consumer culture is characterised by instances where local communities resist Western consumer culture and maintain their local, traditional consumption patterns (Ger, 2017). In certain contexts, individuals or communities may reject or resist the influences of global consumer culture due to ideological or cultural reasons (Wilk 2005). This point of view is shown by ideas like asymmetrical institutions (Husain et al. 2019) or global-local disjuncture (Appadurai 1990), which show how the global and the local are connected in a dialectical way (Giddens 1991a). It is important to note that the global and the local are not separate or independent entities but rather interconnected and mutually influential forces (Giddens 1991a). Studies continue to address the dialectical interplay of the global and the local (Jafari 2008, Bayat and Herrera 2010, Spaargaren and Oosterveer 2010, Izberk-Bilgin 2012, El-Bassiouny 2018), underscoring how global consumer culture is intertwined with the central values, practices, and institutions that define Western modernity (Giddens 1991a). These include individualism, the notion of free personal choice in private life, market relations, the embrace of change, novelty, innovation, and commodification (Arnold and Thompson 2005, Slater 1997, Ger 2017). In contrast, the local is associated with tradition and steadfastly adheres to old-fashioned or romantically authentic ways of life. It encompasses the cultural, social, kinship, and market structures specific to a particular geographic location or community, including local traditions, customs, beliefs, values, and regulatory frameworks that shape consumption practices and commercial activities (Ger 2017, Ger et al. 2018, Wilk 1995, Kjalgaard and Askeergard, 2006).

The dialectical nature of the global and the local emerges from their continuous interaction and interplay (Giddens 1991), which is characterised by tensions, negotiations, and transformations (Ger 2017). Previous research has been done on how global and local factors interact in Muslim areas, mostly in places like the Middle East, Turkey, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The main focus has been on the dialectical relationship between the global and the local, paying special attention to differences in culture and morality (Sandikci and Omeraki 2007b, Gokariksel and Secor 2010, Karataş and Sandıkcı 2013, Jafari and Maclaran 2014, El Jurdi et al. 2022). Within this framework, consumption practices that are prohibited by Islamic teachings, including the consumption of alcohol, pork, and engagement in gambling, as well as the adherence to modest clothing for Muslim women, have been extensively investigated (Alserhan et al. 2014, El-Bassiouny 2018). Islamic guidelines on modest consumption serve as mechanisms to regulate and control consumption, aiming to prevent excess, conspicuousness, and wastefulness (Jafari and Suerdem 2011, Sandikci and Jafari 2013b). Western consumerist culture is often perceived as undermining Islamic values while promoting decadence, immorality, individualism, and hedonistic lifestyles (Quran, 2004; Wong, 2007). Consequently, Western consumer culture is seen as a threat to societal integrity, family values, the authentic Islamic identity of Muslims, and the overall Islamic way of life (Alserhan et al. 2014, El-Bassiouny 2014).

Studies have demonstrated various strategies employed by local consumers to navigate, adapt to, or resist global consumer culture to preserve their local traditional and religious consumption patterns (see the review by Sharifonnasabi et al., 2019; Ger et al., 2018). This line of research focuses on investigating the relationship between religion and identity projects, exploring how consumption practices contribute to the construction, maintenance, and communication of Muslim identities (Jafari and Goulding 2013; Jafari and Maclaran 2014; Sobh et al. 2014, Moufahim 2018). For example, recent study demonstrated how hijab cosplayers use a variety of authenticating practices to navigate the tension between authentic body performativity and religious dressing codes in their participation in cosplay, such as incorporating elements of their cultural and religious identity into their cosplay, engaging with online communities, and using social media platforms to showcase their work (El Jurdi et al. 2022). This perspective highlights the intricacies and uncertainties associated with religious and consumer identities, illustrating how an emphasis on Islamic discourses, practices, and aspirations can offer fresh insights into marketing and consumption-related phenomena (Sandikci and Jafari, 2013).

Furthermore, in the context of Muslim consumers in Indonesia, the tension between global modernity and local religious Muslim is particularly pronounced due to the complex sociocultural landscape and the influence of global consumer culture (Hefner 2008). It is essential to recognise the social context of traditional Indonesian society, which remains culturally

conservative and often expresses concerns regarding the negative impact of Western influences (Nilan 2006, 2015, Parker 2008, Tan 2014). Within Muslim society in Indonesia, there is a strong emphasis on fostering Islamic traditions, religion, and culture as the primary sources of youth identity (Jackson 2008, Nilan et al. 2011, Parker 2013). Research has indicated that Muslim youth in Indonesia continuously negotiate and reflect upon the discourse surrounding Islamic virtues and modern values in their daily lives (Schmidt 2017; Webster 2016; Parker and Nilan 2013). For example, Jilbab-wearing Muslim girls express concerns about their middle-class Muslim peers adopting Islamic fashion, perceiving it as compromising the fundamental moral value of the Jilbab (Parker 2008, Jones 2010). Other local social institutions, including schools, still impose restrictions on access to global media (Tan 2014), considering it a potential threat to social reproduction in contemporary Indonesian Islamic society. The aforementioned examples show that the deliberate filtering of Western influences continues to be a significant concern for local societal institutions (Heffner 2009, Nilan & Parker 2013).

Furthermore, Ger (2017) addressed that such tension is further can be complicated by internal divisions, such as internal divisions within Indonesian society (Millie and Baulch 2024). Urban middle-class Muslims may have more access to global products and are more likely to adopt global consumer habits (Millie and Hosen 2022), while rural consumers might be more inclined to preserve traditional lifestyles and consumption patterns (Nilan et al 2011). In addition to the rural-urban divide, the dominant-dominated dynamic in Indonesia is also impacted by global forces (Ger 2017). The dominant urban middle class is more exposed to global consumer culture through media and travel, while dominated groups, which may include less economically privileged or rural populations, might resist or selectively adopt global trends, often modifying them to fit local religious or cultural values (Millie and Baulch 2024). In this regard, rather than viewing globalization as a force that either overrides or is resisted by local tradition, Indonesian Muslim consumers engage in a dynamic process of integrating global modernity with local cultural and religious authenticity, resulting in hybrid forms of consumption that reflect both global aspirations and local values. Ger (2017) suggest that such dialectic of global and local can also be understood in terms of dominance and belonging relations, which reflect deeper power dynamics embedded within societies.

2.2.2 The Cultural Approach on Global Consumer Culture (GCC)

The field of global consumer culture (GCC) focuses on the dynamic interaction between global and local cultures, exploring how local cultures respond to, resist, or adapt to global consumer culture within their specific historical and cultural contexts (Ger and Belk 1996; Ger et

al., 2017; Jafari and Guolding 2013; Kjalgaard and Askeergard 2006). These interactions between local and global forces often lead to the emergence of new meanings and expressions, giving rise to strategies such as reconnecting with local traditions, consumer resistance, local appropriation, and cultural fusion (Ger et al., 2018).

A comprehensive analysis reveals three key perspectives through which the consequences of Global Consumer Culture (GCC) can be understood: homogenization, glocalization, and deterritorialization (Kjalgaard and Askeergard 2006; Sharifonnasabi et al., 2019; Ger et al. 2018). Homogenization refers to the process by which global consumer culture standardises brands, products, ideas, and cultures, leading to the erosion of localised cultural diversity and the emergence of hybrid cultural forms that blend global and local influences. On the other hand, glocalization and hybridization suggest that encounters between local and global forces inherently create tensions (Sharifonnasabi et al., 2019). Glocalization highlights the interconnected relationship between local cultures and global influences, emphasising their mutual influence and shaping of one another (Ger and Belk, 1996; Robertson, 1995; Wilk, 1995). Scholars focusing on glocalization emphasise how this process fosters socio-cultural diversities and cultural fusion as local cultures assimilate and reinterpret global meanings and symbols, resulting in the formation of unique cultural elements through hybridization. Additionally, Eckhardt and Bengtsson (2015) note that developing countries often adapt global cultural symbols rather than simply adopting them outright. Furthermore, deterritorialization emphasizes the transition of the world from a nation-state-centric structure to a global system that is mobile and interconnected (Appadurai 1990; Bauman 2000). This shift involves the decentralisation of global integration through five distinct global flows: ethnoscape, finanscape, ideascape, mediascape, and technoscape (Appadurai 1990). Deterritorialization signifies a departure from a narrow national perspective on globalisation, allowing for a broader global perspective where national economies become more transnational in nature. As a result, a decentralised global marketplace emerges, characterised by the production and consumption of goods embodying various cultural values associated with modernity and Western lifestyles (Kjalgaard and Askeergaard, 2006).

However, it is crucial to acknowledge that modernization processes in Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East encompass a wide range of interpretations and experiences, challenging the notion of a singular and dominant perspective on modernity (Sandicki and Ger 2002). This multiplicity highlights that Westernisation and modernity are not interchangeable, and Western models of modernity do not represent the only "authentic" forms, although they often serve as influential reference points for others (Sandicki and Ger 2002). This recognition underscores the existence of "multiple" or "alternative" modernities instead of a totalizing and hegemonic view of modernity (Schmidt 2006) and emphasises the importance of understanding culture and its

daily expressions in a historically and socially contextualised manner (Sandicki and Ger 2002). Such an approach should also take into account the complexities of identity politics and power dynamics.

Within this context, the mediation perspective (Tomlinson 2005) offers valuable insights into the varied routes of modernization (Kamali 2012). Kozinets (2018) further suggests that consumer culture is not a static and straightforward concept but rather a complex interplay between lifestyles and resources mediated by markets. Giddens (1991) argues that modernity encompasses both the realisation of potential and the experience of vulnerability, giving rise to emotions such as insecurity, powerlessness, and anxiety. This ambivalence arises from multiple factors, including the intrusion of distant events and influences into familiar daily contexts, the interplay between presence and absence, and the intertwining of social events and relationships at both local and global scales (Giddens 1990a). To fully comprehend the extensive reach of global modernity, it is crucial to acknowledge that it involves an ongoing relationship between distance and local engagement, even as individuals navigate their daily lives within local contexts. Globalisation has fundamentally transformed people's everyday realities into inherently global ones (Giddens 1991a).

2.2.3. CCT Perspective on Cultural Mediation

The tradition of CCT acknowledges the significance of mass-mediated market and consumer experiences in shaping global consumer culture (Thompson and Arnould 2005). Mediation plays a crucial role in modernising societies and is an integral part of both emphasisedrecognisesglobal and local contexts. As Giddens (1991) emphasized, many of the local experiences with the most global impact are essentially mediated. Therefore, the mediation of global consumer culture is not predetermined and varies across different parts of the world (Silverstone, 2005). The literature on CCT recognizes the important role of market-mediated experiences in disseminating global consumer culture (Thompson and Arnold 2005). Mediation is a crucial aspect of intensifying global and local interconnectedness, transforming local social relations, forms of interaction, and experiences (Tomlinson 1994, 1999). Previous studies have highlighted the influential role of various media forms, such as advertising, branding, lifestyle magazines (Ansari, 2009; Smith, 2010), cooking recipe books (Warde, 1997), TV advertising (Kelly et al., 2010; Gunter et al.,media,), digital media including global advertising (Hamelin, Gbadamosi, and Peters, 2018; Hawkes, 2004), social media (Veirman et al., 2019; Williams, 2013; Kozinets and Paterson, 2017), and other media types like children's toys such as Barbie and Pokemon (Kuppinger, 2009; Paterson, 2005). In CCT, consumers are seen as interpretive agents

who engage in meaning-making activities, ranging from tacit acceptance of dominant representations of consumer identity and lifestyle ideals depicted in advertising and mass media, to deliberate deviations from these ideological instructions (Holt 2002; Kozinets 2002; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Murray, 2002; Thompson, 2004). CCT addresses consumers' interpretive strategies that shape their thoughts and actions, ultimately reinforcing dominant societal interests (Hirschman 1993), and highlights how local consumers respond to and resist these influences (Jafari and Goulding 2013; Mathur 2004).

However, it is important to acknowledge that the existing literature on global consumer culture (GCC) primarily focuses on the cultural consequences of the proliferation of global brands, desires, and consumer culture in different localities (Silverstone, 2005). The conceptualization of cultural mediation in the context of the GCC remains limited (Iqani, 2018). In the field of consumer culture theory (CCT), various conceptualizations have emerged, such as the notion of a mass-mediated marketplace (Arnould and Thompson, 2005), market-mediated practices (Arsel and Bean 2013), and the role of cultural intermediaries (Kobayashi et al., 2017). However, the term "mediation" itself has not been adequately addressed within the CCT literature. In the broader field of media studies, there has been a recognition of the changing landscape of media and communication studies, reflected in the emergence of new concepts such as "mediation," "mediatization," "medialization," "mediazation," "remediation," and the "mediatic turn" (Livingstone 2009). To expand our understanding, it is beneficial to draw insights from the broader research tradition in media and communications, which suggests a more comprehensive understanding of mediation. This encompasses the in-between spaces and all the ways in which human interaction is influenced and shaped by cultural forms and practices within a society (Livingstone and Thompson 1997, Thompson 2020). To advance our understanding of the role of mediation in the GCC, it is crucial to explore and engage with these evolving concepts and perspectives for comprehending the multifaceted processes of mediation and their implications for consumer culture. By bridging the gap between these disciplines, we can enrich our understanding of the complex interplay between media, culture, and consumer experiences in the context of global consumer culture.

The term "mediation" refers to the use of technological intermediaries that transcend the limitations of time and space in communication (Thompson 2020). This concept offers a comprehensive framework that encompasses various mediated communication processes beyond specific media platforms. According to Livingstone (2008), contemporary interactions between media and individuals entail a mutual renegotiation of meaning, thereby influencing both the subject and the cultural significance of the mediated experience. Silverstone (2012) conceptualises mediation as a communication process wherein individuals and institutions utilise

media-based resources and affordances to engage in communication and create and share knowledge, representations, and practices, resulting in changes within social and cultural environments. Silverstone emphasises the dialectic nature of mediation, wherein communication processes shape and are shaped by social and cultural contexts, as well as the relationships among individuals and institutions within those contexts (Silverstone 2012). This underscores the reciprocal nature of any mediation process within a specific cultural or social milieu. In essence, "mediation" can be understood as a nonlinear process that involves the transformation of the media production and comprehension environment (Couldry 2008, Silverstone 2012). Therefore, mediation is regarded as a fundamentally dialectical concept that necessitates considering communication processes as both institutionally and technologically driven and embedded (Silverstone, 2005). Consequently, understanding mediation requires an examination of how these processes of mediation influence the social and cultural environments that support them, as well as the relationships between participants, whether they are individuals or institutions, within that environment and among each other. This dialectic nature of mediation underscores its nonlinearity and the asymmetrical interrelationships among the actors involved in the media process. Instead of perceiving mediation solely as a dialectic or implied conversation, it may be more productive to grasp it as a complex interplay of different dynamics within mediation experiences.

2.2.4. Identification of The Second Research Gaps

The existing literature emphasised that active participation in global consumer culture that shapes the formation of modern consumer subjects involves a complex interplay between the global and the local (Ger et al 2018, Ger and Belk 1996). Scholars can gain insights into this dynamic and dialectic relationship by exploring the concept of cultural mediation. Such an exploration allows for an understanding of the multifaceted processes of global culture, which encompass both the realisation of potential and the experience of vulnerability. This, in turn, can give rise to emotions such as insecurity, powerlessness, and anxiety (Giddens, 1991; Tomlinson and Thompson, 2005). By considering these aspects, researchers can gain a deeper comprehension of the various trajectories towards the formation of modern subjects (Tomlinson 1994). Kozinets (2018) suggests that consumer culture is not a static, simplistic concept, but rather a result of the intricate relationships between lifestyles and market-mediated resources. To take the mediation perspective, scholars examine the process of meaning-making, subjective experiences, and practices as consumers engage with media within the realm of digitally mediated global consumer culture (Tomlison 2006, Silverstone 2008). Additionally, they examine the reciprocal relationship between these experiences and the social processes that influence and

shape them. However, despite its significance, the concept of mediation lacks a precise definition within the CCT literature, leading to abstract and diffuse accounts of mediation studies. Consequently, the mediation of global consumer culture remains largely unexplored within the realm of CCT.

Further, it is important to note that the inquiry into mediation does not seek to establish a causal relationship or determine the consequences of the progressive mediation of everyday life. Instead, it emphasises that the processes of mediation are driven and embedded both institutionally and technologically (Silverstone, 2005). Thompson (2005) underscores the need to analyse the social relationships and forms of interaction facilitated by communication media to fully grasp their impact. The utilisation of communication media gives rise to new forms of action, interaction, social relationships, and self-perception. Therefore, it is crucial to examine the nature of these actions and interactions. In this regard, Giddens's theory of the mediation of experiences (1991a, 1991b) provides an alternative perspective for understanding the interconnections between local and global forces and offers a framework for investigating the dialectic of global and local in the mediation of consumer subject's formation. Giddens argues that globalisation stems from the transition from traditional to modern societies, and thus, global-mediated experiences may produce mechanisms of disembedding and reembedding within the local context (Giddens 1991a). Further elaboration on this perspective will be presented in Chapter 3 within the theoretical framework of this study.

2.3. The Mediation of Global and Local through Digital Virtual Consumption

This study aims to gain a comprehensive understanding of the experiences associated with active participation in global consumer culture through digitally mediated global consumer culture girl games, employing a mediation perspective. By adopting the mediation perspective, this research not only seeks to comprehend the transformative effects of digitally mediated global consumer culture on the formation of modern consumer subjects but also explores the intricate process of meaning-making, subjective experiences, and practices that occur as consumers engage with digitally mediated global consumer culture. Additionally, this viewpoint explores how these experiences affect social processes that are both influenced and influenced by them in the context of digitally mediated global consumer culture.recognises

The Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) tradition recognizes the significance of market mediation in disseminating global consumer culture through media and popular culture in different local contexts. Scholars have extensively investigated the role of advertisements.

television programs, and films in this process (Hirschman, 1990; Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998; Stern, 1993, 1995). However, their focus has predominantly been on analyzing the normative messages conveyed by commercial media about consumption (Hirschman, 1988), cultural transfer (McCracken, 1998), marketplace ideologies, and consumer responses to these mediated messages, which influence critical reactions (Hirschman and Thompson, 1997; Murray, Ozanne, and Shapiro, 1994). For example, Hirschman and Thompson (1997) identified three modes of consumer-media relationships. The first mode entails consumers viewing media images as an idealized self to aspire to. The second mode involves consumers critically evaluating the unrealistic nature of media representations and perceiving economic motives behind media and advertising industries. The third mode, referred to as identifying and individualizing, explores how consumers reconcile their self-perception and personal goals with the idealized images presented in the media. This mode involves interpreting media as a reflection of their own experiences and qualities, a process I refer to as personalizing. Consumers attempt to construct a unique self-image while conforming to the cultural codes depicted in the media and tangible products.

Moreover, other CCT scholars suggest that cultural globalisation functions as an ongoing virtual intercultural learning process (Jafari and Guolding, 2013) and emphasise the role of media in the cultural socialisation of desires (Belk et al., 2003). While there is recognition of the complex nature of the expansion of consumer culture within cultural globalisation, the primary focus of CCT scholars remains on understanding its manifestations in material culture (Ger, 2017; Ger and Belk, 1996; Eckhardt and Mahi, 2014). However, there has been a limited examination of the mechanisms of local and global interconnection, particularly regarding the advancements in various forms of mediation (Ger et al., 2018). Ger et al. (2018) propose that contemporary technological mediation has the potential to facilitate both local and global encounters. Understanding the interplay between social, institutional, and economic factors mediated by recent technology is crucial for comprehending consumer culture and consumption practices at local, national, and global levels (Iqani, 2012).

As digital mediation continues to advance, our understanding of how it shapes consumer behaviour and modern consumer subjects within digitally mediated global consumer culture remains limited. Nonetheless, it is crucial to acknowledge the role of recent digital technology in mediating human experiences across diverse domains, as it continuously reshapes people's capabilities and actions while interacting with and influencing other social forms, thereby potentially giving rise to new cultural phenomena (Kozinets, 2018). The aim of this study is to explore how mediation within digitally mediated global consumer culture possesses similar

transformative capacities in shaping global consumer culture and the formation of modern consumer subjects.

2.3.1. DVC Approach

Practices in online shopping like eBay (Denegri-Knott and Zwick 2011), social media (Drenten and Tuncay Zayer 2018), digital music consumption (Magaudda 2012), online investment (Zwick 2013), and digital gaming (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2007, Molesworth 2012, Ross 2012) are all examples of DVC practises (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013). The DVC concept originated from Shields's (2003) depiction of the digital virtual space as a "liminoid" (Turner 1982) or transitional space between the real and the ideal. This space differs from the actually real of material consumption, because it temporarily suspends everyday social and cultural norms and social order which in turn facilitate new and even transgressive behaviours and modes of being (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012). Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2012) argued argue that consumers' material consumption practices are driven by their imaginary pre-consumption experiences (McCracken 1986, Campbell 1987, Belk et al. 2003b), indicating a relationship between materiality and the ideal space of consumer imagination. According to Belk et al. (2000), desires and imagination, which represent the pre-consumption phase, are boundless, while what consumers can consume in materiality is restricted, creating barriers to actualizing desires. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2010) claimed that consumer ideas, abstractions, and fantasies are ideally possible and become actually possible when realized in materiality, the real world. DVC makes it possible to ideally realize the stuff of consumer fantasy (ideally possible) and daydreams (actually possible) in the virtual or digital virtual worlds, while the material, virtual, and digital virtual worlds are considered different forms of reality (see Figure 2).

47

Figure 2.1. Relationship between Material Consumption and DVC
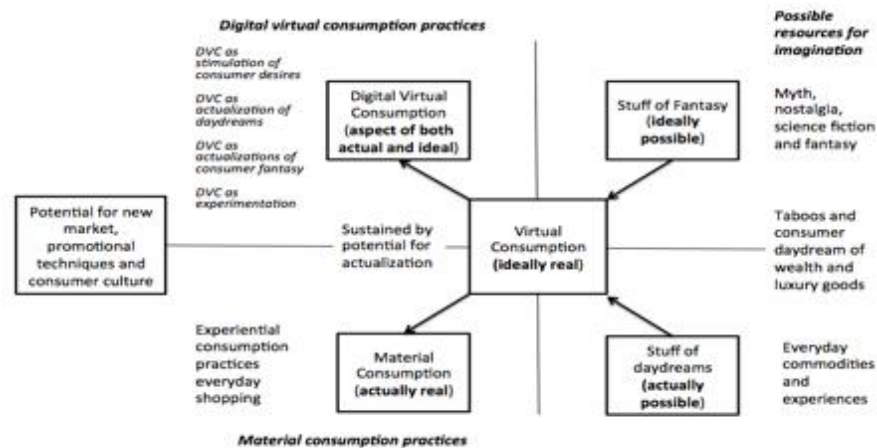
The concept of digital virtual consumption (DVC) is associated with the empowerment of consumers to fulfil their desires, imaginations, and daydreams, leading to new experiences that have the potential to transform their actions and selves (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2013). Even if young girls perceive video games as unrealistic, they can still use avatars to project the appearance of their desired future selves (Willet, 2008). The avatars become reflections of the girls' consumer subjectivities as they design their avatars' looks and actions (Tsaliki, 2016). The lack of physical boundaries and the suspension of sociocultural norms in DVC provide consumers with the freedom to engage in different consumption practices, take on different subject positions, and fulfil fantasies and daydreams that may not be possible in the materially real (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2010). DVC practices are comparable to everyday consumption, providing satisfaction and meaningful experiences through the actualization of needs and desires, emphasising leisure and escapism, imagination and desire actualization, and life progression (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott, 2007; Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2007, 2013; Molesworth, 2007, 2009). Therefore, "being a consumer" in DVC can be as fulfilling as meeting wants and needs in real life (Lehdonvirta, 2010). DVC gaming provides a positive alternative to virtual consumerism and alternative hedonism, allowing unfulfilled dreams and imaginations to be realised in a fun and safe way (Jenkins et al. 2010).

2.3.2. DVC Practices

Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2010) categorised consumer practices within DVC into four modes of praxis: 1) stimulation of desire, 2) actualization of consumer daydreams, 3) actualization of consumer fantasy; and 4) experimentation.

48

2.3.1. Stimulation of Imagination and Desires in DVC Girl Games

Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2010) have described DVC as a platform for "window shopping," where consumers are exposed to a vast range of goods and services that go beyond what is available in their real environment. This exposure serves as a tool for the cultural socialisation of desires (Belk et al. 2003), where consumers are encouraged to explore, imagine, and experience emotions that stimulate their desire and maintain the flow between their desire and self. In girl games, for instance, studies have shown that the activities they engage in can stimulate their desire for a specific type of appearance (Willet, 2008), possessions (Jensen and Jensen, 2010), and future aspirations (Tsaliki 2016). Additionally, consumer research has suggested that cycles of wanting—where the desire for particular goods or experiences represents particular ways of being—drive consumption (Campbell 1987; McCracken 1988). This implies that real-world consumption is the materialisation of consumer fantasies and desires through purchase (Belk et al. 2003; Jenkins et al. 2010; Jenkins and Molesworth 2017). The creation of pleasurable idealised fantasies through various sources such as advertising, retail displays, films, and television programmes can stimulate consumer desires (Belk et al. 2003; Jenkins and Molesworth 2017). Girl games provide material for girls to daydream about their future selves and idealised bodies (Willet 2008), allowing them to explore their desires through images and text (Davies 2004). These daydreams provide a future-oriented imagination that establishes goals to be realised in the future (Jenkins 2011). It is worth noting that these imaginings do not necessarily contradict reality, as reality can be an essential component of imagination.

2.3.2. Actualization of Imagination and Desires in DVC Girl games

DVC practices in games typically emerge as the actualization of what resides in the consumers' idealisations, including their imagination, idealised pursuits, and desires (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2007). According to studies, young girls who play girl games have recognised marketplace literacies such as fashion styles and other consumption narratives derived from other media (Tsaliki 2016; Willet 2008). Their girl game practices are frequently the actualization of what they already knew and imagined (Tsaliki 2016), as evidenced by how girls represent their daydreams through their avatars in their girl games (Davies 2004, Thomas 2004), how they imagine their future selves, and the kind of appearance and lifestyle they want as women (Davies 2004, Thomas 2004). (Willett, 2007). Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2012) also argued that DVC practices could stem from consumers' inability to actualise their desires through material consumption practices, even if those desires can only be realised in digital virtual space. In the case of girl games, this can be seen in how girls play the games because they want to be a fashion model (van Reijmersdal et al. 2013) or because they want to wear taboo clothing (Willett 2008a). Actualizing desires virtually, according to Molesworth and Denegri-Knott (2006), may

elicit pleasure and the same emotions that consumers experience in the real world of material consumption, such as having fun, feeling intrinsically motivated (Buchanan-Oliver and Cruz 2009, Seo and Jung 2016), and satisfying their needs for success and happiness (Ryan et al. 2006, Chang and Zhang 2008, Rigby and Ryan 2011). Jenkins et al. (2010) argued that the unlimited possibility for consumers to actualize their imaginations provided by DVC can be a source of hedonism. DVC gives consumers the ability to create mental images of consumption pleasures.

2.3.3. Consumer Experimentations in DVC Girl games

DVC offers individuals the opportunity to experiment with various consumer positions and consumption practices without fear of social disapproval or repercussions (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010). According to Willet (2008), these spaces are particularly important for girls' identity development and expression, as they provide access to alternative cultures and ways of being. This aligns with Turkle's (1995) assertion that digital spaces provide a safe platform for people to experiment with multiple identities, which can shape their self-understanding and their view of the world. For girls who engage in digital games, DVC practices have allowed them to experience the Western marketplace culture and assume powerful consumer positions that challenge their traditional status as incompetent consumers (Cody 2010; Carrington and Hodges 2010). Through choosing different looks and styles, as well as experimenting with different forms of femininity in relation to idealised figures, such as the sexy female body of a model avatar, girls can explore various consumer subjectivities (Willet 2008a; Tsaliki 2016). This experimentation can include transgressive practices such as wearing sexually provocative clothing or engaging in criminal behaviour in games such as Grand Theft Auto (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2012).

2.3.3. The Transformative Potential of DVC

Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2013) argued that, by experimenting with consumption practice and by stimulating and actualizing daydreams and desires, DVC is endowed with the power of transformation enacted through reflective activity during or after engaging in DVC practices. Molesworth and Denegri-Knott (2013) adopted Campbell's (2004) idea that shopping enables consumers to know their likes and dislikes, which is a way for them to understand their desires by experimenting, defidefining, refining their tastes through consumption (Campbell, 2004). Consumers achieve this by asking questions, such as: is that for me? Am I like that? Could that be (part of) me? Could I be like that? Would I like to be like that?' These questions represent an endless process of information-gathering to arrive at self-discovery (Falk and Campbell, 1997, p. 4). Molesworth and Denegri-Knott (2012) found that DVC practices sequentially allow

50

consumers to experiment with 'self-knowing through object knowing' (p. 230), which can produce internal controversies and negotiations that are often unnoticeable and private, hence leading to transformations.

Molesworth and Denegri-Knott (2012) emphasised that the key elements of the reflective potential of DVC are the realisation of personal congruity due to experimenting with different subject positions and the actualization of one's life aspirations. Nonetheless, the literature emphasises that people reflexively interpret the meanings embedded in marketplace resources differently (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard 2002). In modern conditions of globalisation, people become conscious of the idea of differing cultures and their traditions (Giddens 1991; Beck 1994; Tomlinson 1999). Within such situations, encounters with contradictory cultures, such as the case of Western and Muslim cultures (Jafari and Goulding, 2013), can magnify the potential for reflexivity and transformation due to the incongruities in marketplace resources (Jafari and Goulding 2013). Considering those assertions, DVC practices in girl games may simulate Western marketplace cultures and offer Jilbab girls reflexive opportunities in their consumption practices and their Islamism, which can lead to conflict, negotiation, and transformation (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2012).

However, the impact of material consumption on DVC practices, suggesting freedom of practice in DVC, will need further research. Rather than unlimited freedom, few studies have found that girls tend to regulate their avatar self-practices and subjectivity according to the socially constructed norms of the marketplace, neoliberal capitalism, and gendered femininity (Tsaliki 2016; Willet 2008). Girls also display their compliance with the internalised dominant norms of consumption (Tsaliki 2016). This suggests that DVC practices are also being structured by certain social and market rules, limiting the freedom of practice that was previously emphasised (Denegri-Knott and Mosleworth 2010). In this vein, this study intends to show DVC practices within different contexts where social and religious constructs regulate consumption practices. The data provide relevant insights to reconsider the contention that DVC offers complete freedom of practice and the significance of DVC freedom in different consumer cultural contexts.

2.3.4. Identification of The Third Research Gaps

There has been a notable emphasis on understanding how digital mediation may reshape the nature of global cultural mediation. However, numerous research questions remain unanswered. For instance, how does the process of market mediation for global consumption

unfold? Will digitised globalisation lead to "humans with no boundaries"? How do engagements with mediated global consumption challenge socialisation in local societies? How do contemporary digital platforms mediate perceptions of different marketplaces and consumer cultures? And how do technological mediations accelerate social transformation? Scholars have called for addressing these aspects (Ger et al., 2018; Ger, 2019; Thompson and Price, 2002; Wilk, 1995; Kline, 2006). The existing literature lacks a comprehensive understanding of how local consumer experiences in digital virtual consumption intersect with these questions. It is crucial to consider the impact of recent digital technology on human experiences, as it continuously reshapes individuals' abilities and interactions across various social domains, potentially giving rise to new cultural phenomena (Kozinets, 2018). Despite advancements in digital mediation, our understanding of how mediation in digitally mediated global consumer culture, specifically in the context of DVC, may have transformative powers is still limited.

Adopting the mediation perspective in understanding DVC reveals two crucial aspects. Firstly, it highlights that the processes of mediation are driven and embedded not only institutionally but also technologically (Silverstone, 2005). While DVC is predominantly conceptualised as a consumer practice, it is essential to recognise its potential as a transformative process that shapes consumers (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013). This study investigates how DVC experiences mediate active participation in global consumer culture through various consumer practices and roles, extending beyond what is available in the local market and potentially contributing to the formation of modern consumer subjects. By providing a framework to comprehend consumer experiences and practices in the digital virtual space, DVC serves as a steppingstone towards understanding unfolding transformations.

Furthermore, viewing DVC through the mediation perspective emphasises the significance of situating the DVC process within the "context of context"—the institutional framework in which consumers operate. This situates the DVC study within the sociohistorical context that gives rise to consumer experiences, acknowledging the crucial role of culture in DVC, which has been previously overlooked. Importantly, there is a lack of studies that help understand DVC and girl games in non-Western cultural contexts. DVC has predominantly been studied in cultural locales such as the UK and the US, where traditional cultural and religious constraints are not particularly strong. While many studies on global-local encounters have explored the experiences of the dialectic between the global and the local in materiality, the manifestation of these experiences in DVC remains poorly understood. Addressing this research gap, this study examines how the process of global-local mediation unfolds as Jilbab girls engage with girl games, navigating imbalanced cultural and structural norms of the global and the local that regulate the consumption practices of everyday clothing and fashion, both in material and virtual

consumption. Furthermore, it investigates how these experiences contribute to the development of modern consumer subjects among young girls living in traditional Javanese Muslim society, an area that has received little attention in previous research (Jones, 2008; Bevir and Trentmant, 2004).

2.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter presents an extensive literature review that explains the problem and importance of this thesis. The review discusses how digital virtual consumption in girl games acts as a mediator for active participation in global consumer culture and shapes the formation of modern consumer subjects among young girls. The literature points out the absence of empirical study in this field and outlines three main areas for investigation: the development of contemporary consumer subjects, the mediation process involved in shaping modern consumer subjects, and the significance of DVC practices in this mediation process. The analysis focuses on the formation of modern consumer identities through the exploration of agency and subjectivity in daily routines and their associated psychological processes. The study seeks to explore how daily consumption habits in the local culture and encounters with global consumer experiences through DVC girl games influence the development of contemporary consumer identities.

Additionally, the literature acknowledges that the formation of modern consumer subjects involves navigating the dialectic between the global and the local, potentially resulting in multiple modernities. While the literature on global consumer culture provides insights into global-local encounters in consumer cultures, it primarily focuses on the cultural consequences of global consumer culture. Furthermore, the unique experiences of digital media in DVC have not received sufficient attention. To address this gap, the concept of mediation is introduced to understand how encounters between the global and the local unfold in digital virtual spaces like girl games and how these experiences shape consumers within local contexts. Adopting a mediation approach requires considering the situated context that enables and constrains technologically mediated practices, emphasising both the process and the practice. *Further*, although extensive literature addresses cultural globalisation through media and popular culture, its manifestation in the digital virtual space remains understudied. While the literature on DVC emphasises the freedom of consumer experiences, it is important to investigate how this freedom shapes the global-local dialectic within DVC. The GCC literature demonstrates that tensions and insecurities can arise from encounters between the global and the local, which also exist in DVC. Despite arguments that the digital revolution frees local realities from temporal and spatial constraints, literature

highlights that such experiences can generate tension and insecurity, warranting further investigation due to the limited research in this area. This study aims to address this gap by examining the mediation process of cultural globalisation through digital virtual consumption and the dialectic of the global and the local within DVC practices, exploring their potential in shaping the formation of modern consumer subjects.

In conclusion, this chapter shows that the current body of research does not go far enough into explaining how digital virtual consumption affects cultural globalisation, how the global and the local interact in DVC practices, or how these practices can change modern consumer subjects. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical framework that aligns constructively with this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework: The Formation of Modern Consumer Subjects and Digital Virtual Consumption

The aim of this thesis is to investigate and describe the ways in which digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games plays a role in the formation of Jilbab girls as contemporary consumer subjects. On the other hand, the existing body of literature that was examined previously does not provide us with sufficient resources to comprehend the mediation process of cultural globalisation through DVC and the dialectic of the global and the local within DVC practices. This highlights the necessity of conducting additional studies. Taking into consideration the limitations that have been identified in Chapter 2, the purpose of this chapter is to broaden our understanding of the role that DVC mediation plays in the construction of contemporary consumer topics.

To achieve this, the chapter draws upon Giddens's theory of self-identity and modernity, the mediation of experience (Giddens 1991a, 1991b, 2004, Tomlinson 1994), integrating it with Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's theory of digital virtual consumption (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010a, 2013c, 2013d, Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2012b, 2015). This integrative framework offers a lens through which to interpret the experiences of Jilbab girls as they interact with global consumer culture via girl games. The first section of this chapter delves into Giddens's perspective on self-identity and modernity, while the second section explores how mediated experiences shape modern self-identity, incorporating DVC theorization into this understanding. The chapter then outlines the objectives of the research and the questions it seeks to answer, emphasising how the theoretical framework guides these goals.

3.1. Giddens's Theory on the Formation of Self-Identity and Modernity

Prominent in the field of social theory, Anthony Giddens's concepts have had a significant impact on numerous academic disciplines, including accounting, social studies, cultural studies, media studies (Tomlison 2005, Silverstone 2005), architecture, and urban planning. His profound insights into self-identity, globalisation, and modernity have had a substantial influence on numerous domains of social theory, including consumer culture studies (an interview with JCC, 2003). In conjunction with the writings of Pierre Bourdieu, his structuration theory occupies a pivotal position in practice theory and has been implemented in consumer research, specifically in the field of consumer culture theory (CCT) (Thompson et al. 2018; Phipps and Ozanne, 2017). In spite of facing criticism, Giddens' theories have significantly contributed to the advancement of knowledge regarding the influence of global modernity on the development of self-identity. In doing so, they have produced valuable empirical observations that have benefited the field of consumer and consumption studies (Kjalgaard and Askeergard, 2006; Jafari and Goulding, 2013). A considerable body of CCT research has been devoted to the examination of self-reflexivity in modern consumer culture (Buckingham, 2007; Askeergard and Kjalgaard, 2006; Jafari and Goulding, 2013; Ghihi and Sassateli, 2020). Phipps and Ozanne (2017), on the other hand, expand upon Giddens' notion of ontological security through an investigation into the disruption of routine consumption activities. In addition, Thompson, Henry, and Bardhi (2018) extend Giddens's theory, which explicates the dynamic relationship between subject (meaning) and object. Because of this, modern subjectivity might form when traditional people actively or unintentionally replace social norms in their local setting and use modern norms and values to keep local structures in place through their daily actions and interactions.

I employ Giddens' perspective to underscore the significance of everyday routines in shaping consumer subjectivity and acknowledge the influence of mediated global experiences on local societal transformation (Giddens, 1984, 1991a, 1991b). Giddens contends that social structures that form and persist as a result of routine daily activities influence individual behaviour, thereby fostering the growth of ontological security. Ontological security pertains to the psychological mechanisms' individuals employ to establish order and continuity in their lives within a specific local context. Additionally, Giddens (1991) emphasises the impact of global experiences on the transformation of self-identity from traditional to modern forms. This transformation can be observed through the regular incorporation of modern practices and values, as well as shifts in ontological security. In these kinds of changes, modern referentiality may be mixed with external referentiality that was previously rooted, such as religious, cultural, traditional, and familial aspects. Giddens (1991) examines how individuals uphold ontological security by anchoring themselves to both external and internal referentiality through their

56

everyday routines. This theoretical perspective proves particularly pertinent to comprehending the ways in which young girls, by engaging in daily practices involving Muslim clothing, interact with mediated global experiences through girl games. These engagements have the potential to facilitate the development of agency and subjectivity among young girls, thereby fostering the possibility of instigating societal change.

Even so, Giddens' concept of self-identity in modernity has been subject to various critiques. Critics argue that his emphasis on reflexivity and the individual's role in shaping their identity tends to overlook the significant influence of culture and institutions (Adams, 2003; Hay, 1994). Moreover, there is concern that his theoretical accounts may be disconnected from real social and political contexts, despite offering valuable insights into the interplay between individual identities and broader societal changes (May, 1995). Bryant (2001) points out the limitations of Giddens' structuration theory, particularly its applicability to issues related to technology, environmental, and medical ethics. Despite these critiques, Giddens' work remains influential, prompting ongoing discussions about the complexities of modern life and the formation of self-identity.

3.1.1. The Formation of Self-Identity

In Giddens' framework, the formation of oneself extends beyond specific traits, behaviours, or reactions influenced by others. Contrary to the common belief that identity remains continuous across time and space (Giddens, 1984, page number), Giddens asserts that an individual's cognition plays a central role in maintaining a consistent sense of identity over time. This is achieved through regular engagement with others in everyday activities, fostering reflexive comprehension, construction, and maintenance of self-identity. Self-identity refers to an individual's understanding of who they are based on self-awareness and lived experiences. People typically possess an awareness of their actions and motivations. When individuals have confidence in their sense of self, they experience a sense of biographical continuity that they can comprehend and convey to varying degrees. This process involves the capacity for agency, which refers to an actor's ability to purposefully and intentionally make choices within various interactive contexts, continuously monitor their own activities, and understand the social and physical contexts in which they operate. Giddens (1984) posits that agency is not solely based on normative commitments but encompasses various rationalising factors.

In Giddens' approach, routines serve as a central analytical unit for understanding the behaviours by which individuals perceive themselves and maintain a sense of rationality within

social practices that are ordered across space and time (Cohen, 2000: 95, 96). Routines play a crucial role in explaining how social structures and individual agency interact to shape social life. By regulating their day-to-day routines, individuals establish a stable and predictable environment that instills feelings of security and comfort, enabling them to focus on other aspects of their lives, such as social relationships, work, and personal growth. In this context, Giddens (1984) introduces the concept of *routinization*, which encompasses the habitual actions individuals engage in on a daily basis, establishing familiarity and predicting their behaviours. These daily processes give rise to "practical consciousness," creating a distinction between unconscious and reflexive monitoring of actions, leading to a sense of automation in certain activities that are taken for granted. Such routines are also imbued with a sense of trust and security (Giddens 1984). The stability of our social interactions is closely linked to our mental and psychological health. It is through this stability that we develop confidence, trust, and autonomy as individuals (Giddens, 1991).

Ontological security refers to the trust individuals feel in the continuity of their self-identity and the constancy of the immediate social and material contexts of their actions, serving as a motivation for everyday routines (Giddens 1984, 1991). It represents a secure mental state that allows individuals to participate in routine actions within comfortable circumstances, underpinning a significant portion of their daily routines. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the interplay between structure and agency, as well as the role of routinization, practical consciousness, and ontological security, is crucial for comprehending how social structures and individual agency interact to shape social life. Furthermore, it sheds light on how individuals develop, maintain, and transform their self-identity within the fabric of everyday routines.

Everyday routines in a situated local has shaped one's identity formation and maintenance. According to Giddens (1991, p. 146), tradition, practical adjustments to the external environment, and taken-for-granted habits shape identity formation in traditional societies. The construction of meaning and practices is deeply rooted in the local sociocultural context, where knowledge is co-constructed through social interactions (Rogoff et al., 1993; Vygotsky, 1978). Although individuals often overlook the existential parameters of their sustained routines in daily life, these routines play a fundamental role in shaping their self-identity. Giddens (1991) argues that individual identity is organised based on kinship relations and localised social organisations across time and space. For example, in traditional Javanese society in Indonesia, tradition retains its significance as a distinct mode of structuring specific routines that are essential for effective social functioning (Heffner, 2008; Muelder, 1998). Religion in traditional societies also provides

58

moral and practical interpretations of personal and social life, fostering a sense of reliability in social activities and natural events (Brenner, 1996; Schmidt, 2016; Geertz, 1961).

Giddens' analysis delves into the formation of consumer subjectivity within the local context, shedding light on how individuals navigate the dynamics between stability and change. He emphasises the importance of creating time-space circuits that establish a sense of routine, as they prove beneficial to individuals. The quality of one's mental and psychological well-being is intricately tied to the stability present in their social life. Stability plays a critical role in developing confidence, trust, and autonomy as an individual. However, trust can only flourish when an individual's level of ontological security is sufficiently high. It is crucial for individuals to be convinced and reassured that their experience of the world is reliable and consistent, aligning with how things appear to be. This conviction extends to their own sense of self (Giddens, 1991).

3.1.2. The Reflexive Self and Modern Subjectivity

In Chapter 2, I have conducted an exploration of various approaches aimed at understanding the formation of modern subjects, with a particular focus on Giddens's perspective. Giddens's viewpoint places a strong emphasis on reflexivity as a critical element in the development of modern subjectivity. He argues that modern individuals possess the capacity to reflect upon and evaluate their own actions, as well as the social structures that influence their lives (Giddens, 1990, 1991). The emergence of contemporary institutions, such as the media, which give people greater access to knowledge and information about themselves and the world around them, facilitates this process of self-reflection. Giddens contends that this reflexive self-awareness empowers individuals to actively construct their own identities and make choices based on their own understanding of their position within society.

Another key aspect of Giddens's approach lies in his exploration of the transition from traditional to modern self-identity, achieved through an examination of how individuals develop their sense of self (Giddens, 1990, 1991, 2000). Giddens highlights notable distinctions in the characterizations of self-identity between traditional and modern contexts, while underscoring the significant role of individuals in constructing and shaping their identities through processes of self-reflection and self-interpretation. Figure 3.1 illustrates the trust factors that differentiate and shape the ontological security of traditional and modern self-identities. Importantly, these changes are profound and have a profound impact on the constitution of the self. The processes of change associated with modernity are intricately entwined with the influence of globalisation, with individuals often experiencing a sense of being swept up in vast waves of global transformation,

leading to feelings of unease. As a result, the formation and maintenance of self-identity occur amidst shifting day-to-day experiences and the fragmenting tendencies exhibited by modern institutions.

Environments of Trust and Risk in Traditional and Modern Cultures

	TRADITIONAL	MODERN
	General context: overriding importance of localised trust	General context: trust relations vested in disembedded abstract systems
Environment of Trust	1. Kinship relations for stabilising social ties across time space	1. Personal relationships as means of establishing social ties
	2. The local community as providing familiar milieu	2. Abstract systems as a means of stabilising relations across indefinite spans of time-space
	3. Religious as modes of belief providing interpretation of life and nature	3. Future-oriented and counterfactual thought as a mode of connecting past and present
	4. Tradition connect present and future, past-oriented in reversible time	
Environment of Risk	1. Threats and dangers emanating from nature	1. Threats and dangers emanating from the reflexivity of modernity
	2. The threat of human violence from marauding armies, local warlords, brigands	2. The threat of human violence from the industrialisation of war
	3. Risk from religious grace or of malicious magical influence	3. The threat of personal meaninglessness from the reflexivity of modernity

Figure.3.1. Environment of Trust and Risk in Traditional and Modern Culture (Giddens 1991b, p.122)

Giddens (1991) posits that the transition from traditional to modern societies is characterised by a growing interdependence between globalising influences and individual subjectivity, which deeply impacts self-identity. Figure 2.1 illustrates the shift from traditional to modern societies. Individuals in traditional societies had a stable and fixed sense of self because their social and cultural context, which included factors like kinship relationships, local community, religious values, and cultural traditions, largely shaped their actions and decisions. Trust and risk were determined by external criteria tied to physical threats, religious beliefs, and adherence to social and cultural norms (Eckhardt and Mahi, 2014; Sandicki and Ger, 2010). Moral and ethical considerations were embedded within the social norms and customs that governed everyday life.

However, in modern societies, individuals are expected to exercise autonomy in decision-making and take responsibility for their actions, considering future-oriented life planning and abstract systems of scientific and modern knowledge (Giddens, 1991). The sense of security can no longer be firmly anchored in external criteria such as kinship, social duty, or traditional norms. Furthermore, the perpetuation of mediated global experiences has raised concerns among local populations about the erosion of locally embedded references, resulting in a decline of traditional morals in daily life. Slater (1997) describes how modern consumer culture fulfils individual

autonomy, self-identity, authenticity, and personal excellence through the consumption of market-offered products. Against the backdrop of various external shifts and mediated global experiences, the formation and maintenance of self-identity in modern individuals become intricately intertwined and require ongoing reflexive control (Giddens, 1991).

During the transition to modern society, familial and peer connections remain important for the majority of the local population. However, they no longer play a central role in structured social integration as they once did (Ger, 2018). Research in consumer studies has highlighted the changing significance of religion and tradition within the local context, alongside the widespread adoption of modern consumer culture (Beta, 2019; Sandicki and Ger, 2010). Scholars have also observed the diminishing importance of traditional morality (Wilk, 2010), as Giddens (1991) argued that moral perspectives are closely intertwined with modern daily routines. Firat and Venkatesh (1997) contend that markets promote individualism by emphasising consumer rights and responsibilities. The market-based framework for self-identity allows individuals to prioritise their individual choices over tradition, culture, and morals (Wilk, 2010; Slater, 1997). Market mechanisms construct consumer representations, attributing desires and preferences to individuals and guiding their choices through marketing, branding, merchandising, packaging, and references that align with their identities (Chessel and Dubuisson-Quellier, 2012). Thus, as Giddens (1991a) argues, the formation and maintenance of self-identity become a process of acquiring desired items and pursuing culturally defined lifestyle choices. This indicates that modern identity is not solely a matter of individual choice but is shaped and influenced by the broader transformation of the social, political, and cultural context in which individuals exist.

Furthermore, the formation of the modern consumer subject involves a reflexive project of self (Giddens 1991), where individuals actively create and maintain a coherent narrative of their lives through various market choices, utilising market resources to shape their self-identity (Trentmann, 2006). Giddens (1990) emphasises that modern subjects are not passive recipients of social and cultural change; instead, they play an active role in constructing and reproducing their own identities and social relationships. Reflexivity and self-reflection are central to the formation of modern self-identity. This ongoing process of evaluating and re-evaluating one's actions and decisions can generate stress and anxiety as individuals strive to maintain a consistent and coherent sense of self within modern societies (Giddens, 1990, 1991).

The transition to becoming modern consumer subjects may be particularly significant among Jilbab girls in this study, who grow up in the context of Javanese Muslim society. The Javanese people are known for their collectivist social structure, where individuals strongly identify with the community, adhere to social norms, and prioritise communal tasks (French et al., 2001; Geertz, 1951; Triandis, 1995). Within their routines, Javanese people prioritise familial

connections, foster a sense of community, and emphasise shared goals over individual advancement (Serad, 2012). The Javanese also uphold the "collateral orientation" standard, which encourages harmony, conformity, and a well-organized social structure (Kuntjoroningrat, 1991; Muelder, 1996), adding to the ontological security they experience. Consequently, there is pressure for individuals to conform, anticipate others' actions, and express similar opinions. As a collectivist society, the Javanese value individuals' ability to integrate harmoniously into their respective groups (Kuntjoroningrat, 1991). However, individualization may pose challenges at the societal level, as it has the potential to disrupt social cohesion on a larger scale (Frones, 2016: 28). Exploring how this society responds to the interplay between the global and the local in terms of global consumer culture remains understudied, which becomes a focus of interest in this study.

Global and local interactions are important parts of modern life (Appadurai, 2000; Ger et al., 2018). Giddens's theory of self-identity and modernity helps us understand how traditional and modern social orders coexist in global and local settings, from both an institutional and an individual point of view (as we talked about in Chapter 2). However, the significant role of the consumer subject has often been overlooked in discussions of globalisation (Ger et al., 2017; Coskuner-Balli and Ertimur, 2018), with existing literature portraying consumers in newly marketized economies as passive entities controlled by corporate and government interests, merely adapting to changes brought about by globalisation and free market economies rather than actively shaping them (see the review by Sharifonnasabi et al., 2019).

3.1.3. Critical Reflections on Giddens' Modernity and Self Identity

While Anthony Giddens's theories on modernity, reflexivity, and ontological security have been instrumental in shaping our understanding of social structures and individual agency in Western societies, his work faces notable limitations when applied to non-Western contexts. Giddens's conceptualisation of modernity is rooted in the experiences of Western societies, where individuals in modern societies engage in self-reflexivity, where they continuously question and reconfigure their identities, behaviours, and life choices (Giddens 1991). This process is tied to the disembedding of individuals from traditional frameworks, such as religion or kinship, and their increasing reliance on abstract systems (such as science, technology, and the market) to provide ontological security (Giddens 1991). However, this focus on individualisation and self-reflexivity assumes that individuals universally prioritise personal autonomy and self-expression over collective norms (Bryant 2001).

In non-Western societies, particularly in traditional Muslim societies, individual identity is often defined in relation to community, religion, and family structures (Heffner 2017, Bilqin 2012, Jafari and Guolding 2013). Collective identities remain a core aspect of life, and individuals may derive their sense of ontological security from fulfilling roles that align with religious teachings, cultural values, and kinship expectations, rather than from self-reflexive questioning (Smith 2016, Muelder 1991). In these contexts, Giddens's emphasis on individualisation as a marker of modernity may fail to capture the ongoing significance of collective agency, where the individual is embedded within a broader social and religious network (Adams 2003, Bryant 2001).

Furthermore, Giddens's (1991) framework views modernity as a process of disembedding from traditional structures, implying that modern individuals' distance themselves from localised forms of social control, such as religion and kinship, and instead turn to more universal systems of governance, such as global markets and scientific knowledge (Giddens 1991). This perspective often implies that traditional structures will lose their influence as societies modernise. However, in many non-Western societies, tradition remains a resilient force even in the face of modernisation (Ger 2017, Ger et al 2018). For instance, in Muslim-majority societies, religious teachings continue to play a significant role in shaping social norms, ethical behaviours, and moral frameworks, even among individuals who engage with global consumer culture (Jung 2019). In these societies, modernisation does not necessarily lead to the abandonment of traditional values, but rather a hybridisation where global influences are integrated with local customs (Schmidt 2016). Giddens's framework does not fully account for the persistence of tradition and its capacity to coexist with, and even shape, modern identities (Adams 2003). Therefore, while Giddens's insights on modernity remain useful, they must be critically adapted to account for the specificities of non-Western contexts, where modernity often takes the form of a negotiation between global and local, traditional and modern.

3.2. Giddens' Global Mediated Experiences and Digital Virtual Consumption

> Modernity is inseparable from its `own' media: the printed text and, subsequently, the electronic signal. The development and expansion of modern institutions were directly bound up with the tremendous increase in the mediation of experience which these communication forms brought into their train. (Giddens 1991. p. 25)

Central to Giddens's (1991) viewpoint is the significance of mediated global experiences in forming modern self-identity. His analysis of the evolution of the contemporary individual considers the intersection of local particulars and distant sociocultural events and connections as

a result of globalisation and modernization processes (Giddens 1991). Within this particular framework, media functions as a mediator, connecting the international and local arenas and enabling the development of personal identities through the provision of an extensive range of material and symbolic resources. According to Giddens (1991), such mediated experiences possess the capacity to turn ordinary individuals in local societies into modern subjects, thereby exhibiting transformative potential. Understanding this process of change and the manner in which identities form requires an examination of mundane activities that occur in particular local settings. According to Giddens (1991), mediated global experiences provide individuals with a wide range of cultural knowledge and experiences, which they can use as a basis to shape their identities. Additionally, they provide individuals with the chance to establish and maintain diverse identities, which frequently contrast with one another. Giddens emphasises the pivotal significance of mediated experiences in the formation of contemporary self-identity, given that they offer people the chance to engage in reflection, encounter the world cautiously, and develop a reflective identity. Furthermore, these interactions with global modernity at a local level produce a pluralization of action contexts and "authorities," both global and local, contributing considerably to the reformation of everyday practices at a local level (Giddens 1991).

Mediated experiences, while fostering globalisation, also present unique obstacles, particularly when it comes to balancing the dialectic of global and local identities and values (Giddens 1991). Traditionally, cultures were primarily localized with economic activities deeply woven into the fabric of social networks. However, globalisation has started to change this landscape. Although some view this change with concern, others accept it as an inherent part of life in our increasingly interconnected world (Ger et al., 2018). The rising prominence of globally mediated experiences highlights the complex ways in which globalisation is reshaping our social and cultural landscape. In this context, mediation is understood as a fundamentally dialectical concept. It considers the mediation processes to be both institutionally and technologically driven and ingrained (Silverstone, 2005). Consequently, to fully understand mediation, we need to explore how these processes shape and are shaped by the social and cultural contexts that nurture them. We also need to examine the relationships among the actors involved, whether they are individuals or institutions, within those contexts (Silverstone 2008). The dialectical nature of mediation emphasises its nonlinear character and the uneven relationships among participants in the media process. It suggests that mediation can be more effectively understood as a sophisticated interplay of varying dynamics within mediated experiences (Thompson 2005). In essence, mediation is a complex process that has an impact on and is an impact on the relationships between the various actors involved, illustrating the reciprocal nature of mediation in particular cultural or social contexts. By recognising the complexity of these interactions, we

64

can gain a more nuanced understanding of the transformative power of mediation in our globalised world.

Scholars such as Giddens (1991), Tomlinson (1995), and Mazzarella (2003) argue that the global mediation process encompasses contrasting the dialectic, the local and the global, and the processes of disembedding and reembedding (Giddens, 1990, 1991). The mechanism of mediation is explained in Figure 3.2. below.

Figure 3.2. Scheme of the Mechanism of Mediated Experiences
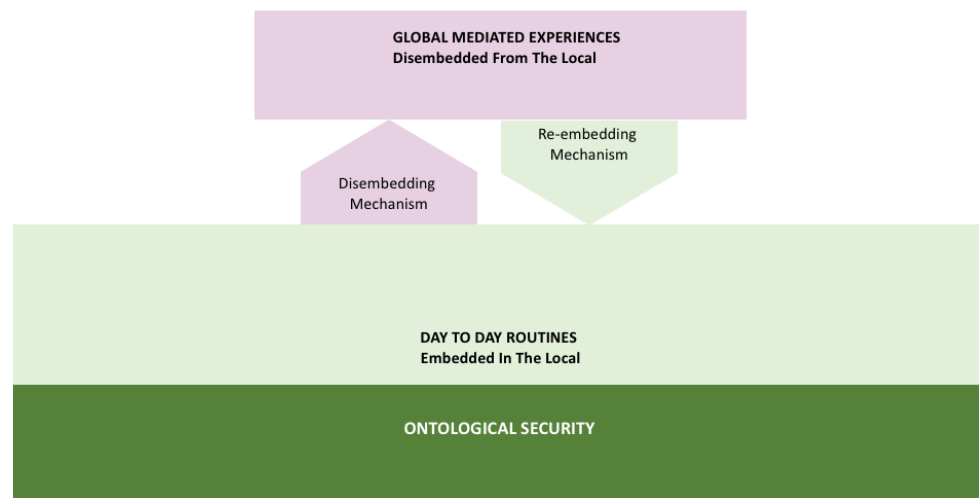
Giddens introduced a fundamental idea that serves as the basis for our understanding of the mediation process and acknowledges the critical role of embeddedness in traditional societies, as shown in Figure 3.2. This viewpoint is consistent with Polanyi's (2001) conceptualization that institutional regulations and social relationships have a strong influence on economic activities. In pre-modern market societies, economic actions were embedded within social structures, and social institutions served as a check on the dominance of the market. This highlights the interdependence of economic activities with social connections, cultural norms, cognitive frameworks, and political systems. Additionally, the mediation process involves two key processes: disembedding and reembedding. *Disembedding* refers to the separation of social practices from their local contexts and their integration into new abstract systems that operate across different timeframes and spaces. On the other hand, reembedding pertains to the *reintegration* of these social practices and institutions into new contexts and forms of social relationships (Giddens, 1991b). These intertwined processes highlight the complexities and dynamics of identity formation within the context of globalisation By understanding the interplay between embeddedness, disembedding, and reembedding, we can gain insights into how individuals navigate and shape their identities in the modern world. This framework helps us

65

examine the transformation of social practices and institutions as they adapt to the changing global landscape. Furthermore, it provides a lens through which to analyse the challenges and opportunities individuals encounter in constructing their identities amidst the forces of globalisation.

3.2.1. The Disembedding Mechanism

Polanyi (1944) and Giddens (1991) have recognised the concept of disembedding mechanisms. The term 'disembedding' refers to the transition of social interactions and activitie, as they progressively dissociate from their local contexts and reorient themselves across broader temporal and spatial spectrums (Giddens 1991). Giddens (1991) employs the concept of disembedding to tackle the effects of modernity on social institutions. Giddens' idea of "disembedding" serves as a lens through which we can examine the transformation that modernity brought about in social relations and structures from local to more global. A crucial aspect of Giddens' theory of disembedding involves the introduction of "symbolic tokens" and "expert systems." Symbolic tokens, such as money or currency, are media that carry value or meaning across different contexts. This universal acceptability allows it to bridge the gap between local and global economic activities, thereby facilitating disembedding. Hence, the disembedding mechanism from an individual's standpoint represents the reorganisation of social relations, removed from local surroundings and restructured across vast spans of time and space. Consequently, individuals' experiences are influenced by abstract systems such as global economic systems, science, media, and technology, rather than confined to their immediate physical environment (Giddens 1991). This disembedding process underlines the intricate and sometimes conflicting facets of modernity, wherein social relations and activities become increasingly global and interconnected, yet individuals may feel progressively detached from their immediate social and cultural milieus (Mathur 2014).

Applying this understanding to the present study, I consider the emergence of global consumer culture in DVC girl games as a disembedding mechanism that separates Jilbab girls from their local contexts. In this vein, girl games practices can be seen as abstract systems that engage young girls with the consumer's roles and practices of western consumer culture (Cumming 2017, Marsh 2010) that extend beyond their immediate surroundings, connecting them to global networks of consumer culture. Furthermore, girl games practice can also be associated with symbolic tokens. In this case, the practices themselves serve as the tokens, taking the form of actions and behaviours within the game. These practices carry symbolic meanings and represent the globalising tendency of consumer culture. As players engage in these practices, they

66

are participating in a globalised system of consumption that transcends local boundaries. Girl games provide a platform for players to engage with various aspects of this culture, from fashion and beauty to lifestyle choices and social interactions. As players navigate these virtual worlds, they are exposed to globalised ideas, trends, and values, which can influence their own self-perception and identity formation.

Similar consideration has been conducted in Nita Mathur's study (2014), wherein she addressed diverse forms of disembedding observed among young urban consumers in India as they embrace global consumer culture. Because of the allure of desirable goods and services and an increased desire to consume, these consumers have changed from necessity-based consumption to conspicuous consumption. Market dynamics cater to these evolving preferences, allowing youth to use consumer goods and experiences as symbols of their modern identity and societal position (Mathur 2014). Global media exposure can inform their worldview, influencing perceptions of remote places and people (Jafari and Guolding 2012).

However, it's crucial to remember that disembedding mechanisms can induce ontological anxiety and tension. Giddens (1991) proposes that any disturbance to traditional patterns could incite existential crises, leaving individuals feeling vacuous and grappling with moral and existential quandaries. Those experiencing high stress levels may need to confront and overcome these crisis periods. Disembedding experiences can undermine ontological security, and engagement with the global scene can heighten identity-associated anxieties and insecurities in numerous local societies (Jafari and Goulding 2013, Bilken 2012). When individuals consciously strive to reclaim more reflective control over their self-identity, especially when they realise the disrupted aspects, they likely lack the required social or psychological resources to sustain those aspects (Giddens 1991). Giddens' disembedding mechanisms allow social relations to interweave with modern concepts, liberating them from traditional constraints. This freedom allows individuals to reflect on their moral and ethical principles, basing decisions on these principles instead of tradition or authority (Giddens, 1991). According to Giddens (1991), individuals tend to engage in reflective thinking and reasoning when navigating tensions and crises. This act of rationalising one's actions is a common aspect of human interactions and is typically taken for granted. The ability to justify one's actions across different situations forms the cornerstone upon which others assess an individual's competence. In this way, individuals can better manage their social relationships and situations, resulting in a more controlled development of their self-identity.

3.2.2. DVC Practices as The Mediation of Experiences

Giddens' concept of mediation of experience refers to the mechanism that allows distant events to permeate our everyday consciousness (Giddens, 1991, p. 26). Similarly, Thompson (2005) describes the mediation of experiences as the use of technological mediums that overcome the constraints of time and space to facilitate communication. This concept provides a comprehensive framework that encompasses **a wide range of mediated activities** beyond exposure to specific media platforms. The DVC (Digital Virtual Consumption) theory informs this study's understanding of mediated experiences. DVC theory focuses on experiences and practices in the digital virtual space (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2010), which mediate the experience of global consumer culture. This framework expands our understanding of how global consumer culture is mediated in digital virtual spaces (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2013), as discussed in the previous chapter.

Digital virtual spaces, such as girl games, facilitate practices that are distinct from local customs and routines. In line with Giddens' ideas, these spaces can be seen as modern institutions that enable the disembedding of market experiences from local time and space, allowing them to extend across limitless social interactions. Girl games provide a space that exists somewhere between the real and the ideal. In this space, individuals have the opportunity for free experimentation, enabling them to actualize their desires and imagination in ways that may not always be possible in the real world. Girl games offer a platform for global engagement, presenting people with a wide range of global ideas and lifestyle alternatives. Within this context, individuals can choose from a "plurality of possible options" (Giddens, 1991:81) to define their self-identity. Consumers in girl games can select commodities to add to their desired items and incorporate idealized lifestyles into their self-conceptions. They actively construct a unique sense of self by utilizing the symbolic and material resources available to them in these virtual spaces.

According to DVC literature, DVC practices provide individuals with a sense of freedom from local norms and constraints, enabling them to experiment with different consumer roles and consumption practices, even those that may be considered taboo. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2012) describe DVC as an "in-between space" that allows consumers to disengage from material norms and constraints. However, our understanding of how girl games and other forms of global digital media and digital virtual spaces operate as mediating agents of global consumer culture remains limited. Previous studies have predominantly focused on contexts where the marketplace within games aligns with the cultural setting. This gap in research is problematic because the cultural view of the market, which encompasses the moral basis of valuation, is context specific. Recent research has explored how Muslim tween consumers navigate global-local consumer cultures, highlighting the influence of historically situated and socially embedded webs of

68

meaning on normative meanings and desires in the marketplace. Therefore, examining the mediating function of girl games and other digital media in different cultural contexts can enhance our understanding of how the global mediation of consumer culture occurs and how digital media and digital virtual spaces facilitate the dialectic of the global and the local through unlimited and unfiltered interconnections.

Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2012) argue that DVC allows consumers to break free from normative and cultural constraints. Giddens (1991) explains that this phenomenon is characterised by the "sequestration of morals" from everyday life. Through this process, individuals reflect on their own values and beliefs and make decisions based on their personal moral and ethical codes, rather than relying on tradition or authority. This is particularly relevant in modern societies, where individuals are expected to make decisions based on their own values rather than external norms. As a result, traditional localities such as kinship, cultural norms, and traditions may not always define individual experiences or provide the sense of security they once did. Individuals must take responsibility for their actions and be accountable for their decisions, contributing to the formation of a self that is self-reflexive, self-conscious, and actively engaged in the process of self-formation. Giddens argues that this process of moral sequestration is a characteristic feature of modern societies wand plays a crucial role in increasing individualization and self-reflexivity.

3.2.3. The Reembedding Mechanism

Giddens coined the term "reembedding" as a counterpoint to disembedding (1991b). As noted before, he argued that modern societies are marked by disembedded social relations where the established connections to local communities, families, and traditions are weakened or even severed (Giddens, 1991). The concept of reembedding also finds roots in Polanyi's work (1944) on economic geography and has been referenced extensively in studies focused on the global economy (i.e., Raynold 2007, Thorne 1996). Reembedding, according to Giddens (1991, p. 79), signifies the *reappropriation* or recasting of disembedded social relations, such that they are again connected to local contexts of time and place. Essentially, this process serves to root abstract systems in tangible social interactions and relationships. This requires individuals to reinterpret or reshape global abstract systems in a manner that aligns with their local conditions and concerns. For instance, local consumers may adapt modern consumer culture based on their cultural values (Ekschard and Mahi 2014), or they may utilise global brands to reinforce their social identities within local contexts (Kravets 2014).

As modern identities form, Giddens (1991) maintains that an individual's identity is moulded by continuous narratives about themselves, extending from the past into an imagined future. In local societies, individuals traditionally relied on local references to determine appropriate behaviour (Giddens, 1980). While global mediation offers a range of action settings and multiple "authorities," both global and local (Giddens, 1991), consumers generally manage to maintain their identity within the mundane social life of their local context (Askeergard and Linnet 2011). The complex interplay between global and local influences prompts individuals to deliberate their choices meticulously. They must reflect on new global concepts and items, incorporating them into their identities while concurrently aligning with local identifiers (Eckhardt and Mahi, 2014; Mathur, 2014). In this context, the reembedding mechanism can also be perceived as engaging in self-reflexivity, a perpetual process of self-examination and self-assessment. This self-reflexivity helps individuals maintain a coherent sense of self amidst the persistent changes and uncertainties characterising modern life (Giddens 1991).

Reembedding is a process that situates social interactions and practices within certain social and cultural contexts. This is accomplished through a variety of tactics aimed at blending global influences with local environments while maintaining a sense of belonging and predictability (Mazzarella 2003, Giddens 1991). One such tactic involves maintaining consistent daily routines that are recognisable over time (Giddens 1984, p. 3). As an example, Eckhardt and Mahi (2014) explain how local consumers use moral values from their community to regulate their desires, thereby illustrating the clash between consumerism and societal norms. Reembedding also entails the rejection of the negative facets of disembedding. It involves the rediscovery and acknowledgment of local knowledge and practices, appreciating their value and significance (Jafari and Goulding 2013). For instance, Jafari and Goulding (2013) discuss how young Iranian consumers engage in a reflective process of virtual intercultural learning. This process involves individuals comparing their cultural structures, values, and meanings with those of others, which aids in redefining their self-identity. The process starts with observing commodified culture, then reflection, inquiry, interpretation of deeper cultural meanings, and finally implementation of these ideas (Jafari and Goulding 2013).

The reembedding mechanism is crucial for forming and preserving a consistent self-identity in modern societies, even though this experience can be anxiety-inducing (Giddens 1991). However, feelings of ontological security can be preserved and stabilised by adhering to familiar local routines, which are essential when making decisions amongst the numerous choices presented by mediated experiences (Giddens 1991). For instance, non-Western consumers don't see globalisation as a Western solution to their issues. Instead, they acknowledge the cultural differences between the West and their own society and strive to construct their own versions of

modernity based on their unique experiences and requirements (Sandicki and Ger 2010, Jafari and Goulding 2013, Schmidt 2016). Being ontologically secure involves having answers to fundamental existential questions, which everyone grapples with in some form or another (Giddens 1991). By expanding their exposure to mediated experiences, local individuals can gain self-reliance and knowledge about occurrences beyond their immediate environment. Furthermore, tradition serves a key role in maintaining ontological security (Giddens 1991) by fostering trust in the continuity of the past, present, and future and by associating religious beliefs with routine social activities (Jafari and Goulding 2013).

In summary, the theoretical description above lays the groundwork for the analytical framework that informs the interpretation of the study's findings. Giddens' concept of the formation of modern subjects, the mediation of experience, and Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's concept of DVC provide valuable insights into the experiences of global market mediation through DVC and its significance in shaping modern subjectivity, particularly from the perspective of local consumers. The mediation process of global consumer culture through DVC encompasses different mediation states. Firstly, the state of embeddedness highlights the deep interconnections between economic activities, social structures, social relationships, and institutional regulations. Secondly, the state of disembedding involves the separation of social practices from their local contexts and their integration into new abstract systems that operate across different timeframes and spaces. Thirdly, mediated experiences facilitate practices that are disembedded from local customs and routines. Finally, the state of reembedding pertains to the reintegration of these social practices and institutions into new contexts and forms of social relationships (Giddens, 1991b). By considering the interplay between embeddedness, disembedding, DVC practices, and reembedding, this study explores how consumers navigate and shape their subjectivity in the modern world. Additionally, Giddens' approach emphasises the significance of routines as a central analytical unit for understanding how individuals perceive themselves and maintain a sense of self within social practices that are ordered across space and time. This understanding involves exploring the psychological processes associated with stable and unstable ontological security, which encompass feelings of security, comfort, and anxiety that arise from the maintenance or disruption of everyday consumption routines (Cohen, 2000)

3.4. Objectives and Research Questions

The theoretical assumptions outlined above provide the foundation for the objectives of this study and the research questions it aims to address. The primary objective is to theorise and document how DVC practices in girl games mediate the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects. Building upon the integrative framework discussed earlier, the following objectives have been identified for this research.

1. To explore how DVC girl games shape the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects

   This thesis addresses the gap in the existing literature within consumer research regarding the limited understanding of the mediation process in modern consumer subject formation through DVC. By drawing on Giddens' (1991) perspective on modernity and self-identity, the mediation of experience, and Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's (2012, 2013) DVC, this study questions:

   RQ1: How do DVC practices in girl games mediate the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects?

   RQ2: What are the experiences of disembedding mechanisms through DVC girl games and reembedding mechanisms within local culture?

2. To develop a nuanced understanding of Jilbab girls' DVC practices in girl games

   This thesis aims to fill the gap in Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) by examining the dialectic of global and local within DVC and its importance in shaping DVC experiences. At the same time, this thesis responds to Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's (2012) call to contextualise DVC studies within non-western consumer culture. This research seeks to shed light on the importance of the influence of sociohistorical context in DVC practices. Accordingly, this thesis questions:

   RQ3: What are the experiences of Jilbab girls engaging with DVC practices in girl games?

   RQ4: How does the dialectic between global and local influences emerge in the DVC practices of Jilbab girls?

3. To understand the transformative potential of DVC in girl games on the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects,

DVC has been recognised for its transformative potential in fostering consumer reflexivity (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2013). Further, viewing DVC as the mediation of experiences (Giddens, 1991) entails investigating its capacity to shape the formation of modern consumer subjects. Giddens emphasises the crucial role of mediated experiences in diversifying contexts of action and "authorities," encompassing both global and local influences, thereby significantly impacting the reconfiguration of everyday practices at the local level (Giddens, 1991). Thus, this thesis also questions:

RQ5: How does the transformative potential of DVC in girl games contribute to the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects?

3.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter serves as an exploration of the theoretical framework that informs this thesis. It takes an integrative approach by incorporating Giddens' formation of modern subjects, the mediation of experience (1984, 1991), and Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's DVC (2010, 2013). These theories offer valuable insights into the mediation process of global consumer culture through DVC and its importance in the formation of modern consumer subjects. The mediation process involves different states: embeddedness, disembedding, mediated experiences, and reembedding. Understanding these states helps to explore how consumers navigate and shape their self-identities from traditional into modernity. The emphasis on routines and ontological security further contributes to the understanding of consumer subject formation. This chapter establishes the theoretical groundwork for the study's exploration of DVC's role in mediating global consumer culture and shaping consumer subjectivity.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology: Hermeneutic Phenomenological Approach

This thesis aims at addressing the theoretical gaps identified in Chapter 2 by examining the role that DVC female games have in mediating the development of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects. This chapter provides a detailed summary of the philosophical paradigm, research strategy, and methodologies used in this study. The hermeneutic-phenomenological approach is advocated as providing the most suitable framework for evaluating individuals' experiences according to their subjective accounts. This method focuses on comprehending the significance and explanations that individuals attribute to their experiences. The chapter contains a contemplation on the data gathering method, emphasising the essential components that need thorough consideration and focus. The research process includes a thorough description of the research strategy, data gathering methods, and data analysis procedures to guarantee quality and dependability. This involves detailing the data collection methods used, such as in-depth interviews and visual story inquiries, and explaining the data analysis process to extract valuable insights. This chapter emphasises the high quality of the study findings and establishes a solid basis for the next examination of the results.

4.1. Researching Jilbab Girls' experiences

This study is rooted in the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) research tradition, which employs an interpretive approach to knowledge production and views reality as inter-subjective (Arnould and Thompson 2005, Tadajewski 2006). This epistemology recognises that truth is subjective and that consumer practices have perceived meanings that are contextual to certain consumer cultures, rather than being explained exclusively by economic or psychological considerations (Askegaard and Linnet 2011, Arnould and Thompson 2005). By adopting the CCT approach, this study examines the complex meanings and engagements of Jilbab girls with material culture in everyday life and digital virtual consumption in girl games, aiming to provide an account of their experiences and negotiations. The CCT perspective allows for an exploration

of the transformative consequences of these practices and an analysis of the inconsistency between consumer cultures in the digital virtual space and in mundane material life, resulting in a comprehensive understanding of how girl games mediate global consumer culture and contribute to the formation of a modern consumer subjectivity among Jilbab girls.

Previous investigations into digital consumption have predominantly employed phenomenology to delve into the pre-consumption stages and experiential aspects of consumption (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2013; Jenkins et al., 2010; Molesworth, 2009; Drenten and Zayer, 2018; Ross, 2013). Phenomenological analysis has provided significant contributions to the understanding of diverse aspects of digital virtual consumption. These include the intricacies of consumer desire dynamics, the influence of imagination on consumption patterns, ethical dilemmas that arise in the context of virtual consumption, and the profound impact that digital virtual consumption has on individuals as they navigate high-risk life events (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2010, 2012; Molesworth, 2005, 2013; Molesworth and Watkins, 2014). Phenomenology has demonstrated its efficacy in documenting intricate and nuanced descriptions of digital virtual consumption practices, owing to the fact that such practices entail experiences that are not readily observable from an external standpoint.

This study adopts a mediation perspective, which examines how the mediation of experiences reproduces and transforms social structures (Mazzarella, 2003). To gain a comprehensive understanding of mediation, it is essential to consider three key aspects: the local social context, the global mediation process, and individual experiences of mediated global phenomena within social contexts (Thompson, 2005). This study uses a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective to help people understand this by putting consumers' wider cultural contexts and the dialectic of global and local in the context of their digital virtual consumption (DVC) experiences. It is crucial to acknowledge that such experiences may not always be explicitly conveyed through consumers' subjective accounts. They may involve feelings of anxiety, uneasiness, and avoidance when engaging with global ideas and products, which can arise from the experience of mediation. Therefore, developing a conceptual understanding of these experiences becomes crucial (van Mannen, 2007, 2020). As was covered in chapters 2 and 3, this work offers an analytical grasp of the practices and psychological processes involved in global cultural mediation by utilising theoretical frameworks put forth by Giddens (1991) and Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2012, 2013).

The comprehension of the role DVC girl games play in facilitating the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects is construed from the lived experiences of Jilbab girls in their routine interactions with Islamic clothing and their participation in worldwide fashion consumption as part of DVC girl games. Grounded in the principles of Consumer Culture Theory

(CCT), the sphere of fashion consumption surfaces as an instrumental area in which the notion of consumerism progresses (Simmel 1971). Fashion consumption transcends the simple act of procuring clothing and apparel, instead presenting a milieu in which young girls employ both tangible and symbolic market resources and consumer culture to comprehend their selfhood, the perceptions others hold of them, and the cultural milieu they inhabit (Marion and Nairn 2010, Harris 2004, Cody 2012, McDonald 2016, Tsaliki 2016, Sorenssen 2012, Tufte and Rasmussen 2005; Willett 2008, Andersen 2011). Previous investigations have indicated that engagement with fashion is affected by the common significance present within distinct cultural settings (Slater 1997, McCracken 1989). The scrutiny of young girls' interaction with fashion consumption contributes valuable understanding regarding their identity development, interpersonal connections, and wider socio-cultural dynamics (Driscoll 1999, Cook 2004, Pomenant 2008, Hill 2016, McDonald 2016, Bragg and Buckingham 2013, Harris 2004).

In addition, conducting research with young girls poses methodological challenges as they may have limited ability to articulate their experiences and feelings in a coherent and meaningful manner (Anderson et al., 2014). Additionally, a number of factors, such as their developmental stage, social and cultural background, and relationships with carers and peers, can affect their experiences and perceptions (Morgan et al., 2018). Recognising these challenges, the methodological approach adopted in this study has been specifically designed to facilitate the expression of young girls' experiences and perspectives (Cody, 2012). This approach takes into account their unique circumstances and provides a framework that allows for their voices to be heard and their experiences to be understood within the research context.

A hermeneutic-phenomenological approach was used in the study. Researchers who study Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) frequently use this philosophical perspective to offer intricate and context-specific explanations of consumer experiences (Arnold and Fischer, 1994; Thompson, Pollio, and Locander, 1994; Thompson, 1997). This approach allows for a detailed exploration and description of experiences while considering their broader sociocultural contexts, ensuring an understanding of the individual's subjective perspective. To capture and interpret Jilbab girls' experiences engaging with girl games in their everyday lives, the study employs a set of tools and methodologies developed within the framework of hermeneutic phenomenology. This approach acknowledges the limited narrative and reflective capacities of young girls and includes an insider's perspective from a non-Western research context. By carefully considering the unique intersections of the dialnd local that shape the expelocal dialecticses of Jilbab girls, the study provides a nuanced understanding of their gaming practices and their embeddedness within broader sociocultural contexts. This approach enables a rich and in-depth exploration of

76

the complexities and meanings of the girls' experiences and contributes to the broader field of consumer research within the CCT tradition.

4.2. Hermeneutic Phenomenology

The hermeneutic phenomenological approach was employed in this study to gain a nuanced understanding of the lived experiences and cultural significance of Jilbab girls' engagement with fashion consumption in both their daily routines and in digital virtual consumption (DVC). This approach recognises the significance of interpretation and the role that shared language, customs, and practical knowledge play in shaping human understanding (Dinkins, 2005). The study used phenomenological philosophy and hermeneutic interpretation to look into the narrative nature of Jilbab girls' consumption stories (Thompson, 1997) and how these stories connect to their larger stories about who they are and their culture. This approach facilitated an exploration of the personalised meanings and pre-understanding that Jilbab girls bring to their engagement with girl games and DVC. It allowed for an in-depth examination of the cultural context of traditional Javanese Muslim society and its influence on the mediated experiences of girl games among Jilbab girls. By considering the impact of this cultural context, the study sought to provide a comprehensive understanding of how Jilbab girls navigate and negotiate their consumer identities within the intersection of global and local influences. The hermeneutic phenomenological approach enabled a rich and nuanced exploration of the intricate connections between culture, self-identity, and consumption practices among Jilbab girls.

4.2.1. Research Philosophy

Hermeneutic phenomenology is a philosophical approach that combines the traditions of phenomenology and hermeneutics, drawing on the works of Heidegger, Gadamer, and Ricoeur (Ricoeur 1991, Valdes 1987). The approach emphasises the interdependence of these two traditions and rejects the dichotomy between objective knowledge and subjective understanding (Kafle 2011). Ontologically, it posits that social reality is embedded in individuals' subjective interpretations of their experiences, which are reflected on and recounted in lived experience. The purpose of phenomenology as a research method is to uncover the patterns in these subjective meanings and understand the essence of human experience (Riceour 1991).

In the context of this study, the focus is on understanding the meaning of engaging with consumption practices in girl games. Phenomenology explores the meaning of human experiences and seeks to understand "what it means to be?" in this context (Kafle 2011). Experiencing consumption in girl games is experienced concretely in digital virtual spaces within the individual single lifeworld (Van Mannen 1997). Despite the constantly changing visuals, narratives, and games in the digital world, phenomenology focuses on how the experience is perceived and understood rather than the content of these objects. Heidegger's concept of "selfsameness of the perceived" explains how an object remains constant despite changing perspectives or aspects of it (Heidegger 1992, p. 43). Thus, the study employs hermeneutic phenomenology to provide context-attentive interpretations of Jilbab girls' consumption experiences within girl games.

Hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with revealing the implicit meanings and interpretive frameworks that shape our perceptions of lived experiences. Rather than simply describing experiences, it seeks to comprehend the subjective and interpretive aspects of human life. In the phenomenological tradition, a person's attitude or perspective shapes the distinction between subjective and objective aspects of reality. Individuals continuously shift between different attitudes or perspectives in their interactions with their environment, which can result in a change in their experience of a given phenomenon. Hermeneutic phenomenology emphasises the significance of interpretation, dialogue, and the ongoing process of understanding rather than seeking objective truth. Making meaning from experiences involves a hermeneutical approach, where new meaning is interpreted and compared to previous understanding, resulting in a revision of that understanding. The act of re-experiencing and bringing meaning to lived experiences is an act of interpretation (Armour 2009). All recollections of lived experiences, including reflections, descriptions, and conversations, are transformations of those experiences and are essentially interpretations (Van Mannen, 1990). Reviving an experience and giving it significance through interpretation is seen as an act of interpretation (Van Mannen, 1990).

Hermeneutic phenomenology highlights the importance of pre-understanding in shaping people's experiences. Pre-understanding refers to an individual's prior knowledge, beliefs, experiences, and assumptions that shape their perception and interpretation of the world (Heidegger 1962). This prior knowledge serves as a structure in how people understand and interact with the world, influencing their experiences and interpretation of reality. Heidegger (1962) emphasised that people's interpretation of experience is always situated within their pre-understanding. Social customs, the media, and religious beliefs can all have an impact on this pre-understanding. ethnic rituals and traditions (Thompson 1997). Culture provides symbols and meanings that order our reality in a certain way, making it difficult for people to doubt its validity (Geertz 1973: 129).

Cultural Background of Historically Established Meanings

Personalized cultural frames of references

Personal history as text (narrative structures)

Interpreted Meanings (consumption story)

Experiential Gestalt

Dialogical Transformations
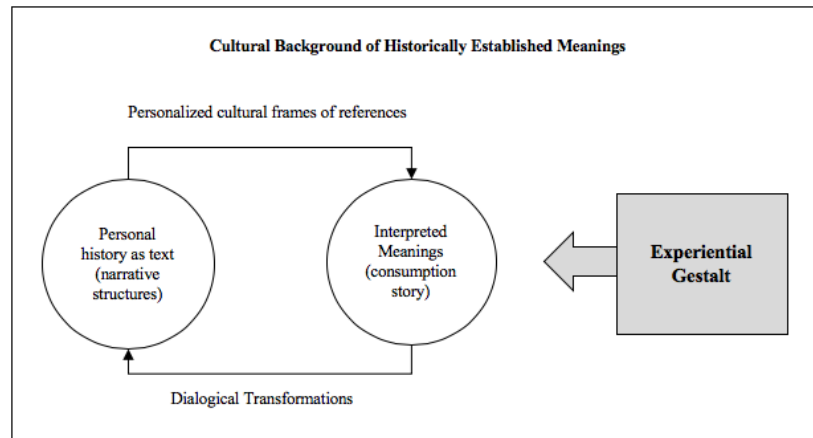
Figure 4.1. Thompson's Model of Meaning Interpretation (Thompson 1997, p. 440)

Thompson (1997) argues that cultural knowledge should be approached through multiple interpretive positions and analytical frameworks, as it is heterogeneous and dynamic. The hermeneutic-phenomenological approach allows for the exploration of shared cultural constructs through personal narratives. Consumers are viewed as "self-narrators," and the meanings they assign to their experiences are considered personal narratives situated within their pre-understanding. Consumer stories provide coherence to multiple experiences and contribute to self-identity. Personalised cultural meanings create a frame of reference for personalised meanings and self-identity based on social categories, beliefs, folk knowledge, and interpretive frames of reference (Thompson 1997).

4.2.2. Fusion of Horizons

As a method, hermeneutic phenomenology tries to figure out what people are trying to say by rearranging their stories and putting together different pieces of information in a way that makes sense (Thompson et al. 1994). The "fusion of horizons" idea is very important to this method (Gadamer 1989). It describes how the participant's point of view and the researcher's point of view are combined to create a deeper understanding of the text. The term 'horizon' symbolises the participant's pre-existing knowledge, beliefs, and anticipations that mould their worldview. This fusion of horizons is seen as a joint effort, highlighting the researcher and participants' shared creation of meaning, making intertextual interpretation easier, and removing the separation between subject and object (van Mannen 1990). The goal of this methodology is to illuminate the text holistically by combining the perspectives of the researcher and the participants.

79

During the interpretive process, the text or phenomenon is endowed with renewed significance and comprehension via the interaction between the interpreter's horizon and the text itself. The researcher may incorporate their personal perspective, values, and norms in the interpretation of the texts (Greene and Hogan 2005). However, the goal is not to superimpose the interpreter's viewpoint onto the text or phenomenon but to engage in a reciprocal process that heightens the understanding of both, enabling shared influence and comprehension. The fusion of horizons is a dynamic and iterative process wherein the interpreter persistently refines and deepens their understanding of the text or phenomenon, while the text or phenomenon continually shapes and broadens the interpreter's horizon. The culmination of this process is an enriched, holistic comprehension of the text or phenomenon and a more detailed, informed interpretation of human experience (refer to figure 4.2).
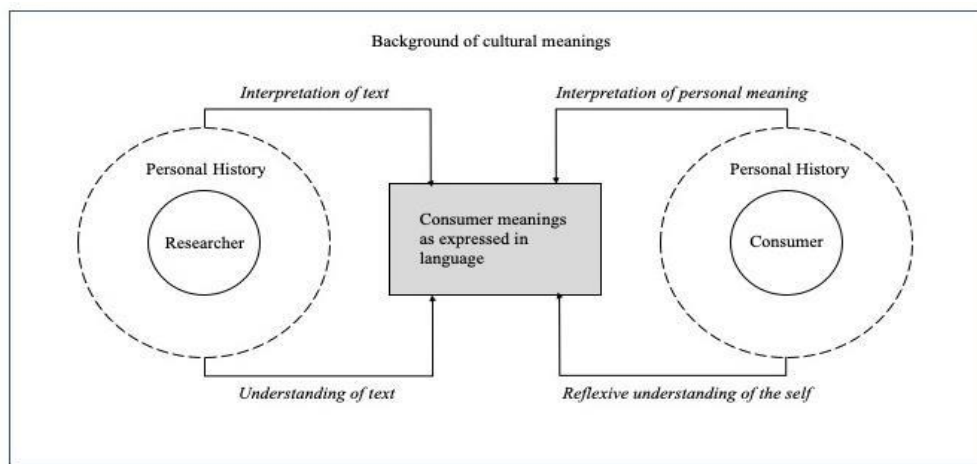
Figure 4.2. The Fusion of Horizons (Thompson, Polio and Locander 1994, p.434)

In this research, the 'fusion of horizons' is notably salient when interacting with young girls who might grapple with articulating their experiences in the researcher's language, especially if they are not proficient in it. Their experiences, still emerging and perhaps not fully formed, could also pose difficulties in expression. Nonetheless, hermeneutic phenomenology permits the researcher to deploy their life history as a mechanism for comprehending the experiences of the participants. This was realised through autobiographical reflections and anecdotal instances that involve recollections of the researcher's own childhood experiences. By integrating personal memories and experiences, the researcher was able to gain a distinctive perspective that can add depth and breadth to the understanding of young participants' experiences (Greene & Hogan, 2005).

In a non-Western research context, the fusion of horizons is particularly beneficial, accommodating the researcher's inside view. This study profited from my insider position, fostering common ground and enhancing the quality and quantity of the data collected. By sharing

80

a similar identity and pre-understanding with the participants, trust was cultivated, and cultural and linguistic obstacles were mitigated. This shared identity and pre-understanding fostered a more profound comprehension of the participants' experiences, with participants being more inclined to be open about their lives (Mannay 2017; Atkinson et al. 2003). An insider perspective offers unique benefits and an 'epistemic privilege' (Mannay 2017) in research, as participants are more likely to disclose nuanced, intimate aspects of their lives, resulting in richer data.

However, it is crucial to acknowledge potential biases introduced by the researcher's personal perspective, values, and norms to safeguard the validity and reliability of the research findings. To attenuate these biases, robust and transparent methodologies were adopted. In hermeneutic phenomenology, the researcher must uphold a degree of detachment in interpreting participants' life narratives, a concept referred to as 'distanciation' by Ricoeur (1990). To implement this, I set my own pre-understandings aside to comprehend them better and reflected on my values, social narratives, moral constructs, and beliefs to recognise any potential influences that may shape interpretation and understanding. This reflexivity was fundamental for conducting this hermeneutic phenomenological investigation and attaining a deeper understanding of participants' experiences.

4.3. Research Context and Participants

Market and consumption habits are fundamentally embedded in their local context (Polanyi 2001). This investigation situates its empirical focus on Demak City, nestled within the Central Java Province of Indonesia. Noted for its deep-seated and far-reaching lineage of traditional Islamic culture, Demak dates back to the 15th century and holds the distinct honour of being recognised as the first Islamic Kingdom in Java, solidifying its role as a central hub for Muslim guardian activities. Consequently, this historical and continued significance has bestowed upon Demak the epithet "*Kota Wali*," signifying the city of Muslim guardians (Sunyoto, 2016).

In the present era, Demak continues to sustain its status as one of the vibrant centres for traditional Muslim activities. Despite the inroads made by modernization and development, Demak has remained steadfast in preserving its traditional Javanese Muslim values, alongside the careful safeguarding of the historical heritage of the Demak Islamic kingdom. These enduring Islamic values and cultural traditions have a significant impact on the city's societal dynamics, which span formal and informal spheres of interaction (Sunyoto 2016, Marwoto 2016). Given this backdrop, Demak emerges as a compelling locale for delving into the cultural phenomena of global-local youth culture. The city's distinct historical lineage and socio-cultural milieu carve

81

out specific manifestations of the global-local dialectic. Demak affords a unique perspective to examine the interplay between global influences and local culture, providing an extensive understanding of how deep-rooted traditional values intersect with and, in turn, shape the assimilation of global cultural practices amongst its younger generation.

Picture 1 and 2. Children as active consumers in Traditional Market

Picture 3 and 4. Jilbab girls' home environments

Figure 4.3. The Research Settings

The endeavour of hermeneutic phenomenological research lies in uncovering the essence of specific lived experiences, necessitating the gathering of empirical data directly from those individuals who have personally undergone such experiences (Van Mannen, 1990). As a result, the selection process in phenomenological research is deliberate and uniform, concentrating primarily on people who share an experience (Green and Brown, 2005). In accordance with the interpretive research paradigm, the participants in this study were chosen using purposive sampling, aiming to yield information-rich cases conducive to an intricate analysis (Patton, 2002, Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

The study involved 28 Jilbab girls, who each dedicated an average of six hours per week to playing girl games (for specifics, see figure 4.4.). The participants' ages spanned from 7 to 13 years old. Multiple strategies were employed for participant recruitment. Firstly, leveraging my personal network of family and friends allowed access to parents; this led to the referral of 12 girls through their parents. The remaining participants were discovered using a snowball sampling

technique (Cresswell, 2008), wherein individuals identified potential participants, who were then individually contacted to evaluate their suitability for the study. From an initial pool of 48 potential participants, 39 agreed to partake in the study, of which 28 girls were ultimately available and consented to participate. Both the girls and their parents received comprehensive information about the research process, supplemented with an information sheet, and were requested to complete a consent form. The study guaranteed participant anonymity, and Table 1 offers pseudonyms along with a concise overview of each participant's background to further safeguard their identities.

Pseudonyms	Age during Interviews	Girl Games Designs	Cumulative Interview	Estimate Hours play games/week
Adiba	11 years	5 figures	4 hours, 20 mins	3-5 hours
Aisah	10 years	8 figures	3 hours, 47 mins	1-2 hours
Nurul	11 years	5 figures	2 hours, 48 mins	3-5 hours
Alina	11 years	3 figures	2 hours, 06 mins	3-5 hours
Putri	12 years	7 figures	3 hours, 47 mins	>5 hours
Azizah	13 years	6 figures	3 hours, 12 mins	>5 hours
Badriyah	9 years	9 figures	4 hours, 11 mins	1-2 hours
Laila	12 years	8 figures	3 hours, 56 mins	>5 hours
Wardah	10 years	6 figures	2 hours, 03 mins	1-2 hours
Daniya	11 years	3 figures	3 hours, 5 mins	3-5 hours
Fadila	10 years	8 figures	5 hours, 14 mins	>5 hours
Fahima	12 years	3 figures	2 hours, 14 mins	>5 hours
Faizah	9 years	8 figures	4 hours, 02 mins	>5 hours
Fatiya	12 years	3 figures	2 hours, 23 mins	1-2 hours
Farida	13 years	5 figures	4 hours, 42 mins	>5 hours
Haifah	9 years	8 figures	5 hours, 22 min	3-5 hours
Halimah	10 years	4 figures	4 hours, 11 mins	1-2 hours
Haniyah	11 years	7 figures	4 hours, 50 mins	1-2 hours
Azmiya	13 years	3 figures	3 hours, 26 mins	3-5 hours
Retno	11 years	2 figures	2 hours, 05 mins	1-2 hours
Lina	13 years	6 figures	4 hours, 15 mins	3-5 hours
Karima	11 years	3 figures	3 hours, 50 mins	1-2 hours
Naila	12 years	4 figures	3 hours, 24 mins	>5 hours
Lutfiya	12 years	4 figures	3 hours, 18 mins	>5 hours
Nining	12 years	8 figures	4 hours, 05 mins	3-5 hours
Malika	12 years	6 figures	4 hours, 30 mins	3-5 hours
Mufidah	13 years	3 figures	4 hours, 12 mins	>5 hours
Nabila	10 years	11 figures	5 hours, 07 mins	1-2 hours
Nurina	9 years	4 figures	4 hours, 09 mins	>5 hours

Figure 4.4. The Research's Participants

Maintaining effective communication with parents is crucial for gaining their support and ensuring the participation of young girls in research (Clark, 2011; Green and Holt, 2005). The support of the research process by young girls' parents has a positive impact on their level of engagement and active participation during interviews (Green and Holt, 2005). In this vein, for this study, I was committed to establishing a transparent communication pipeline with the parents

during the consent stage, which proved instrumental in shedding light on the familial context and its bearing on the girls' daily existence. Informal dialogues encouraged parents to voice their apprehensions about the swiftly evolving media landscape and their ensuing moral quandaries surrounding their daughters' interactions with video games and the broader media spectrum—a concern well documented in existing literature (Rahayu, 2013; Lim, 2015).

An undercurrent of anxiety among some parents centred on the presumed detrimental effects of media consumption on their daughters' religious adherence, which they deemed to be at odds with Islamic principles (Marchessault, 2014). Nevertheless, parents also underlined their commitment to nurturing their daughters' learning endeavours via modern gadgets. These valuable insights not only contextualise the familial backdrop within which the study is rooted.

4.4. Methods of Generating Data

Hermeneutic phenomenology, as a research approach, does not adhere to rigid guidelines (Koch, 1995). In fact, Gadamer was known to declare the absence of distinct methodologies for both phenomenology and hermeneutics (Van Manen 1990, p. 30). Hence, Van Manen emphasised that researchers working in this paradigm need to have certain attitudes, like being open and aware of the thing being studied, working hard to figure out what it means, and being ahead of the curve when it comes to resolving paradoxes and bringing opposites together (Dahlberg et al., 2001; Gadamer, 1995; Heidegger, 1998; Husserl, 1970; Merleau-Ponty, 1995). While no prescribed methodology exists for executing hermeneutic phenomenological research, scholars such as Van Manen (1990, 1997) propose the use of a repertoire of instruments, including interviews, observations, and protocols, to gather data. Accordingly, this study utilised a blend of several research methodologies to produce data, incorporating phenomenological interviews and visual narrative inquiry

This study utilised hermeneutic phenomenological interviews to delve into the personal stories of Jilbab girls regarding their everyday Muslim dress consumption as well as their experiences consuming fashion in girl games. The hermeneutic-phenomenological interview is an interactive approach that emphasises active listening and conversation (van Manen, 1990). The conversations were tailored towards the research questions and conceptual basis of the study, aiming to generate detailed information about the participants' experiences in their own words (Roulston, 2010). As Geertz (1973) explains, the goal of this approach is to gain insight into participants' true experiences rather than relying on their perceptions or assumptions about those experiences.

84

In addition, the visual narrative approach was implemented to decipher the meanings inherent in participants' engagement with fashion consumption within the context of girl games. The visual narrative approach has seen extensive use in research relating to girls' media consumption. This method integrates the exploration and interpretation of experiences both visually and narratively and has proven conducive to fostering more insightful and inventive storytelling among young girls within the context of hermeneutic phenomenological research (Veale, 2005). Visual-centric methodologies also promote more comprehensive responses and encourage the discussion of complex and abstract themes (Greene and Hogan, 2005; Thomas and O'Kane, 1998). This approach has been deployed in prior studies to enable young consumers to articulate their lived experiences in their own words and has been effectively utilised in previous research to solicit the meanings attributed by young girls within the domain of girl games (Willet, 2008; McDonald, 2016, Tsaliki, 2016). By scrutinising the visual representations within these games, I managed to draw out participants' narratives and stories related to fashion consumption.

The data collection for this study was divided into two phases. The initial stage involved conducting two to three in-person interviews with each participant and an additional interview via an online video call. A preliminary meeting was arranged with the parents prior to the first interview to obtain their consent and the participant's assent (see Appendices 1 and 2). Throughout the data collection phase, both the national Indonesian language (Bahasa) and the ethnic Javanese language were used. The interviews comprised three primary stages: a hermeneutic phenomenological interview eliciting participants' life stories; a secondary interview focused on their consumption stories employing the visual narrative method; and a final set of interviews conducted via video call to clarify, extract, and confirm the transcribed life stories from preceding interviews. A total of twenty-eight participants completed the interviews, each spanning approximately 2 to 5 hours (refer to figure 4.4.). The second stage utilised the visual narrative method to extract the implicit meanings in the fashion designs created by the participants within the games and to draw out their experiences of digital virtual consumption (DVC). Given the diversity of games engaged in by participants, the visual narrative methods demonstrated significant utility in facilitating a profound understanding of the lived DVC experience.

Figure 4.5. Research process in the participants' homes settings

The research was conducted in the homely comfort of the participants' residences, as illustrated in Figure 4.5. Such an environment offered familiarity and comfort to the participants, enabling them to unwind and foster a sense of ease. This comfort had the effect of mitigating any inhibitions and encouraging participants to freely share their individual experiences. Furthermore, participants frequently employed their personal possessions, such as toys, clothing, or various household items, to enrich their narratives. Nonetheless, conducting interviews in home environments was not without its challenges. Despite my concerted efforts to curate a conducive ambiance, unforeseen occurrences were inevitable. These included sudden intrusions by siblings, friends, and intrigued relatives. To tackle these obstacles, I had to exhibit flexibility and preparedness for unexpected disruptions. I found that one effective strategy to curtail interruptions during the interviews was to arrange distractive activities for the siblings and friends of the participants (Clark 2011). This ensured a relatively smooth flow of the interviews while preserving the comfort and familiarity of the home environment.

4.4.1. Phenomenological Interview

Interview sessions were designed to be fluid and organic, following the natural flow of conversation rather than adhering strictly to the constructed interview guide presented in Appendix B. Each interview lasted between three and five hours, commencing with participants sharing aspects of their daily lives. Numerous interview sessions saw extensions due to participants becoming deeply immersive in the act of crafting fashion designs within girl games, an activity that necessitated periods of pause. Overall, the study generated 108,56 hours of interview data from 29 participants, with an average of over two to five hours spent per participant. Initial interviews began with a general exploration of the participants' backgrounds, such as their hometowns, schools, peer groups, hobbies, personal interests, and their understanding and practice of Islamic consumption rules. In line with Thompson's (1997:443)

86

view, the interviews aimed to unravel the "personal history construction that underpins a consumer's objectives and their interpretation of desirable characteristics and outcomes." The primary focus was on significant elements such as the jilbab girls' day-to-day experiences, their clothing habits, shopping experiences, religious practices, media routines, and particularly their engagement with girl games.

In addition, the focus extended to how participants interacted with the girl games, the activities they performed within these games, and their surrounding practices. To gain a deeper insight into participants' engagement, they were encouraged to share personal anecdotes. Open-ended questions about their emotional responses to gaming, their relationship with their avatars, their gaming goals, and their accomplishments helped facilitate this. The study also sought to delve into how Jilbab girls interacted with fashion consumption, investigating their understanding of fashion styles, items, mix and match culture, shopping experiences, brands, discounts, virtual currency, and marketplace cultures (comparing Western to non-Western markets). A wider perspective was gained by probing their thoughts, feelings, and actions during digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games and how these either correlated or conflicted with their religious beliefs.

Participants were urged to recount memorable experiences related to consumption, such as purchasing something, shopping, wearing Muslim attire, and the jilbab. This approach enabled participants to recall impactful experiences that resonated with them. The interviews were carefully structured to foster an open-ended dialogue. Probing queries such as "Could you provide an example?" were used in conjunction with affirmations ("OK" and "Right") and prompts ("Go on"). Echoing or rephrasing participants' statements facilitated more unrestricted narratives. Also, the use of incomplete sentences allowed participants to respond freely without feeling obligated to answer in a specific way. For instance, prompts like "Regarding your clothing style, you usually..." and "Wearing the jilbab makes you feel..." offered a platform for unbiased expression (Clark, 2011). These techniques were particularly valuable when engaging with young girls who may find it challenging to answer questions outside of their personal experiences (Clark, 2011). By zeroing in on specific incidents and experiences, participants were enabled to provide intricate descriptions of their consumption practices and experiences. These narratives were noteworthy and remained at the forefront of the participants' recollections (Engel, 2005).

4.4.2. Visual Narrative Approach

During the course of the study, young girls were encouraged to share detailed narratives about their gaming experiences, with particular attention given to the fashion choices they made for their avatars and the various in-game activities they participated in. These conversations provided an opportunity for the girls to reflect on their consumption practices, the ways they engaged with global consumer culture, and how these intersected with their everyday routines in material culture. Through this process, I was able to uncover the diverse meanings of their digital virtual consumption (DVC) behaviours. As part of the data collection process, I utilised game screen recordings, screenshots and photographs to capture key moments from their gameplay. These included images of the avatars they created, the clothing styles they selected, and the virtual environments they navigated. These visual artefacts were not only instrumental in documenting their gaming activities but also served as critical entry points for deeper reflection. By revisiting these screenshots, the girls were able to articulate the meanings, motivations, and emotions attached to their in-game decisions, providing an additional layer of insight into their personal and cultural engagement with the games.

Further, these discussions helped to decode their understanding of market dynamics and their interpretation of different commodities and consumer practices within the games (Willet 2008, Cody 2012, Tsaliki 2016). During the follow-up discussions, these visual elements were used as tools for eliciting deeper insights into the girls' gaming experiences. They were invited to reflect on why they chose certain outfits or avatar designs, what these choices represented for them, and how their decisions were influenced by global fashion trends versus local cultural norms. This reflective process revealed how the girls navigated the tension between globalisation and their religious and cultural values. For instance, many participants spoke about how they balanced their desire to conform to global fashion ideals with the need to adhere to modesty as dictated by their religious beliefs. Moreover, the screenshots facilitated a more nuanced understanding of the girls' interpretations of market dynamics within the games. I was able to decode their understanding of virtual commodities, how they perceived the branding and marketing strategies presented to them, and their interactions with the in-game virtual economy. For example, participants frequently commented on how they managed their virtual currencies, what they chose to spend on, and how these decisions mirrored or diverged from their real-world consumer behaviours. This insight helped to unpack the ways in which consumerist ideologies in the virtual space shaped their perceptions of value, status, and identity.

Furthermore, this approach revealed the varying levels of digital literacy among the girls. Some displayed a sophisticated awareness of in-game branding and marketing strategies, recognising the techniques used to encourage spending and engagement, while others were more

focused on the aesthetic and entertainment aspects of the game. These discussions illuminated how the girls internalised and negotiated consumer ideologies presented in the games, sometimes adopting them and other times resisting them based on their cultural or religious frameworks. By tracing these visual narratives and reflecting on the screenshots, the discussions helped reveal how the girls negotiated conflicting values encountered in the gaming environment. For instance, while the games often encouraged individualism and personal expression through fashion, the girls' reflections showed that they often felt the need to conform to community values around modesty and respectability. This provided a deeper understanding of how they navigated these contradictions, often finding ways to blend or reinterpret global consumer practices within the boundaries of their local traditions.

In addition, this method enabled the tracking of changes in consumer behaviour over time. By comparing initial screenshots with later gameplay, I was able to observe shifts in the girls' fashion choices, spending habits, and engagement with global consumer culture, reflecting broader changes in their subjectivities as they became more familiar with the rules and dynamics of the virtual marketplace. The use of visual narrative through screenshots and photographs provided a comprehensive method for understanding the formation of modern consumer subjectivity among Jilbab girls. It offered a way to delve into the micro-level processes of how they engaged with global consumer culture, how they negotiated these influences with their religious and cultural frameworks, and how their identities as consumers were shaped through their gaming experiences. By using visual artefacts as a central part of the analysis, the study was able to capture and critically examine the complex ways in which digital virtual consumption mediates the girls' understanding of themselves as modern consumers.

4.5. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The objective of phenomenological analysis is to discern and elucidate the meaning, structure, and essence of the phenomenon under study, with a view to transforming such analysis into tangible findings (Patton, 2002). In this study, I employed an interpretive lens to explore the participants' interpretations of their Digital Virtual Consumption (DVC) experiences within girl games. The analysis was geared towards understanding how participants comprehended and made sense of their experiences. I undertook a hermeneutic phenomenological analysis centred on revealing the essence of the investigated phenomenon. While there isn't a prescribed method for conducting hermeneutic phenomenological analysis, the methical procedures posited by Van Manen (1990), Gadamer (1997), and Hycner (1985) significantly informed this study. It is crucial

to underscore that such analysis leans heavily on the researcher's prior knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon, favouring subjective interpretation over objective fact.

Data for this study were derived from interviews (an example of an interview excerpt is attached in Appendice C), participants' visual designs from girl games, field notes, and secondary sources. The analysis spotlighted the practices, meanings, and psychological processes implicated in DVC practices within girl games. This approach resonates with prior research that underscores the significance of examining both routine practices and the underpinning psychological processes (Phipps and Ozanne 2017). The interpretation of emotions was instrumental in probing into ontological security, denoting the sense of stability and continuity in one's life. The situational context in which the data were gathered was vital to comprehensively understanding the participants' experiences. In this respect, intuitive apprehension of some core meanings might commence during the data collection stage itself (Groenewald, 2004). Interpretation then continues throughout the analysis stage in an unfolding and integrative manner, employing Gadamer's (1997) concepts of the 'hermeneutic circle' and 'the fusion of horizons.'

The preliminary phase of the analysis process is reading (Drey, 1993; Williamson, 2005). Reading, far from being a passive act in qualitative analysis, is essential for the emergence of ideas from the evidence-gathering stage to the stages of analysis and interpretation. This stage entailed a thorough review of the participants' narratives about their daily lives, their routines of wearing Muslim attire, and their experiences with girl games. Guidelines from Hycner (1985, p. 282) for analysing phenomenological data directed this analysis. Hycner recommends an exhaustive process that considers every word, phrase, sentence, and paragraph, even noting significant non-verbal communication to elicit the participant's meanings. This stage is pivotal as it denotes a close proximity to the verbatim evidence and aids in pinpointing codes and patterns to outline units of meaning relevant to the research questions.

Van Manen (1990) served as the guide for the subsequent phase of data analysis, which focused on identifying key themes and producing summaries to provide a thorough understanding of each interview. The coding process drew upon prior literature regarding different stages of mediation, providing detailed and descriptive accounts of the experiences at each stage. In the initial analysis, excerpts were selected based on Giddens's mediation stages, including the experiences of disembedding, digital virtual consumption (DVC) within girl games, and reembedding aspects.

Following this, I embarked on a more digital exploration of the discerned themes. This encompassed examining descriptions of various practices and experiences in each state of

mediation. I examined multiple facets of these experiences, spotlighting the meanings of mediation, the emotions it evoked, and their relation to the participant's lifeworld and personal circumstances. The interviews were then synthesised, connecting each participant's series of interviews to identify themes and trace the evolution of the mediation process. Emerging themes were compared across interviews, and particularly compelling stories were noted and reinterpreted in light of new insights and understandings. I continuously revised and fine-tuned the data through repeated rounds of coding and re-coding to recognise emerging patterns and themes. The categories and labels employed to depict the themes and patterns were revised as needed to capture the intricacies and complexities of the data.

A constant comparative analysis of the data was conducted to establish similarities and differences with each unit of data analysis. Adhering to Gadamer's (1997) strategies of the 'hermeneutic circle' and 'fusion of horizons', the texts were read in parts and re-read as a whole, enabling new meanings and perspectives to surface from these readings and analyses. Key linking words from each transcript were categorised in columns to represent the main ideas. This facilitated the emergence of clusters of ideas and concepts, which laid the groundwork for initial themes and sub-themes. After engaging with the texts (van Manen, 1990), themes and sub-themes were revised, and new ones emerged. Redundant words and repetitive lists were eliminated, and overlapping words and lists were re-examined and re-categorised.

In the final stage of interpretation, the emphasis shifted to interpretation and theory-building. I further developed the themes by comparing the study's findings with existing research and literature to provide a deeper understanding of the process, practices, and consequences of mediation and the formation of modern subjectivity. This involved multiple rounds of consolidating codes into themes through an iterative approach. I persistently reviewed and refined the data to achieve a more profound and comprehensive understanding of the data interpretation. The aim was to identify key insights and connections between themes and synthesise the findings into a coherent and more comprehensive understanding of the data.

4.6. Research Quality

Different researchers have proposed a variety of standards to evaluate qualitative research's quality. As Koch (1996) posits, the selected criteria should comply with the methodological and philosophical assumptions that underpin the research. The term 'rigour' is frequently utilised to assess the quality of hermeneutic phenomenological research (Laverty, 2003; van Mannen, 1990; Armour, 2009; Tan, Wilson, and Olver, 2009). Additional measures of

quality include trustworthiness, authenticity, and rigour (Shenton 2004, Milne 2005, Silverman 1997). Guba and Lincoln (2004, 1995, 1989, 1985) suggested four key principles: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. While debate continues regarding which criteria are most suitable for evaluating qualitative research (Rolfe 2006, Sparkes 2001), the selection of criteria should be contingent on the researcher's epistemological beliefs and commitments. In alignment with this perspective, the criteria of rigour, trustworthiness (credibility), ethical conduct, and researcher reflexivity have been identified as pertinent for this study.

4.6.1. Rigour

Laverty (2003) proposed that rigour can encompass aspects of reliability, validity, and credibility, which are highly relevant for evaluating research from this tradition (Armour, 2009). It represents the researcher's unwavering commitment to the moral and intellectual aspects of research and involves methodological thoroughness in approaching the trustworthiness of the results (van Mannen, 1990). Lincoln and Guba (2000) suggest that attainment of rigour would entail the meticulous collection of evidence and analysis, transparency in detailing these methods, and consistency in working within the philosophical suppositions and traditions of the research approach and paradigm.

1. Collection of evidence and analysis

   Extended engagement with the phenomenon was achieved over a period of more than 2 years. Engagement with the participants enabled meticulous data collection and analysis. During the process, I built rapport with the participants and was generally successful in getting them to uncover their experiences and meanings.

2. Transparency the chosen approach and methods

   To achieve rigour, the methodological procedure is described in detail. An essential prerequisite of a well-designed research study, as discussed earlier, is congruence between the chosen approach and the methods of inquiry used. In this chapter, I have discussed in detail the philosophical foundations of hermeneutic phenomenology and its relevance to this research. Every research decision on methods had been a reasoned one, undertaken to reflect the theoretical framework of hermeneutic phenomenology. In addition to the phenomenological interviews, evidence was collected through screen captures of the designs that were created during the study. These provided multiple

constructions of the phenomenon under study and added to the depth and richness of the evidence collected.

It is important to achieve transparency by allowing readers to evaluate the quality, rigour, and trustworthiness of the research (Koch, 1996, 2006, Lincoln and Guba 2000, Whitehead, 2004).

4.6.2. Trustworthiness

Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggest that to determine trustworthiness in a qualitative study, the criteria of credibility, transferability, and dependability should be used. In this study, the following criteria were adopted to enable readers to read and assess the selection and implementation procedures, as well as the findings and analytical processes.

Credibility

Credibility in a study corresponds to presenting authentic and rich accounts of the experiences so that they resonate with fellow researchers and readers (van Manen 1990). In order to enhance credibility in this study, considerable effort was made to present the participants' experiences and interpretations in their truest form. This involved comprehensive observation of the setting, conversations with a diverse array of individuals, and the forging of relationships with members of the cultural group under study, presenting initial analysis in conferences and doctoral colloquia. Also, credibility is enhanced by acknowledging the influence of the researcher on the study, which is a significant aspect of the hermeneutic phenomenological tradition, further adding to the study's credibility. As suggested by Whitehead (2004), the credibility of such research is closely tied to the self-awareness of the researcher in recognising and articulating its influence. To ensure this credibility, an explicit and detailed account of the study's methodologies was provided, coupled with researcher reflexivity. This approach allowed readers to assess the credibility of the study in terms of its intellectual rigour, professional integrity, and methodological competence and to understand the potential influence of the researcher's background on the study (Whitehead, 2004, p. 516). It entails recognising and addressing any personal biases or assumptions that might have influenced the research process or outcomes, thereby promoting the objectivity of the findings and mitigating potential bias.

Dependability

Koch (2006) posits that one approach to demonstrating dependability in a study is through a research audit, which necessitates maintaining comprehensive records. In this research, rigorous documentation was upheld, including archives of interview recordings, transcripts, analytical and interpretative records, field notes, chronological interview notes, and personal communications. These records have been meticulously preserved and backed up on personal computers and hard drives, safeguarded with passwords, ready for potential auditing purposes. Additionally, these records are securely stored in BORDaR and BU's data repositories. If there are any discrepancies, the researcher can refer back to these records to provide evidence of how each theme is derived from the participant descriptions and how all findings are firmly based on the data or clarified by the researcher's interpretive framework (Koch, 2006). This method serves as a robust safeguard for the dependability of the study.

Transferability

The transferability of qualitative research findings is crucial for assessing their applicability in other contexts (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). To ensure transferability, I provided rich, detailed descriptions of the research context and participants' experiences. These "thick descriptions" encompassed social and cultural norms, relationships, and power dynamics. By being transparent about limitations and potential biases, readers can understand the scope and applicability of the findings to their own contexts (Koch, 1996; Lincoln and Guba, 2000).

Confirmability

Confirmability is the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest (Guba and Lincoln 1989). To ensure confirmability, the research incorporated practical measures. The researcher engaged in reflexivity, documenting their biases and assumptions. Independent experts conducted external audits to evaluate the research methodology and findings critically.

4.6.3. Ethical Conduct

This study has been conducted in compliance with UK research ethics guidance, which prioritise the protection and well-being of human participants, especially young girls. The researcher has followed ethical guidelines throughout the research process, recognising that ethical integrity encompasses every aspect of the project. To ensure that the voices of children were prioritised in the research, the study adopted a research paradigm, theoretical framework, and methodologies that specifically focused on children's perspectives (Chitakunye 2012). This approach aligns with the ethical principle of respecting the autonomy and agency of young participants (Groundwater-Smith et al. 2015).

The Bournemouth University Research Ethics Code of Practice (2017) was followed, which emphasises the assessment of a child's circumstances and vulnerability to coercion or feelings of obligation. This assessment was crucial in determining whether child participants under the age of 16 were considered 'vulnerable.' By adhering to this code, the study ensured that the well-being and protection of the young participants involved in the research were prioritised. Also, the National Children's Bureau (Shaw et al., 2011) provided guidance on conducting research involving young participants in a respectful, non-discriminatory, non-harmful, and protective manner. These principles were thoroughly integrated into the study, ensuring that the research process was conducted with the utmost care and consideration for the participants' rights and well-being.

Young people have the right to express their opinions on issues that affect them (Johnny, 2006), which means that Mason and Urquhart (2001) recognized them as social actors with rights to self-determination, privacy, dignity, anonymity, confidentiality, fair treatment, and protection from discomfort or harm (Alderson, 2005). Malone (2006, p. 19) suggests that this can be achieved by creating an environment that stimulates independence, offering children guidance, and having different levels of participation. In this study, these rights were upheld by obtaining informed consent and assent from the participants, protecting them from any potential harm, and ensuring their fair access to initiatives and benefits resulting from the research process. Prior to involving young girls in the research, I obtained informed consent from their parents or legal guardians. The consent has provided comprehensive information about the study's purpose, procedures, potential risks, benefits, and the rights of the participants (Shaw et al. 2011). Clear explanations have been given in an age-appropriate and understandable manner, ensuring that the parents or legal guardians fully comprehend the nature of the study and provide consent voluntarily. I have also obtained assent from the young girls themselves. The assent explained the research process to the children in a way that they could understand, respecting their maturity and cognitive abilities. I have provided the opportunity for participants to ask questions and voice any

concerns they might have. During the research process, I established a respectful and supportive relationship with my participants, which is crucial. I created a safe and comfortable environment during the data gathering processes, ensuring that the girls felt at ease expressing their thoughts and experiences. I also apply active listening, empathy, and age-appropriate communication to building trust and maintaining ethical interactions throughout the research process.

Further, this study involves addressing the sensitive topic of children's religious experiences (Nesbitt 2000). Throughout the research process, I recognised that religious experiences could be sensitive for the participants. I approached them with caution, and the potential impact of discussing religious beliefs and experiences on the participants was taken into consideration (Nerbitt 2000). This sensitivity helped establish a respectful and supportive environment for the participants. I also took special care to avoid asking questions that could potentially cause embarrassment or pain to the participants. The selection of appropriate and age-sensitive language was prioritised, and intrusive or sensitive inquiries were avoided (Alderson 2005). This approach aimed to protect the emotional well-being of the young girls, ensuring that their dignity and privacy were respected. I was also vigilant in preventing any form of coercion or manipulation of the children, especially in establishing an environment where the participants felt comfortable expressing their thoughts and religious experiences voluntarily.

Further, respecting the right to privacy was maintained throughout the research process. I made sure that any identifiable or personal information the participants shared remained private. Participant codes or pseudonyms were used instead of real names in research documentation and reporting, further safeguarding the anonymity and privacy of the participants. The commitment to ethical propriety demonstrated in this study ensured that it was conducted in a respectful and non-discriminatory manner, with a strong focus on the protection of the participants from harm. By following these ethical guidelines and principles, the study upheld the ethical standards expected in UK academic research.

4.6.4. Researcher Reflexivity

As a researcher, I recognise the importance of reflexivity in my study of young girls' engagement with girl games and its influence on their modern subject formation. I am aware of the potential impact of my own beliefs, biases, and cultural perspectives on the research process and findings. Throughout the study, I engaged in critical self-reflection to uncover and address these potential influences. It is essential for me to acknowledge that research is not a detached and objective process but is shaped by my personal history, background, and cultural context. I

consider factors such as my own experiences, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, as well as those of the participants in the research setting, as suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (2000).

To avoid imposing my own views, I adopt a perspective that values global-local dialectics and the potential for both change and continuity in the formation of Jilbab girls as consumer subjects. I strive to maintain an open and phenomenological attitude, allowing new insights from the participants to shape the research and embracing any unplanned changes in direction. To mitigate potential biases and cultural perspectives, I employ multiple strategies. I engage in ongoing critical reflection to ensure that my interpretations do not overshadow the voices and experiences of the participants. I also recognise the value of an insider perspective, drawing from my own cultural background to better understand the nuances and complexities of the participants' experiences.

However, I remain mindful that my views and beliefs should not overshadow the study. I use multiple sources of evidence, including literature from the relevant cultural context and conversations with individuals from the same cultural background, to ensure a well-rounded and culturally nuanced approach. By doing so, I aim to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of consumption in traditional Javanese Muslim Demak while acknowledging the potential impact of my own biases and interpretations.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Everyday Routines of Muslim Clothing in Traditional Context

5.1. The Finding Structure

I proceed to reflect on the findings in relation to Giddens' (1991) theory of modernity and self-identity and Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's (2012) theory of DVC. The findings are described in four chapters, from chapter five to chapter eight, which is outlined in diagram 5.1. The structure reflects on the key processes in the mediation of modern subjects' formation: the everyday routines of Muslim clothing, the disembedding mechanism, the DVC practices, and the reembedding mechanism.
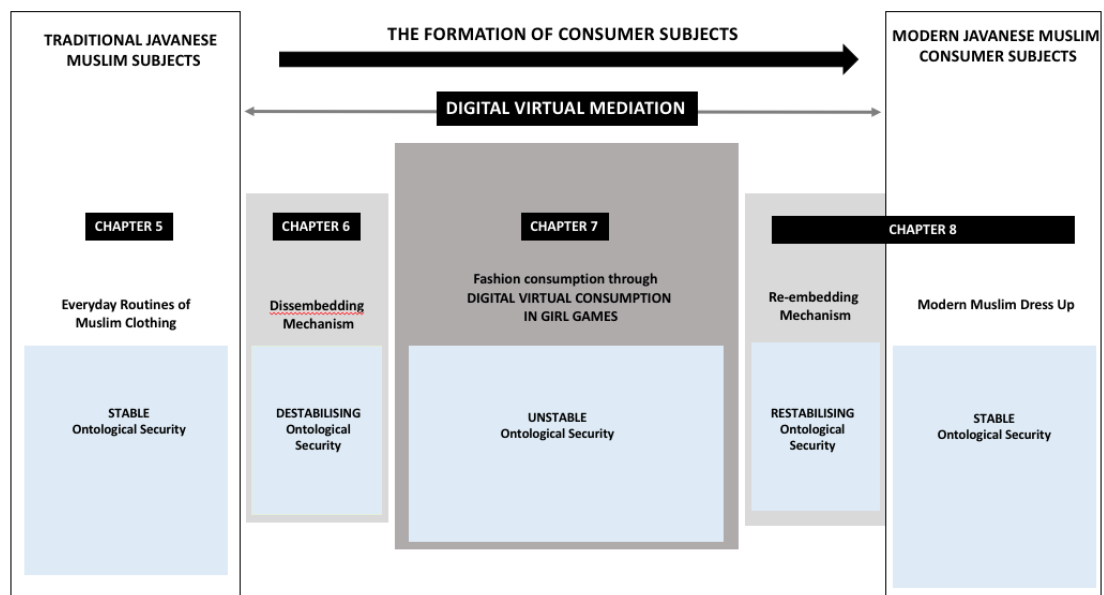
5.1. Outline of the findings

As outlined in figure 5.1., each process of mediation is discussed as based on the practices and the underlying ontological securities. Chapter 5 discusses the routines of Muslim clothing and how it forms traditional subjects in the local. The finding emphasises the embeddedness of Muslim clothing in Jilbab girls' everyday routines in the social formation of good girl identity.

Chapter 6 discusses the disembedding mechanisms from the local self by addressing the practices and the destabilising ontological security. Chapter 7 addresses DVC practices among Jilbab girls and the ontological security underlying the process, which is characterised by the disembeddedness of everyday routine and self-identity in the local. Finally, Chapter 8 describes the reembedding mechanism, documenting the various ways Jilbab girls.

To develop a comprehensive understanding of the mediation process in the formation of the modern consumer subject, it is essential to recognise the significance of embeddedness in traditional societies. The mediation processes are influenced by and embedded within institutional and technological contexts (Silverstone, 2005). Therefore, in this chapter, the focus is on describing the local context in which mediation through digital virtual consumption (DVC) emerges, examining the practices involved, and exploring the experiences of individuals within this context. Understanding the process of global mediation requires a solid foundation in the everyday practices within the local context of Jilbab girls. As discussed in the literature review, Polanyi's (2001) concept of embeddedness emphasises the interconnectedness of economic activity with social relations and the influence of institutional regulations. It highlights the idea that economic activity cannot be isolated from social relations, cultural norms, tradition, and religion. This underscores the interdependence of consumption routines with social connections, cultural norms, and psychological processes.

Chapter 6 is structured with a focus on key concepts. Firstly, it delves into the everyday routines associated with Muslim clothing in the lives of Jilbab girls. This exploration illustrates the centrality of Muslim clothing in their practical consciousness and highlights its embeddedness in their day-to-day activities in Demak. Secondly, the chapter explores the routinization of Muslim clothing to demonstrate how this process actively shapes the formation of social subjects within the traditional Muslim society of Demak. Lastly, it addresses the psychological experiences of Jilbab girls with Muslim clothing, emphasising its role as a reference point for stable ontological security. Through an examination of local contexts, practices, and the concept of embeddedness, the chapter aims to develop a nuanced understanding of how DVC mediates the formation of the modern consumer subject among Jilbab girls.

To support this interpretation, my hermeneutic analysis drew on a range of resources relevant to the sociohistorical framework of traditional Muslim culture in Java. These resources include classic ethnographic research by Clifford Geertz on the religion of Java, studies on Muslim clothing among Javanese people by Brenner (1997), Bucar (2016), and Heffner (2009), as well as investigations into the characteristics of personhood and socialization in Java by Geertz (Hildred) (1961), Muelder (1996), Kuntrojoningrat (1990), and others. Religious rituals and traditions are often intertwined with a wide range of sociocultural practices. As Jafari and

Suerdem (2012) pointed out, most Muslims are born into their religion and inherit the cultural norms from their societies, which are deeply intertwined with religion as a constitutive resource. These norms, including traditions, habits, and cultural ideals, shape their daily existence, interpersonal relationships, and worldviews. Because religion permeates every aspect of their daily lives, religious practices become customary cultural norms and cease to be extraordinary or transcendental. In fact, religion permeates culture to such a degree that religious practices become an integral part of customary cultural norms (Jafari and Suerdem 2012, Geertz 1961).

5.2. The Embeddedness of Consumer Subject Formation in the Local

The embeddedness of consumer subject formation in local contexts refers to the experiences of consumption that are embedded with various social processes, local norms, cultural conventions, and even the characteristics of consumer subjects that shape their interaction with Muslim clothing. Muslim clothing holds a significant function in the everyday clothing routines of Jilbab girls. The findings of this study suggest that Muslim clothing is not only reflecting their commitment to religious principles, as suggested by other studies (El-Bassiouny 2018), nor is it an influence of the marketization of modest fashion (Pink, 2009). The historically established cultural meanings of Muslim clothing, associated with how to be a good daughter in the family, how to be an obedience student at school, how to conform with societal expectations, and how to maintain belongingness with peers, friends, and neighbours, manifest in Jilbab girls' interpretations of their everyday Muslim clothing. As these Jilbab girls tell their everyday experiences wearing Muslim clothing, including as part of their school uniforms and for casual and special occasions. Their dressing routines involve various activities related to clothing consumption, such as mixing and matching garments, ascribing meaning to their choices, and experiencing motivation, yearning, and desire for clothing items that align with locally defined standards. Additionally, these routines encompass considerations of modesty, including the avoidance of nail colour, hair colour, cosmetics, tattoos, and other items deemed inappropriate. These practices are intertwined with physiological and mental activities, background knowledge, and emotions (Reckwitz, 2003).

Growing up in traditional Muslim society, younger girls have grown up wearing the jilbab. As Wardah and Haifah describe below, the Jilbab has evolved into a symbol of Muslim identity that sets them apart from non-Muslims.

Wardah: "All my friends wear Jilbab."
Interviewer: "All?"

> Wardah: "Yes! Oh, no! In my school, only two girls who are not wearing Jilbab are Christians."
>
> Haifah: "In my neighbourhood, all (Muslim) women wear Jilbab. Little girls too."

However, Jilbab as an identity marker goes beyond identifying Muslim and non-Muslim identities; it is seen as a symbol of the virtuous qualities that "*good Muslim girls*" should possess. Many Jilbab girls express the belief that Muslim women or girls who do not wear the Jilbab are not fulfilling their obligations as good Muslims. As a result, girls who do not wear appropriate Muslim attire may face stigmatisation due to their perceived "difference" or "deviance" from the appearance of other Muslim women. This stigmatisation involves the creation of specific value judgements, leading to a divide between us and them (Sandicki and Ger 2010). This is demonstrated in Fahima's account below.

> Fahima: "Sania! Yes, Sania is not wearing Jilbab at home. Only at the school. Yes, sometimes she is not wearing a jilbab when going with her sister. It is because her sister works in a factory that she often goes back home with boys like that. Maybe Sania gets bad influence from her sister."

The story that Fahima told demonstrated that Muslim clothing has a binding normative character and moral endowment, indicating rules about how things should or should not be done. This is in addition to the pious nature of Muslim clothing as a component of collective practice. In addition to this, Fahima's story is significant because it demonstrates how crucial stigma is as a factor in this context for maintaining collective practices.

Most Jilbab-wearing girls participating in this study were able to provide detailed explanations of how Islamic dress customs originated and are tied to the religious requirement to cover *aurat*. This requirement dictates that women's bodies must always be covered except for the face and hands. As shown in the following account that Mufidah shared, the Jilbab girls have a strong religious conviction in this belief, and it offers both moral and practical guidance (Giddens 1991) for their day-to-day activities in traditional Muslim society in Demak.

> Mufidah: "We must cover our '*aurat*'... women need to cover the whole body properly. The clothes should not reveal the body shapes... so the fabric should not be too thin... we may get sins if we don't wear Jilbab …"

Mufidah's story highlights the development of ideological and transcendental motives for wearing the Jilbab, which is seen as a symbol of pursuing the ideals of a good Muslim (Fisher, 1998). Mufidah stresses the importance of adhering to the Islamic codes for covering aurat, explaining that "the garments should not show the body shapes...so the fabric should not be too thin.". She

also states that not wearing the Jilbab could lead to committing sins, illustrating how religious belief provides a sense of security by naturalising the practice as a standard of appearance in daily life. Therefore, wearing the jilbab can be seen as a form of religious expression rather than solely a fashion statement or means of identity construction (Beta 2014, 2019; Gokariksel and Secor 2010).

Pious Muslim girls typically dress according to Muslim conventions as a sign of piety and adherence to Islamic precepts. In accordance with the moral guidelines outlined in the Quran and other religious texts, Muslim women must wear the Jilbab and other modest clothing to cover the majority of their bodies, known as aurat. Both Muslim men and women are required to cover *aurat*, but women are expected to cover their entire bodies except for their faces and hands. This is why Muslim women wear the hijab, which means "to conceal women's sexuality" in Arabic and refers to the practice of covering one's hair and displaying modesty in public (Sobh et al. 2010, p. 1).

Additionally, it is important to note that the Jilbab's role in marking the identity of a good Muslim girl is not simply related to the act of wearing any type of Jilbab. Rather, the wearing of Jilbab and other forms of Muslim clothing must adhere to certain "standards of appropriateness and acceptability, which serve as a framework for understanding reality" (Giddens 1991, p. 37). The participants in this study share a standard of appropriate Muslim dress and Jilbab wearing, which they use as a reference point for interpreting what it means to be a good Muslim girl. Compliance with this standard is seen as an essential aspect of embodying the qualities of a good Muslim girl.

Nurul:	"The four-squared Jilbab is not long enough. Yes, I like Jilbab as long as *it* covers my breast. Because now I already have breasts. (I feel) uneasy not to cover it with Jilbab".

Furthermore, jilbab and busana Muslim serve as symbolic markers of the rite of passage that tween Muslim girls undergo as they transition into adolescence and eventually womanhood. According to the Islamic perspective on developmental psychology (Shehu, 1998), adolescence is a critical period where individuals move from childhood to adulthood, marking the beginning of *taklif,* or legal responsibility. Upon reaching puberty (*baligh*), Muslim girls are considered accountable for their actions, and any sins they commit are attributed to them. In this context, Jilbab and Busana Muslims represent a crucial aspect of the transition, as they symbolise tween Muslim girls' increasing responsibility and commitment to becoming pious Muslim women. Many Jilbab girls in this study emphasised the significance of this period in shaping their Muslim clothing practices, marking the end of childhood and the beginning of a more mature stage in their lives.

Haifah:	"I have worn Jilbab since I was a child... Back then, when I went out nearby, I didn't wear Jilbab, but now I always wear Jilbab.
Interviewer:	"How you now always wear Jilbab?"
Haifah:	"Because now, I'm already *baligh*. I must wear busana Muslim. If I'm still a child, it's still acceptable not to wear Jilbab."
Interviewer:	"What about not wearing Jilbab for you now?"
Haifah:	"Who? Me? That's impossible… I'll be ashamed. I'm a big girl now".
Interviewer:	"How do you feel ashamed?"
Haifah:	"Because a big girl must wear a jilbab to cover her chest... All my friends have worn Jilbab; how could I not?"

Despite growing up wearing the Jilbab, Haifah feels that her *baligh* status is something imposed upon her. Thus, she is more committed in wearing the Jilbab unconditionally and appropriately, adhering to the model prescribed in the Qur'an that covers the chest area. Haifah recognises that this changing commitment is a shared experience among other Muslim girls her age. Her testimony highlights how the Jilbab represents the ideal of being a good Muslim girl and failing to comply with it can lead to feelings of shame and guilt.

In my study, I found that when asked about their reasons for wearing jilbabs, the responses of the girls were often evasive and sometimes revealed an essentialist perspective (Bassiolini 2016, Fisher 2008). While the girls were able to provide logical explanations for the significance of the jilbab in Islam, it was clear from the interviews that not all of them felt the need to do so. Many people didn't give much thought to why or how they dressed in Muslim attire because it was simply a routine practice that their families had instilled in them since they were young. This kind of routine behaviour is central to the way life unfolds and is a key component of the standard of appropriate behaviour (Giddens 1991). Nining offers an illustration of this.

Nining:	"When I went out with my friends, I used to wear trousers and long shirt. But for going *'ngaji'* (study religion and Quran), I wear gamis (a type of Muslim dress)."
Interviewer:	"What about wearing a trouser to ngaji?"
Haifah:	"I can't. because it is inappropriate and, not suitable".
Interviewer:	"What about wearing gamis to hang out with friends?"
Haifah:	"Ehm, it depends on where to go... If we go to buy something in the market, I wear trousers because it is easier to riding bicycle.
	"But if I go to my friend's house, I wear shirts and long skirts because sometimes I need to meet my friend's parents..

The stories of Nining and Haifah show how Jilbab girls seamlessly adapt their appearance to suit the demands of different situations while maintaining a sense of personal continuity. Their transition from one style of Muslim clothing to another without much conscious thought is thanks to their practical consciousness of Muslim attire, which is deeply rooted in social institutions and

cultural norms. This practical consciousness serves as the foundation for the formation of one's self-identity by helping individuals understand what does not constitute them (Giddens 1991).

However, it should be noted that not all interviewees explicitly mentioned a moral commitment to wearing Muslim dress. It is important to avoid assuming an essentialist perspective that equates the wearing of Jilbab with authentic religious practice (El-Bassiouny 2018). Additionally, the prevalence of Muslim dress among the Jilbab girls is not solely a result of market dynamics that target Muslim consumers (Sandikci and Ger 2010, Beta 2014, 2019). Instead, because they grew up in a family and community where everyone wore a jilbab, it is a part of their daily routine and cultural practices. This cultural practice of wearing Muslim clothing is rooted in a shared practical consciousness, which can be associated with Schatzki's (2001) concept of practical understanding—an embodied but unarticulated sensibility.

5.3. The Formation of Good Muslim Girls Subjects through the routines of Muslim Clothing

Muslim clothing is known to be part of everyday routines among Jilbab girls. I now describe the finding, addressing how the routinization of Muslim Jilbab in traditional Muslim society informs the formation of consumer subjects in this locale. According to Giddens's (1984), regular engagement with others in everyday activities helps individuals reflexively comprehend, build, and maintain their self-identity. This thesis talks about how consumers are formed in this specific setting by looking at the social process of Muslim clothing through routines, authoritative performances, and following through with daily habits, which are explained below.

Pic. 5.1. A Girl aged 3 years independently purchase an ice cream from a food peddler

Pic. 5.2. Primary school children buy snacks from the food peddlers outside the school fence

Pic. 5.3. A young girl aged 9 years buy a pair of shoes in a traditional market

Pic. 5.4. The counterfeits of branded shoes (Adidas, FILA, Nike) in the local market

Figure 5.2. Active Consumers in the Local Market

However, it is also important to note that children in this society have been characterised as active consumers (Triwijayati 2012, 2013, Nurlita and Wardiono 2021). They have been used to buying snacks and street food since they were very young (see figures 5.3 and 5.4). In terms of purchasing clothing goods and apparel, few girls in this study have bought an item of clothing (jilbabs included) in traditional markets when they were seven and eight years old. However, clothing is not the item that they frequently buy, compared to food and stationery. Still, this shows that the traditional marketplace culture in this society (Geertz 1960) enables young children to function as active consumers by doing independent shopping without parental consent.

5.3.1. Routinization of Muslim clothing

The majority of participants have worn jilbab since they were young because it was first a family custom. Since they were infants, the girls' mothers have dressed them in *busana* Muslim. Even Azizah, Badriyah, and Fahima, who grew up in more traditional Muslim families, recall that they never had many experiences throughout their childhood wearing short dresses or short tops. This is similar to Haifah's experience, mentioned below. In this context, Muslim clothing

105

originated as an aspect of their practical consciousness (Giddens 1991). Giddens (1984) made the case that those who care for children throughout their development shape their social realities.

Haifah:	"I always wear Jilbab, since I was a baby." (laughing)
Interviewer:	"Since baby?"
Haifah:	"Yes! See it in my picture."

Although not all participants, like Haifah, have worn a jilbab since childhood, they were all raised in a culture where Muslim dress was common among mothers, sisters, neighbours, and other family members. Muslim clothing is integrated into everyday routines, practices, and interactions with significant others, creating a sense of general trust in the world (Rogoff 2003) and shaping children's ontological security. Early life-acquired routines are more than just ways of adapting to a pre-given world of people and objects. They are fundamental to self-development, comprising realities that make up the "external world." Cultural patterns of parents are passed down to children, "carrying unconscious standards, beliefs, and imaginative constructs" (Giddens 1991, p. 21). This unconscious transfer of cultural patterns is linked to the fact that social arrangements and belief systems are perceived as obvious and normal.

Family customs help to routinise Muslim dress. Jilbab girls are born and raised in Muslim families, whose female members all wear the busana Muslim. In the CCT tradition, it has long been recognised that family consumption plays a crucial role in determining how each person's life and sense of purpose are shaped (Price and Amber 2008), and that this influence extends to how tweens choose to dress on a daily basis (McDonalds 2016, Marion and Nairn 2011). According to this finding, family practitioners play a significant role in the formation, reconstruction, reinforcement, and transmission of family identity as they routinely wear Muslim dress. Consider the case of Karima, whose family consists of four women, one of whom is Karima's mother, all of whom wear the Jilbab. Despite the fact that the members' ages range from 9 to 46, they used to share a jilbab and other accessories to wear together.

Karima:	"I have many Jilbab at home. Those are also my mother's or my sister's. We put the Jilbab altogether in a drawer."
Interviewer:	"You wear the same jilbab as your mother?"
Karima:	"Yes, . sometimes it is too big, so I put a pin on it."
Interviewer:	"You share jilbab with your sisters too?"
Karima:	"Yes. But she keeps the good ones for herself; she locks the jilbab in a separate drawer. My sister is often mad at me because I used to make some Jilbab dirty."

Karima's experience is not uncommon. Most participants also used to share jilbab and Muslim clothes with siblings, other family members, and even peers, like Fatiya and Azmiya. The sharing of belongings has essentially been part of the Javanese tradition (Geerts 1961, Kuntjoroningrat 1991). Sharing Jilbab with family members and wearing certain Muslim styles similar to their

mothers and sisters, which are often indifferent to other friends' families, generates a sense of family identity and belongingness. As can be seen from Karima's excerpt above, she interchangeably refers to the Jilbab as hers, her mother's, and her sisters'. The collective consumption experiences of the Jilbab nurtures a sense of belongingness in the family (Gofman 1971) and strengthens and reinforces family norms and identities (Epp and Price 2008), such as Karima must keep the Jilbab clean, etc.

Through a variety of routines and ways of communicating with one another, families can effectively manage a substantial part of the day-to-day activities and interactions in the home (Epp and Price 2008). In daily encounters, the wearing of Muslim clothing helps to define, maintain, and manage the collective family identity. It may entail conversing while sharing clothes with one another, as shown in Nabila's story down below.

Nabila:	"We buy new clothes, ehm, when '*lebaran*' (the Ied fitri celebration) is especially. Not often. Usually for '*lebaran*', *m*y mother buys me gamis and jilbab".
Interviewer:	"Other daily clothes?"
Nabila:	"seldom. Because I used to wear my sisters' clothes. The ones that don't fit them anymore".
Interviewer:	"Do you ever buy clothes for yourself?"
Nabila:	"My mother bought me... I'm just being obedient ('*mending manut aja'…*)".

Halimah:	"My mother threw away a shirt that my friends and I once purchased because it was too tight. I can't wear it"

Nabila, age ten, discusses her clothing, making reference to the essential role that families play in establishing particular stylistic norms and traditions. The extract shows the different methods a mother may use to care for her children, such as supplying clothing, selecting suitable clothing styles, and determining which clothing is appropriate. As part of family routines, everyday interactions about consumption may show what kind of behaviour is expected, while stories and rituals about possessions and consumption may give the family a sense of identity that stays the same over time (Epp and Price 2008).

Interviewer:	"You wear *gamis* for religious occasions?"
Mufidah:	"Yes, well, actually, not always *gamis* (Muslim dress). Sometimes I also wear long skirts with shirts. But certainly, I can't wear jeans."
Interviewer:	"What about wearing jeans?"
Mufidah:	"Actually, I also wear jeans to go somewhere with my friends sometimes. But I can't wear jeans for 'ngaji' or something like that… Just inappropriate! (*Gak pantes lah!*). It makes me feel uneasy and awkward (*gak enak kabeh*). I worry if people see me oddly.

Mufidah:	"Not even wearing jeans; sometimes <u>when my father sees me wearing causal (long-sleeved) t-shirts whilst preparing to go 'ngaji'...</u> **He used to tell me, 'change your clothes!'**"
Interviewer:	"What about wearing long-sleeved t-shirts for ngaji?"
Mufidah:	"It is inappropriate. T-shirts are to be worn when you go somewhere else, like to the market or elsewhere… Also, t-shirts are too short and not appropriate (not covering butt)."
Interviewer:	"Then you changed your shirt?"
Mufidah:	"Yes<u>, of course... because I'm afraid to make my parents angry.</u>"

Mufidah demonstrates how the routinization of Muslim clothing in her household entails day-to-day monitoring and disciplinary measures. Jilbab girls are subjected to a constant disciplinary regime that requires them to maintain certain suitable appearances, such as wearing a dress and a skirt instead of pants, covering their buttocks with long shirts and blouses, and covering their chest and breasts with long jilbabs. In a similar manner, Faizah had the following experience:.

Faizah:	"My mother allows me to wear trousers. But my father doesn't like me wearing trousers. Often, he told me to change to a dress or skirt because trousers are not proper."
Interviewer:	"How is it not proper?"
Faizah:	"Just because! ... because it can show the legs."
Interviewer:	"Did you change your trousers?"
Faizah:	"Of course. Now I rarely wear trousers anymore."

In Faizah's story, her parents consistently encourage modest Muslim clothes. Therefore, in the long run, this type of routinization naturalises particular garments and ways of wearing them and becomes part of Jilbab girls' practical understanding of what is acceptable in the family and collectively in society. The experiences of a few Jilbab girls, which are detailed here, demonstrate how the routinization that occurs inside the family involves ongoing nurturing in day-to-day contexts. In the same way, traditions that are unique to a family make sure that they don't lose their significance over time (Arnould and Price, 2004).

The obedience of Jilbab girls to their parents regarding their clothing choices reflects a nuanced form of agency (Hill 2016), which is contextually relevant in this setting (Muelder 1991, Geertz 1961). While some girls like Nabila follow their mothers' selections of Jilbab without question, others like Daniya and Fatiya express their dissatisfaction with their mothers' choices, finding them outdated or too mature for their age. The evidence from the interviews suggests that the tween girls in this study have some degree of consumer savvy, as seen in their independent choices. For example, as it is also shown in picture 5.3, Mufidah and her friend choose shoes to buy in the market, and Azmiya in the next pages tells her stories of buying clothing items in the traditional market. However, instead of asserting their autonomy, most Jilbab girls choose to exercise their independence within boundaries, complying with their parents' preferences for certain types of clothing like *gamis*, *shirtdresses*, and skirts. Nabila's responses, for instance,

reveal her compliance with her mother's choices, even when they do not align with her personal preferences. She emphasises the importance of obedience, or "*manut*" in Javanese, as a crucial value in children's decisions. Similarly, Mufidah conforms to her parents' directives by modifying her attire, while Faizah chooses not to wear trousers to demonstrate her obedience.

Based on these findings, it appears that the criteria for having an agentic sense of being as consumers differ from those found in Western societies (James, Jenks, and Prout 1998). While existing literature on consumer subjects is most often associated with individualistic attitudes prevalent in modern America and elsewhere (Cook 2000), Jilbab girls' experiences suggest a different perspective in traditional Muslim society in Demak Indonesia. In this context, the concept of consumer agency is defined by conforming to collective subjectivity rather than prioritising individual rights and preferences. This finding is significant because it challenges the dominant Western paradigm of consumer agency and highlights the importance of considering cultural and social context in understanding consumer behaviour. Additionally, Jilbab girls' adherence to parental directives in their clothing choices indicates the significance of obedience and respect for authority in this society, further emphasising the role of collectivism and hierarchy in shaping individual agency. These findings suggest the need for a more nuanced and culturally sensitive approach to understanding young consumers in diverse contexts.

5.3.2. Regimentation of Muslim Clothing

The wearing of Muslim clothing also involves continuous monitoring and disciplining in the social process, which can be associated with Giddens's (1991) concept of *regime*. Giddens defines regime as "the circumstance in which individual responses to specific things are practiced in a very substantial way that includes control over organic demands" (Giddens 1991, p. 63). Certain routines in everyday routines contain *regimentation*, the conditioning of specific doings, responses, and feelings regarding routines through continuous disciplining and control. In the wearing of Muslim clothes among Jilbab girls in the traditional Muslim community, the regimentation involves the social conditioning of such practices within the monitoring of family, schools, and the community. This highlights the pervasive influence of traditional Muslim institutions, including national schools, religious schools, and traditional schools, on the regulation of appropriate Muslim clothing within Muslim communities. These institutions serve as cultural gatekeepers, transmitting cultural values and norms that shape the collective subjectivities of Muslim societies (Ali 2011, Muhamad 2011). As such, they play a crucial role in shaping the attitudes and beliefs of Muslim students towards their religious practices, as well

as the consumption practices that accompany them (Heffner 2016, Nilan and Parker 2013, Tan 2014).

The regimentation of Muslim clothing in schools has a significant impact on the way in which the standard of appropriate Muslim dress is enforced and reinforced within Muslim societies. Prior research (Nilan and Parker 2013, Heffner 2017, Tan 2014) suggests not only teaching Islamic law and customs but also providing students with a foundational understanding of the principles that underlie Muslim dress codes and consumption practices. Muslim schools in Indonesia are known for their strict disciplinary measures when it comes to enforcing dress codes, with a particular emphasis on ensuring that women's clothing conforms to a set of rules that emphasise modesty and propriety (Hefner 2016). This includes the requirement that women's clothing be loose and non-revealing, covering the entire body except for the face and hands. Additionally, the clothing should not resemble items worn by people of the opposite sex and should be thick enough to block out the color of the skin.

| Nining: | "When I was in pesantren, the *Ustadzah* taught us that women should not wear trousers because women should not dress like men. Also, people can see the shape of our legs; thus, it is not allowed. We must wear skirts. Sometimes I wear culottes, but I also wear long shirts so it can cover my buttocks. |

The passage highlights the various standards of appropriate dress that exist within Muslim communities, particularly for young girls. Nining's account of the rules she must follow regarding her clothing choices exemplifies the diverse set of expectations that are placed on Muslim women when it comes to what they wear. These expectations include not dressing like men, avoiding narrow or tight trousers, wearing skirts instead of trousers, and wearing long shirts that cover the buttocks. Such requirements demonstrate the strict dress codes that Muslim girls are expected to adhere to, which can limit their self-expression and autonomy.

| Azizah: | "The school used to check the uniform. We are not allowed to wear shirts that are tight and transparent, showing our inner bra. The jilbab should be lengthened to the front properly; you are not allowed to wear short Jilbab … Teachers also check our bags sometimes. Sometimes, when they found lipstick or perfumes, they took it away. Teachers also take novels, comic books, and many other things too." |

Azizah's account highlights the stringent regulations that are imposed on Muslim dress in the classroom. The schools continue to supervise and discipline female students to ensure that they adhere to the dress codes, which prohibit body-shaped apparel, cosmetics, or jewellery. This further underscores the extent to which Muslim dress codes are enforced and reinforced within

110

school settings, which can significantly impact the experiences of young girls in particular. Heffner's (2017) study, which focused on character education at a madrasah in Yogyakarta, supports the idea that schools play a significant role in enforcing conformity through dress codes. The study found that the school's emphasis on a particular sartorial style was a way to teach young women a certain view of modern femininity, encourage the adoption of a particular form of piety, and instilll in them a sense of modesty. By enforcing strict dress codes, schools aim to create a sense of unity and oneness among female students, which can limit their individuality and expression.

5.3.3. Collective Practices of Muslim clothing

In traditional Muslim society in Demak, Muslim clothing is a component of collective practices among peers, neighbouring communities, and local and national society. Muslim clothing is also the standard of dress among Muslim girls in Muslim society. This has been the case historically. In particular, during the period of Islamization that began in the early 2000s in Indonesia, where Muslims have been working to advocate Islamic morality, Muslims in Indonesia have been seeking to implement an Islamic way of life in a world that is becoming increasingly secularised (Sakai and Fauzia 2013). In this setting, Muslim clothing is routinized through many social practices and everyday routines, such as in the family, schools, collective experiences among peers, the community, and Indonesian Muslims in the media.

Jilbab and Busana Muslima have been the traditional formal attire for girls. Thus, dressing in Jilbab and long-covered dresses is deemed compulsory, especially when tween girls leave home for school, *ngaji* (learning Quran), go to market, visit friends' houses, etc. Farida's and Wardah's accounts below illustrate the collectivity of Muslim attire.

> Farida: "In this *kampung (*neighbourhood*)*, young girls have all wear Jilbab, yes. I've been wearing Jilbab since I was a child; I can't remember since when. I went to the *Muslimat* kindergarten, and the school wore a Muslim uniform. Since then, I wear Jilbab consistently every day".

Farida and Wardah both mention the practical awareness of Muslim clothing in community-based settings. The majority of the girls' school uniforms are modelled after a certain model of Muslim attire; hence, they come to view this as the de facto standard for how a Muslim woman should dress. This particular norm is one that is frequently and extensively applied in a variety of different contexts across everyday life.

111

In everyday Muslim clothing routines, few participants, such as Farida, illustrate her inclination towards fashion. Fashion becomes her choice to define her identity—not to be a boring person, but to be an active and *'kekinian'* girl—*the trendy girl*. Literature (Cody 2012, McRobbie 2004, Buckingham 2008) has suggested that tween age among young girls is a critical period of identity formation, in which young girls tend to use fashion and girlhood commodities to overcome uncertainty due to her changing status from childhood to teenagerhood (Marion and Nairn 2011).

Figure 5.3. Peer group's appearance among Jilbab Girls

Azmiya:	"I bought Fila shoes recently... I actually wanted adidas, but it was sold out… These Fila shoes have recently become a trend, and some friends also wear them. This is the 'kekinian' (happening) model... the seller said that this model sold most in the market.
	"But I'm running out of my saving now (laughing)".
	"Its price was a hundred and thirty thousand rupiah. Even though this is only the second 'KW' (*the counterfeit quality grade—it is defined as first and second graded quality*), the KW was sold out when I bought it."
Interviewer:	"Is it counterfeit shoes?"
Azmiya:	"Yes, in Youtube, the original can be expensive, like millions... the seller said this is KW2."
Interviewer:	"What'sthe differencet with KW 1?"
Azmiya:	"I don't know. But this is cheaper price. But still, this is too expensive for me. This is my first time buying a pair of shoes this expensive."
Interviewer:	"Why didn't ask money from parents?"
Azmiya:	"Oh, my father will not like me to buy expensive stuffs like this... **eman eman**, to spend a lot of money to buy shoes...

Azmiya recently acquired a pair of coveted knock-off branded sneakers, and despite acknowledging their very expensive price, the pressure to conform to her classmates and the

pervasive market narrative of being "*keren*" (cool) and "*kekinian*" (trendy) (Hughes 2018, Hill 2017, McDonald 2016, Pomerantz 2008) compelled her to make the purchase. As revealed in this study, some girls employ consumption practices to define their modernity, like their western counterparts (Pomerantz, 2008). Azmiya and her peers exhibit resourceful ways of navigating their social relationships, as demonstrated by her choice to buy the imitation version of the branded shoes (which popularly known as "KW"). Like many other girls from economically disadvantaged countries (Maqsood 2014), Azmiya adopts a form of "cheap globalisation" (Naafs and White 2012) due to financial constraints, opting for counterfeit replicas of expensive brands sold in traditional markets at lower prices. Her decision exemplifies her desire to fit in with her peers without appearing superior or inferior to them (Lipovetsky, 2006). By satisfying their need for acceptance, she successfully integrates herself into their social circle.

Despite the general belief that even fake global brands distinguish the wearer from the ordinary masses, the attitudes of Jilbab girls towards brands vary. Lutfiya (12 years old), whose views on global brands align with most of the study's participants, expresses some hesitation.

| Lutfiya: | "There are some friends who wear shoes like that (faux adidas, Fila), but I rarely pay attention to them. I'm not so close to them… I like ordinary black shoes. I feel uncomfortable wearing shoes that are so big like that. I like to wear ordinary shoes. Most of friends also just wear ordinary shoes (biasa aja)." |

Lutfiya's story sheds light on how participants in the study, due to their economic backgrounds, tend to prioritise affordability over global brands. They prefer goods that are "cheap and kind," a concept described by Geertz (1961). Azmiya used the Javanese phrase "eman-eman" to express her unease and apology for spending a large amount of money on products that offer little practical value. This phrase reflects the Javanese value of frugality, which is highly regarded among traditional cultures (Muelder, 1991). It is worth noting that incorporating fake global brands and stylish clothing into one's lifestyle does not align with traditional cultural practices, as the concept of "lifestyle" implies individual choice rather than hande- down traditions (Giddens, 1991).

5.4. Stable Ontological Security.

This section delves into how the daily routines of Muslim clothing play a pivotal role in cultivating a sense of stable ontological security in the social lives of Jilbab girls. I explore the factors contributing to this stable sense of security by examining the emotions and sentiments

associated with wearing appropriate Muslim clothing, as well as the repercussions of not adhering to such practices. Specifically, I investigate the referentialities shaping the practices of Muslim clothing among Jilbab girls in this study.

The routinization of Muslim clothing, as previously discussed, constitutes a crucial factor in establishing stable ontological security among Jilbab girls. The routines associated with Muslim clothing create predictable, repeated, shared, and routine qualities, providing a sense of security that normalises everyday experiences (Ilmonen 2001). In this study, Muslim clothing has become an ingrained part of habit and conduct, representing "the taken-for-granted aspects of daily social life" (Giddens 1991, p. 91) and "the recurring patterns of acts marked by habitual ways of dealing with subject matter" (Reckwitz 2002, p. 2). Consequently, maintaining the routine of Muslim clothing proves effective in reducing anxiety in unfamiliar situations by offering stability and control (Phipps and Ozanne 2012). For Jilbab girls, adherence to routines associated with Muslim clothing is particularly crucial, as it empowers them to feel in control of their bodies within predictable structures (Giddens 1984). This sense of control is identified as ontological security, reflecting an individual's deeply ingrained belief in the predictability and stability of reality (p. 50). The predictability or unpredictability of routines and experiences significantly influences one's ontological state (Giddens 1984). The findings underscore that Muslim clothing establishes a necessary framework for Jilbab girls, fostering comfort and stability in their daily lives.

5.4.1. Adherence the Islam

The wearing of Jilbab among Jilbab girls is not just a matter of everyday routines or personal preferences but rather a fundamental aspect of their adherence to religious tenets. Jilbab is a type of Muslim clothing that covers the body,except for the hands and face and is considered a core principle in Islamic scholarship (Bassiony 2016, Jafari and Suerdem 2012). For Jilbab girls, wearing the Jilbab is not just a matter of following religious teachings; it also provides them with a sense of ontological security. This means that wearing the Jilbab gives them a sense of stability and confidence in their identity as Muslim women, as it reflects their commitment to their faith and adherence to religious practices

> Mufidah: "We must cover our '*aurat...* we may get sins if we don't wear Jilbab .

One respondent noted that wearing the jilbab is a source of security because not wearing it may lead to committing sins. This suggests that wearing the Jilbab is not just a personal choice; it also

114

reflects a desire to avoid behaviours that may be considered sinful in Islam. Moreover, wearing the Jilbab is also seen as a symbol of freedom from the fashion machinery. Jilbab girls see wearing the Jilbab as a way to break free from the pressures of society to conform to certain fashion standards and to resist the idea that clothing is primarily a means of self-expression or a marker of social status. Instead, for Jilbab girls, clothing is primarily a means of expressing their faith and commitment to Islamic teachings.

5.4.2. Maintaining Normal Appearance

The daily practice of wearing Muslim dress, such as the Jilbab, has a significant impact on how Jilbab girls experience their self-identity. According to Giddens (1991), the regulation of bodily experience through routinization is a fundamental way of maintaining a sense of self. Maintaining a consistent appearance is particularly important in social situations where frequent interaction occurs. When individuals are able to reproduce a sense of security through the embodiment of their appearance, it becomes their "normal." The term "normal appearances" suggests that individuals feel safe continuing their routines without much consideration for their environment. Therefore, Muslim dress becomes an important aspect of Jilbab girls' everyday routines, as it provides a sense of normalcy and security.

Haifah:	"There is something lacking when going out without Jilbab."
Azizah:	"If I am not wearing it, it feels odd—something breezy in my neck. If someone sees me without Jilbab, I'm ashamed. "
Malika:	"I can wear trousers... but not the tight jeans. It feels like not wearing trousers at all when it is too tight, like my legs are exposed.

The above excerpts provide insight into how wearing a Jilbab provides a sense of normalcy and security for Jilbab girls. Haifah, Azizah, Nurul, and Malika shared that not wearing their jilbabs made them feel like something was missing or like they were not properly covered. This highlights how the wearing of Busana Muslim and Jilbabs has normalised the psychological process of appropriate body covering. When the clothing touches the skin, it becomes "embodied" and provides a feeling of comfort and protection. Conversely, the removal of clothing can lead to feelings of discomfort and vulnerability. This regular management of the body through Muslim dress is essential to maintaining the self-identity of Muslim girls. As Azizah expressed, not wearing the jilbab made her feel ashamed. This further emphasises the importance of Muslim dress in shaping the self-identity of Muslim girls.

115

In traditional Muslim society, a sense of normalcy is prevalent when it comes to selecting and donning specific styles of Muslim clothing. The girls in this study grew up with a common understanding of what is deemed appropriate when it comes to wearing Muslim dress and jilbab. Deviating from this standard may lead to a sense of insecurity and crisis. Mufidah's experience served as an illustration of this.

Mufidah:	"Just inappropriate! (*Gak pantes lah*!). It makes me feel uneasy and awkward (*gak enak kabeh*). I worry if people see me oddly.

Interpreting these data, the sense of security in embodying the Jilbab—such as feeling something was uncovered—is situated within social encounters (Haifah: *going out* of house.., Azizah:..*if someone sees me*.. Mufidah: *I worry if people see me oddly*). These encounters form the basis of social interaction and are organised within the daily routine of activities (Giddens 1984). The quotes indicate that a sense of disruption emerged as they imagined not wearing Jilbab in social encounters and that they may feel shame and guilt. This finding suggested that the sense of security of wearing Jilbab is built on the presence of people in the locality, indicating the importance of local community as external referentiality (Giddens 1991) in the routines of Jilbab.

5.4.3. Obedience to Parental Authority and Maintaining Family belonging

The ontological security of Muslim dress among traditional Muslim society in Demak can be referred to being obedient to parental authority and family belonging. As the entries of Jilbab girls' stories demonstrate below, the security they feel in adhering to their parents' instructions and social norms greatly influences how they experience wearing Jilbab..

Nurina:	"… Actually, I want to wear jeans like most of my friends. But I'm afraid of my father. He never allowed my older sisters to wear trousers and jeans. I just follow them."
Mufidah:	"Yes, of course... because I'm afraid to make my parents angry."
Faizah:	"My mother allows me (to wear trousers). But my father, doesn't like me wearing trousers. Often, he told me to change to dress or skirt, because (trousers are) not proper".

Nurina, Mufidah, and Faizah's narratives are only a few examples of the significance of obedience to parents in consumption practices. This understanding should be viewed through the lens of the cultural idealisation of parent-child relationships, where children's obedience to their parents, ability to fit in with society, and self-effacing nature are highly valued and fostered in Javanese society (Geertz 1961, Kuntjoroningrat 1991, Muelder 1991). In this context, complying

with one's mother's instructions rather than pursuing personal preferences and styles is seen as a moral act and an essential part of good character among Javanese people (Geertz 1961, Muelder 1991). The result suggests that local modes of agency, where consumer subjectivity is often shown through shared consumption decisions, are very different from the common Western model of making individual choices about what to buy (Kline 2010, Frones 2016). This highlights the connection between consumer agency and idealised personality traits shaped by local virtues (Muelder 1996, Geertz 1961, Kuntjoroningrat 1991).

Obeying one's parents is considered to be of paramount significance in traditional Javanese society (Geertz 1961), including in the shaping of Muslim clothing practices. The quote below emphasises that assertion.

Interviewer:	"Will your parents disagree if your sister or you want to open up your Jilbab?"
Azizah:	"fired from being children!" "(*pecat jadi anak!*") (laughing)
Interviewer:	"seriously?"
Azizah:	(laughing) "I don't know!"

Azizah fears that her parents would disown her if she disobeyed them, although it appears trivial (because she laughs while telling her story); hence, such expression actually stems from the widespread concept that, in traditional Javanese society, the family serves as an anchor for individuals' sense of self (Geertz 1961), with the result that a person's sense of ontological stability is founded on their sense of belonging to a family (Geertz 1989). The idea that children must show their parents respect and deference has long been ingrained in Javanese culture. Javanese youngsters, as Muelder (2011) described, undergo a process of socialisation in which they are largely instructed to conform to the norms of all such groups, to follow injunctions, to respect the elders, and to carry out their responsibilities and obligations. Failure to do so results in *walat*, a karma-like retribution for such defiance (Mulder 2006). This concept influences the manner in which Jilbab girls heed the direction of their families to wear particular types and styles of Muslim attire.

The discussion in this chapter emphasises how various social processes, cultural customs, and consumer subjectivities shape Jilbab girls' interactions with Muslim clothing. These processes include routinization, regimentation, and collective experiences that are present in institutions such as family and schools. Jilbab girls' experiences with Muslim clothing can be considered a form of "authoritative performance" (Arnould and Price 2004) that offers integration, collective identity, and community security.

117

5.5. Chapter Summary

This first finding chapter documents the everyday routines of Muslim clothing among Jilbab girls, which can be characterised as embedded in the local context. This chapter has addressed the daily routines of Jilbab girls in relation to their Muslim clothing. It highlights how Muslim clothing is routinised into various aspects of Jilbab girls' lives, such as school uniforms and personal fashion choices. The section emphasizes the significance of Muslim clothing as an integral part of their practical consciousness. The chapter has delved into the process of routinization, showcasing how Jilbab girls' identities and routines are influenced by societal norms, cultural expectations, and religious beliefs surrounding Muslim clothing. The discussion has highlighted how Muslim clothing provides the stable ontological security, a sense of stability, identity, and continuity in their lives. The section highlights the role of Muslim clothing in fostering a sense of belonging and security within their cultural and religious contexts Through an exploration of everyday routines, the process of routinization, and the concept of ontological security, this chapter sheds light on the multifaceted relationship between Jilbab girls and their Muslim clothing. It underscores the significance of Muslim clothing as a symbol of "*good Muslim girls*" identity, religious adherence, and social integration, thereby shaping their experiences as modern consumer subjects. The chapter provides valuable insights into the interplay between culture, religion, and consumer practices in the lives of Jilbab girls.

CHAPTER SIX

Finding 2: The Disembedding Mechanism Through DVC Girl Games

To deepen our understanding of the mediation process integral to the formation of the modern consumer subject, it is essential to dissect the concept of disembedding and its associated mechanisms. This intricate process involves a detachment from conventional societal norms, highlighting the complex interplay of consumption habits with social connections, cultural norms, and psychological processes. This chapter aims to explore the disembedding mechanism as a pivotal facet of the mediation process, previously discussed in Chapter 3, within the framework of the research questions guiding this study.

In the initial section of this chapter, the focus is on characterising the disembedding mechanism, specifically delving into how participants become cognizant of their disembedded experiences from everyday routines. This exploration encompasses experiences ranging from deviating from traditional girlhood to transcending the expectations of being 'good Muslim girls,' as examined in Chapter 5. Subsequently, attention is turned to the examination of the sense of ontological security inherent in disembedding. The analysis unfolds the duality of pleasure and insecurity characterising disembedding experiences. This exploration lays bare the tensions and crises that surface as individuals distance themselves from the routines and practical consciousness that structure their everyday lives. Furthermore, the chapter scrutinises the strategic disembedding mechanisms, which can be identified as appropriation and avoidance strategies, employed by participants in disembedding from local routines inherent in their everyday lives. This chapter provides a concise understanding of the disembedding mechanism and its implication for the formation of the modern consumer subject within the context of their daily routines.

6.1. Characterising the Disembedding Experiences

The infiltration of global cultural mediation into daily consciousness and local routines is a commonplace phenomenon, as noted by Giddens (1991). This is exemplified in the context of Jilbab girls' practices in girl games, where the facilitation of global consumer experiences encounters enduring local culture and norms that shape the identity of Jilbab girls, resulting in tensions that reflect a dialectic between the global and the local. When individuals within the local community come across non-local practices, ideas, and activities, it frequently disrupts established local routines and social norms. In response to such encounters, consumers engage in 'discursive interpretations' (Giddens, 1991) as a means of rationalizing their actions, motivations, and intentions in diverse circumstances—an analytical process known as the disembedding mechanism (Giddens, 1984), which is the central focus of this chapter.

Although prior research on global consumer culture has often overlooked disembedding mechanisms, Giddens (1991) characterizes them as subjective mechanisms through which individuals extract social relations from specific locales, aligning them with modern global norms. Building upon this framework, our study goes further to delineate various forms of the disembedding mechanism and the underlying psychological processes at play. As evident in the findings discussed below, the disembedding process manifests as a departure from local routines, elucidated through the experiences of Jilbab girls engaging with practices that differ from everyday routines in Demak. By contextualizing these experiences within the sociohistorical backdrop of Demak—particularly in relation to social norms shaping traditional girlhood (Geertz, 1959), clothing consumption (Brenner, 1996; Heffner, 2016), Muslim clothing (Beta, 2019), and social harmony (Muelder, 1994)—this section of the chapter explores how Jilbab girls rationalize their departure from local consumption and social practices. Drawing on various accounts, the study investigates how these individuals navigate tensions through the disembedding mechanism, providing reasoning, accounts, and rationalization for their involvement in Digital Virtual Consumption (DVC) within girl games.

6.1.1 Disembedding from Traditional Girlhood Play

Over the course of time, Jilbab girls have actively immersed themselves in a diverse array of girl games, spending over an hour each day as part of their regular routines (Ulfa and Setyabudi 2016, Ulfa 2015, Hendriyani 2012). Notable titles, including Talking Angela, Mall Girls, Cooking Mama, Nikki UP2U, Love Nikki, and Black Friday, were frequently mentioned by participants, showcasing their familiarity with the gaming landscape. The participants particularly enjoyed

120

make-over games, relishing the chance to transform their avatars to match various themes, such as weddings, parties, back-to-school events, and modelling photo shoots. Experimentation with different clothing styles was a notable highlight, encompassing princess gowns, party dresses, summer and winter attire, casual wear, business outfits, and more. Fadilah, Fatiya, and Azizah took their exploration a step further by engaging with Muslim girl games, specifically those featuring dress-up categories with characters adorned in Jilbabs and Muslim attire. Beyond fashion-focused games, the participants also delved into various cooking games, simulating the preparation of a wide array of dishes, from birthday cakes and pancakes to spaghetti and sushi. During the observation, it became evident that the girls derived joy from these virtual experiences, actively participating in the creation and customisation of their digital personas.

The engagement of Jilbab girls with girl games serves not only as a source of entertainment but also as a significant disembedding process from traditional play within the context of Demak. Historically, young Javanese girls in Demak shouldered considerable domestic responsibilities, actively contributing to their families' financial well-being (Hildred Geertz 1961, White 2012). Kuntjoroningrat's documentation in 1989 highlighted traditional play activities among Javanese girls, involving mock-market scenarios where they portrayed sellers and participated in crafting mud cakes for sale, with peers acting as buyers. Traditional forms of entertainment included crafting homemade toys, such as miniature waggons from grapefruit peels and puppets from painted coconut shells (Mulder 1994). Singing, dancing, and puzzle-solving were integral components of their traditional pastimes.

The disembedding experiences become apparent through the expressions of Azmiya and Fatiya below, who articulate a preference for girl games over traditional play. Their inclination towards digital gaming reflects a departure from the historical norms of traditional play activities, marking a shift in cultural practices influenced by contemporary technological advancements. The adoption of contemporary technology in the form of digital games in neighborhood children's play explains why engagements with girl games as part of contemporary girlhood culture show a departure from traditional play. This transformation highlights the evolving nature of entertainment choices among Jilbab girls, emphasising the impact of modernization on their leisure activities and cultural engagement.

Azmiya:	"Of course, I prefer playing digital games! Playing with toys is boring. toys are for little kids."
Interviewer:	"Do you prefer digital gaming?"
Azmiya:	"Yes. I can play many things at home; there is no need to go out and get sunburnt (30–33 Celsius)."
Interviewer:	"What about playing with dolls or toys?"

Azmiya:	"When I was a child, I used to play '*masak-masakan*' (cooking play) with my friends. But now is more enjoyable to play with a tablet."
Interviewer:	"How enjoyable?"
Azmiya:	"I don't need to be busy preparing and cleaning."

Azmiya expresses a clear preference for digital games over traditional toys, deeming the latter as boring and suitable only for younger children. Her enthusiasm for digital gaming is rooted in the convenience it offers—she can engage in various activities from the comfort of her home, avoiding the inconvenience of going outdoors in potentially hot weather. While reminiscing about her childhood activities, Azmiya acknowledges playing "masak-masakan" (cooking play) with friends, but she highlights the increased enjoyment she now derives from tablet gaming. In her view, the digital platform provides a more enjoyable and hassle-free alternative to traditional play (Hännikainen et al. 2013, Edwards 2014), eliminating the need for preparation and cleaning associated with physical play's masak.

Fatiya:	"We don't play '*masak-masakan*' (cooking play) anymore.
Interviewer:	"how? Isn't it fun to play *masak masakan* (cooking) with friends?
Fatiya:	"yes, but we can play it now... more modern"

Fatiya echoes a similar sentiment, noting a shift away from traditional "*masak-masakan*" (cooking play) with friends. Despite acknowledging the fun that comes with such physical play, Fatiya emphasizes the alternative avenue of enjoyment that digital games offer. The perceived limitations of traditional play and the enhanced enjoyment, convenience, and versatility provided by digital platforms are what drive Azmiya and Fatiya's perspectives, which represent a contemporary inclination towards digital gaming. The shift in preference reflects evolving trends in play preferences among children, where digital experiences play a prominent role in their leisure activities.

The incorporation of girl games into the fabric of local culture in Demak represents a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, characterised by a disembedding from traditional girlhood practices. This transformative process involves the adoption of modern approaches to girl gaming, such as the communal sharing of games among peers, the utilisation of file-sharing applications like ShareIt, and a collective investment in WiFi and internet access. These practices signify a renegotiation of both social and technological norms within the community. As Willet (2005) emphasizes, the market emerges as a crucial force in this transformation. The introduction of girl games to Demak is not a passive occurrence but a market-driven process that actively infiltrates and redefines local customs. Giddens' assertion about the transformative influence of modernity on daily social life gains particular relevance in this context. The commercialization of current digital games, as emphasised by Grimes (2015), becomes a dynamic force within the

broader process of modernization, effectively eroding traditional customs and norms associated with girls' play. The market-driven introduction of girl games becomes a catalyst for change, challenging pre-existing structures and reshaping the very landscape of play activities in Demak. This transformation extends beyond the realm of entertainment, reflecting the profound impact of modernization on the cultural practices and leisure choices of the community.

6.1.2 Disembedding from Muslim Consumption in the Local

In delving into the experiences of DVC within girl games, it becomes evident that participants have disembedding experiences from the prevailing culture of Muslim consumption in Demak. The findings shed light on the transgressive nature inherent in DVC practices within these digital environments (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2012), creating a notable departure from the established standards of Muslim consumption in the local context. This phenomenon is particularly pronounced in the disembedding consumption behaviours observed, where participants venture into experimenting with modern secular fashions as portrayed in the virtual realms of girl games. The disembedding process in the realm of Muslim consumption culture becomes a complex and intricate negotiation for the participants. It involves a delicate balance between adhering to Islamic principles and succumbing to the allure of contemporary digital experiences facilitated by girl games. The findings bring to the forefront the tensions and challenges that arise as Jilbab girls navigate the fine line between tradition and modernity in their engagement with girl games.

Fadila:	(whilst knowing that nail colouring is constrained in Islam) "The nail colouring is actually fun. it makes the hand more beautiful, See..." "in reality, we can't colour our nails because it is forbidden."
Lina:	"When I was younger, playing this kind of game made me want to do it too. I asked my mother, Can I do a little makeup at home? like a game in real life? My mom said I should never."
Fatiya:	"I was playing a game with my friends... We were thinking, wouldn't it be fun to wear something like that for a special day, like a pretend princess? Yes, of course we can't.t"

Fadila's active involvement in the Nail Salon game serves as a poignant and illustrative example of this disembedding experience. Her participation signifies not merely a departure from traditional norms but also a profound embrace of the transformative potential embedded in modern digital play. This transformative potential extends beyond the virtual realm and into the cultural practices of Jilbab girls, reflecting the dynamic impact that DVC within girl games can have on shaping and reshaping societal norms and values. The narrative thus emphasises the

123

nuanced and intricate dynamics at play as Jilbab girls navigate the intersection of their cultural identity, religious principles, and the evolving landscape of digital experiences. Similarly, Nurul's experiences below indicate that she is cognizant of the normative restrictions associated with makeup usage among young girls.

Nurul:	I often watch makeup tutorial with my mother on YouTube, <u>then I become attracted to these make-over games</u>"
	"I like it and really want to try, so I play these games... <u>I can't try to make over for real yet, just later when I'm older</u>"
Nurul:	"the colour here is better "
Interviewer:	"How better?"
Nurul:	"the colours are softer, more natural… here, see this eye shadow and the blush— <u>better than in reality</u>. Because my mother sells 'Oriflame', the lipsticks are all red, no soft colour like this."

Figure 6.1. Nurul's design, Make Over Games

These excerpts unveil a distinctive facet of Digital Virtual Consumption (DVC) within girl games, creating a liminal space for individuals like Fadila and Lina to explore practices that might be deemed taboo or inappropriate in their everyday lives. DVC serves as a medium through which these girls can engage in such practices, effectively disembedding from their routine in a manner that doesn't overtly challenge or violate their sociocultural norms. This dynamic presents a fascinating intersection between traditional expectations and modern influences, providing a virtual realm for experimentation and divergence. In these virtual environments, the application of cosmetics, hair dye, and nail colours takes on symbolic significance, representing a tangible manifestation of the disembedding process from established norms and routine practices within the material culture of Jilbab girls. The act of altering one's appearance through virtual means becomes a form of self-expression and exploration, creating a space where traditional expectations can be temporarily set aside.

124

Furthermore, the realm of digital virtual consumption (DVC) provides Jilbab girls with a distinctive space where they can actively disengage from societal expectations of being 'good Muslim girls' in their everyday lives in Demak. The disembedding process takes on a nuanced dimension as some participants deliberately partake in transgressive activities discreetly. This is exemplified through Alina's candid disclosure about her engagement in what she categorises as 'not good' games, including dating simulations and pool parties. In response to the interviewer's inquiry about playing a bikini dress-up game, Alina explains:

Interviewer: "You also play the bikini (dress-up) game?"
Alina: "emm, because...I just want to know what kind of games this is. It popped out when I searched for games... Because the picture shows a swimsuit, I was curious.
Interviewer: "Curious about?"
Alina: "Just a little bit... I was curious (giggles)."
Interviewer: "What do you think about this game?"
Alina: "By this, it looks not good."

Alina emphasises that her involvement in such games was not a deliberate choice; rather, these experiences were either suggested by the app store algorithms or featured in advertisements during her gameplay. This new information adds another level of complexity to the disembedding process and shows that in the DVC world, people may come across content that goes against their established beliefs and values without meaning to (Giddens 1991). The virtual space, designed for entertainment and leisure, transforms into a conduit for exploration and transgression. These experiences reveal the intricate ways in which these girls navigate the intersection of tradition and modernity in their digital engagements. Despite her initial reluctance to play such games, Alina found the games' visuals and titles often stimulative, and her curiosity was piqued. Therefore, she played these games secretly and found them exciting and stimulating, even though she knew they were considered transgressive within her cultural context. It is worth noting that these intentional transgressions occurred despite participants' awareness of the potential consequences of their actions, such as social stigma and disapproval from their peers or family. Nonetheless, the lure of transgressive experiences and the desire to explore beyond the boundaries of their cultural norms proved too tempting for some participants.

Figure 6.2. Halimah's Design, High School Crush Game

Halimah::   "I played dating games too, but I have deleted them".
Interviewer: "What is it?"
Halimah: "It is in google play; I can show you… Here, 'the crush'… but
                  I was only curious. I deleted right after playing once".

The taboo and transgressive experiences within girl games are not only acknowledged by participants but are also described as compelling and exciting. Fadila, for instance, vividly expressed the impact of such experiences, stating, "My heart skipped a beat" when recalling instances like playing the 'Kissing in the Movies' game. Similarly, Nabila openly confessed, "I am ashamed" regarding these transgressive encounters. As Halimah further elaborated, these practices stem from curiosity, marking a departure from the everyday routine. The reported experiences of Aisah, Alina, Halimah, and others in girl games are consistent with Jenks' (2005) definition of transgressive acts. In this context, "transgressive" refers to experiences where individuals exceed the boundaries of everyday behaviour, often limited by considerations of productivity or self-preservation (Jenks 2005, p. 118). Despite being carried out through a few simple clicks and often presented as background activities in certain dress-up and make-over games (e.g., school crush games, kode keras cewek-cowok, etc.), these activities simulate transgressive play (Marsh et al. 2016).

Participants' engagement with transgressive experiences in digital virtual consumption (DVC) through girl games provides a glimpse into their inclination to go beyond the limitations of their daily routines. The findings suggest that underlying these disembedding experiences are curiosity and exhilaration, which can be associated with the concept of "childhood drama" (Jenks 2005, p. 121). This notion posits that children often engage in transgressive acts as a means of exploring and expanding the boundaries of their world. In the context of the study, the data illustrate how DVC girl games serve as a safe and controlled platform for participants to indulge in transgressive experiences. Within this virtual environment, they can navigate the boundaries of their cultural norms, allowing for acts of exploration and curiosity. This controlled setting

offers a unique space for participants to experiment with behaviours that might be considered taboo or unconventional in their everyday lives. It becomes a space where they can push against societal norms and explore aspects of themselves that may not find expression in their offline reality.

6.2. Destabilising Ontological Security

The disembedding process, involving the detachment of individuals from established norms and routines, is a multifaceted experience laden with challenges. As outlined by Giddens (1991), such disembedding often results in the destabilisation of ontological security, a disruption that profoundly affects individuals. This study delves into the experiences tied to the destabilisation of ontological security, specifically arising from the engagement in transgressive activities through digital virtual consumption in girl games. The manifestation of this destabilisation becomes notably apparent as individuals navigate the tensions associated with deviating from established norms and routines. Giddens (1991) posits that any disruption to established routines can trigger existential crises, leaving individuals feeling adrift and confronted with challenging moral and existential dilemmas. Previous research, including the works of Jafari and Goulding (2013) and Bilken (2012), has indicated that involvement in global activities can heighten feelings of anxiety and insecurity related to identity, particularly within local societies. In this study, we propose that engaging with disembedding experiences resulting from global consumption within the domain of digital virtual consumption can have negative effects, such as tensions, uneasiness, and guilt, which can disrupt ontological security. Therefore, the study's findings contribute to a deeper comprehension of the intricate nature of disembedding, emphasising its potential impact on the ontological security of individuals, particularly within the context of their involvement in digital virtual consumption through girl games.

The finding suggests various experiences of fear, guilt, shame, and uneasiness as participants engage with disembedding experiences.

> Adiba: "That kiss in the SIMS, I didn't know before... I was so afraid. we must not have done that. I never played that again."

Adiba expresses fear associated with a specific experience in the game "SIMS," particularly involving a kissing scenario. Her fear stems from the perceived prohibition of such actions. The intensity of her fear is evident, as she states that she never played the game again after encountering this element.

127

Halimah: "It was only in game... the kissing (in the Movie Theatre Game) ... but I deleted soon after".

Interviewer: "You deleted?"

Halimah: "Yes, I deleted all files cleanly. What if suddenly my friends see my phone? Hence, there is a game like this.? I'll be ashamed.".

Halimah shares her experience with the "Kissing in the Movie Theatre Game" and emphasises that she deleted it soon after playing. Her concern about potential social criticism led her to delete the game. She anticipates the possibility of her friends discovering the game on her phone, which would lead to feelings of shame. This suggests a conscious effort to erase any trace of potentially embarrassing or transgressive content.

Haniya: "I never played such games. Of course, because it is forbidden."

Haniya takes a firm stance by stating that she never played such games because they are forbidden. Her avoidance reflects a commitment to adhering to cultural or religious norms that label certain game content as prohibited. Haniya's response indicates a conscious decision to steer clear of activities perceived as conflicting with established values.

The destabilisation of ontological security observed among Jilbab girls in their interaction with girl games introduces a complex phenomenon within the realm of digital virtual consumption (DVC). While prior literature has recognised DVC as a space where everyday routines are temporarily suspended (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2012), our findings suggest that disembedding experiences have the potential to yield adverse effects, causing disruptions to consumers' sense of security within the routines of their everyday lives in the material world. Moreover, previous research on the global and local encounter, including studies by Jafari and Goulding (2013) and Bilken (2012), has indicated that engaging with the global can heighten anxiety and insecurity related to identity in various local societies. Giddens (1991) contends that any disruption to established routines can trigger existential crises, leaving individuals feeling lost and confronting challenging moral and existential dilemmas.

In this study, participants' experiences of shame, guilt, and fear, as reflected in the provided excerpts, point to the emergence of destabilising ontological security due to the encounter between the global and the local in the digital virtual space. The findings suggest that such experiences occur due to the extension of a moral framework that governs their behaviour in material consumption to their behaviour in the digital virtual realm. The experiences of participants, such as Adiba's fear, Halimah's deletion to avoid potential shame, and Haniya's explicit avoidance due to perceived prohibition, indicate a deep connection between the moral values ingrained in their physical-world experiences and their responses to digital virtual

consumption. The emotions of shame, guilt, and fear are not confined to their offline lives but are transferred to the digital virtual space, underscoring the continuity of their moral considerations across different consumption contexts.

6.3. Disembedding Mechanism

The disembedding mechanism is essential to how participants deal with destabilising ontological security. In order to maintain a cogent narrative of self-identity, it is frequently necessary to find various kinds of "appropriate" behaviour in order to resolve tensions that arise from disembedding situations (Giddens, 1991, p. 188). In this study, participants actively participate in the process of disembedding as they manage tensions that arise from the destabilisation of their ontological security. The disembedding mechanism can be noticed in participants through the use of numerous tactics to explain and justify their involvement in digital virtual consumption (DVC), indicating a shift away from local norms. The findings emphasise Jilbab girls' use of appropriation and avoidance methods, as explained below.

Appropriating Strategy

Jilbab girls employ an appropriation strategy that goes beyond simply embracing virtual immersion in order to justify their use of DVC. According to the findings, the appropriation strategy places an emphasis on the significance of DVC practices for each individual's personal growth and educational advancement. Participants defend their use of digital media by arguing that it has a purpose and is intentional, conforming to the larger cultural standards of modern female roles. Respondents argue that role-playing and skill-building through DVC experiences in girl games are crucial. The idea that girl games practices should be considered a component of learning has elevated these kinds of experiences above the area of only being an escape into the digital world. Rather, it appropriates DVC as a useful educational tool, where participants actively work to become proficient in basic body beautifying procedures and develop the skills necessary to become skilled women.

Nurina: "I like to do makeovers and cooking. Because this can be useful when I become a mother later in our lives.

129

For Nurina, engaging with girl games serves as a source of assurance that aligns with what she perceives as 'appropriate play.' This notion revolves around playful activities that conform to the idealised gender roles highly upheld within her local context. The enactment of imaginative feminine role-play within girl games bears striking similarities to traditional role-play performed by young girls in previous generations (Markee et al., 1994). Building on the findings of Reijmersdal et al.'s (2013) study, Jilbab girls, like Nurina, express a keen interest in fashion, a motive that significantly drives their engagement with girl games.

Azmiya : "When you play, you see many models, so you know better about styles."
Interviewer : "Do you like to know about fashion styles?"
Azmiya : "Of course, for the future... I may want to buy clothes at mall someday. If I know styles, I will not be ashamed choosing a good style.

Azmiya, echoing Nurina's sentiments, emphasises that her experiences in dress-up, makeover, and cooking within Digital Virtual Consumption (DVC) contribute to her learning process, preparing her for her future roles as a mother and a savvy consumer. This perspective aligns with the concept of 'anticipatory socialisation' (Cook, 2004; Tsaliki, 2016), wherein participants like Nurina and Azmiya derive future-oriented aspirations from their engagement with girl games. The immersive experiences within DVC become a valuable tool for learning ideas, ideals, and identity aspirations relevant to their future roles.

Figure 6.3. Faizah's Design, Nikki Love Story

Faizah: "This Nikky games is good. I like it because it has information… like this, there is information here. I like to read this… Yes, sometimes I don't understand because it is in English (laughing)"

Faizah values the knowledge found in girl games a lot since she knows it can help her learn more, especially when it comes to fashion vocabulary and meanings (Thompson, 1997). According to Wohlwend and Peppler (2013), the attractiveness of girl games resides in their capacity to serve as a platform for gaining knowledge about connected consumption domains. This platform enables girls like Faizah to create or remix pieces of cultural knowledge through the metaphorical network that is contained within these games. There are some players who, despite the fact that they occasionally have difficulty understanding the English content contained inside female games, view English games not as a barrier but rather as a beneficial instrument to improve their language learning skills. This is an interesting observation. Within the context of the larger global consumer market, this nuanced perspective highlights the multifaceted role that girl games play in the sociocultural development of Jilbab girls. Girl games not only serve as sources of entertainment and fashion education, but they also serve as tools for language acquisition and identity formation.

Avoidance Strategy

Participants strategically employ avoidance and substitution as nuanced mechanisms to navigate moral challenges associated with specific content in girl games. This manoeuvring fits perfectly with the larger disembedding mechanism (Giddens 1991), showing how the participants actively negotiate their involvement with digital virtual consumption (DVC) while taking into account religious, moral, and cultural concerns. Jilbab girls manage their experiences with girl games that present psychologically challenging situations. Some participants actively avoid playing certain games because they find the associated activities repulsive, as illustrated in the cases of Aisah and Azizah.

Aisah	: "I prefer cooking games,... dress-up games; I don't really like them."
Interviewer	: "You don't?"
Aisah	: "Hmm, because the doll here only wears inner clothes... It looks so indecent to see it."
Interviewer	: "Even in a video game?"
Aisah	: "Yes."

While interacting with the game's nearly nude, "indecent" avatar model, Aisah had a stream-of-consciousness experience.
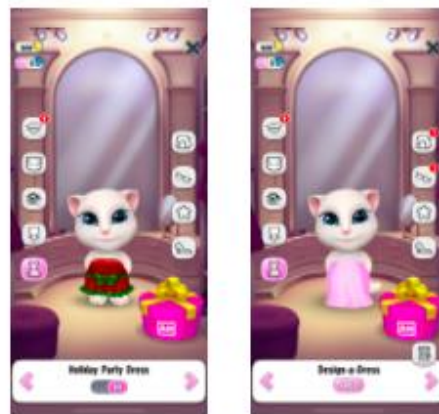
Azizah's designs, Talking Angela Game

Figure 6.4. Azizah's Design, Talking Angela Game

Azizah:	"I don't like playing with humans. "
Interviewer:	"what about playing with human-like model here?"
Azizah:	"No, it looks like a woman."
Interviewer:	"You don't feel okay playing with women, so you play with cats?
Azizah:	"Yes…"

Aisah (Rahmania and Haryanto, 2017) emphasises the sense of violation felt by players as she discusses the pornographic connotations associated with impure characters in girl games. While Azizah draws attention to the use of human-like visuals for art or other purposes (tashwir), pointing out the controversies it has sparked among Muslims (Hilmi 2018, Haq 2017, Sahroni 2019),. Azizah notes that some Islamic scholars deem such visuals unlawful due to concerns about potential idolatry (Hilmi, 2018). Participants, including Aisah and Azizah, were educated on this convention in school, and it was also accepted within their families, which further emphasises the ambiguous nature of incorporating tashwir into DVC practices.

Both girls adeptly refrain from engaging in girl game play that involves characters resembling humans, demonstrating a conscious effort to navigate the challenges posed by morally sensitive content. Aisah, for instance, successfully avoids participating in dress-up games that might present ethical dilemmas. This strategic manoeuvring aligns with the broader disembedding mechanism as participants actively negotiate their engagement with DVC, considering cultural, religious, and moral sensitivities. Their actions reflect an awareness of the potential conflicts between virtual experiences and established norms, demonstrating a nuanced approach to disembedding within the evolving landscape of girl games and their impact on the sociocultural dynamics of Jilbab girls.

132

Participants actively justifying their disembedding experiences underlines a strategic approach to aligning their virtual actions with established moral standards. The anticipation of external monitoring, whether through parental control or the potential presence of friends, serves as a deterrent, influencing the participants to inhibit feelings towards practices perceived as constrained. The appropriation and avoidance strategies become particularly evident in the active decisions of some participants who choose to refrain from playing specific games due to finding the associated activities repulsive. Aisah and Azizah's cases serve as illustrations of this strategic avoidance, highlighting the participants' intentional efforts to distance themselves from content that conflicts with their moral values. This intentional avoidance not only showcases a conscious disembedding from certain virtual experiences but also underscores the participants' agency in shaping their engagement with DVC based on their individual moral compasses.

The findings explicate that in the emergence of psychological tensions within the engagements with DVC, it becomes evident that the disembedding mechanisms do not result in the loss of self-identity but rather remove the underlying support that enables individuals to deal with and manage risk situations, thereby undermining their ontological security. Giddens (1984) argues that structure is not an external aspect; it is present in the DVC process through "bracketing out." In the context of digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games, the avoidance strategies employed by participants like Aisah and Azizah add a layer of complexity to the disembedding mechanism. Their deliberate actions demonstrate a keen awareness of possible tensions between digital virtual experiences and established norms (Giddens 1991), revealing a nuanced approach to disembedding within the changing landscape of girl games and its profound impact on Jilbab girls' sociocultural dynamics.

6.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter delves into the multifaceted disembedding mechanism experienced by Jilbab girls as they engage with digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games. The study goes beyond looking at the experiences and mechanisms that are taken out of their contexts. It also looks at the tensions that these encounters cause and the ways that people use strategies like appropriation and avoidance to deal with the difficulties that come with their changing routines. The disembedding mechanism unfolds as a pivotal shift in routine consumption practices, potentially generating tensions and disruptions that destabilise ontological security. Within the disembedding mechanism, Jilbab girls justify their departure from local consumption and social practices, offering a rationale for their active participation and engagement with DVC girl games. Further, as these Jilbab girls navigate the tensions arising from disembedding experiences, a fascinating

133

observation emerges: the employment of appropriation and avoidance strategies. Through appropriation, Jilbab girls justify their engagement with DVC girl games, framing it within the context of self-development and learning. This nuanced approach allows them to disembed from local norms while actively shaping their agency and subjectivity within DVC. On the other hand, the avoidance strategy is clear when people choose not to play or do certain activities that are seen as morally or culturally sensitive. This shows that they are trying to avoid psychological tensions that might arise when virtual experiences clash with established norms.

This chapter underscores the dynamic interplay between DVC experiences, the sense of ontological security among consumers in the local context, and the disembedding mechanisms in global and local consumer experiences. The appropriation and avoidance strategies serve as key tools within the disembedding mechanism, offering a nuanced perspective on how these Girls actively shape their engagement with digital experiences while balancing the complexities of cultural, religious, and moral sensitivities.

134

CHAPTER SEVEN

Finding 3: Digital Virtual Consumption Practices among Jilbab Girls

In the quest to comprehend the mediation process of modern consumer subject formation, it is imperative to delve deeply into the sphere of DVC girl games. It is through the mediation of digital virtual space that Jilbab girls interact with and navigate the global fashion consumption scene, surpassing and disembedding from the limitations of material culture consumption in their local context. This liberates them from traditional consumption practices, facilitating a unique exploration of consumer identities and experiences that would otherwise be inaccessible. Employing an analytical framework based on DVC theory, Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2012) dissect this complex dynamic. In the process, the chapter documents DVC practices amongst Jilbab girls, highlighting the way in which the dialectic of the global and the local (Giddens 1991) emerges within this digital context. This unravels the interplay between local cultural norms and global consumer practices, showcasing the transformative impact of DVC on the formation of modern consumer subjects. The chapter examines how the DVC's (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012) freedom of experimentation affects the global-local dialectic while simultaneously navigating through the intricate psychological process of ontological security. It explores how this freedom empowers Jilbab girls to confront and negotiate their cultural norms, facilitating their agency in participating in global consumer culture while ensuring they maintain a sense of self-identity and security.

The results show how everyday material and DVC practices (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012) are intricately linked to ontological security. They shed light on how the global-local dialectic plays out in this setting. Thus, the chapter offers an exhaustive exploration into the complex mediation process in DVC practices and the dynamic interaction of global and local influences within the digital realm. It provides a nuanced understanding of how DVC enables Jilbab girls to navigate their identities within the global consumer culture while retaining their embeddedness in their local cultural norms.

7.1. Characterising Jilbab Girls' DVC Practices in Girl Games

Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2010) propose four distinct modes of praxis to delineate consumer experiences within the realm of Digital Virtual Consumption (DVC). The first mode is the stimulation of desire. This aspect explores how DVC incites consumers to yearn for products and experiences that may be portrayed as exotic or beyond reach in conventional scenarios. The second mode, the actualization of consumer daydreams, delves into how DVC serves as a conduit for materialising consumer fantasies and desires, essentially breathing life into consumers' daydreams and wishful thinking. The third mode of praxis is the actualization of consumer fantasy, a mode where DVC enables consumers to realise and actualize their imaginative fantasies. This could involve adopting fantastical personas like a magician or a space pirate or owning digital virtual goods such as magical objects. This mode showcases how DVC is instrumental in creating and sustaining a particular self-image or lifestyle that aligns with the consumer's ideals. Finally, the fourth mode, experimentation, focuses on how DVC serves as a platform for individuals to explore and experiment with new identities, lifestyles, and consumption practices. It's important to clarify that the term "practice" in this context refers to the actions and behaviours exhibited by individuals and isn't necessarily synonymous with the theoretical concept of practice. This study extends the understanding laid out by Denegri-Knott and Molesworth by incorporating aspects of global-local recontextualization, modern consumption regimes, and repetitive routinization. It positions these modes of praxis within the broader dialectics of global-local influences, suggesting that these praxis modes not only characterise individual experiences but also contribute to the broader patterns of consumption and identity formation within digital spaces.

7.1.1. Experimentation of Modern Consumers Subjectivities

For young girls in the local context, DVC in girl games facilitates unlimited experimentation with global consumer culture, and these experiences shape their subjectivity as modern consumer subjects. Previous studies had characterised girl games as simulating global consumer culture and promoting consumeristic lifestyles (Cumming 2016, Tsaliki 2016), as outlined in the literature review. The finding of this study demonstrate that such simulation may involve participating in fashion consumption for various events and roles, such as dressing up for parties, prom nights, weddings, tourists, bikini parties, office workers, dating, etc. This also includes different types of body treatments and beauty practices, including spa treatments, tattoos, cosmetic usage for makeovers, etc.

136

First, the experimentation is characterised by ongoing trial and error and anticipation of novelty. This can be seen from Haifah's experiences. Haifah's everyday life has always been modest. Her repertoire of clothing is limited, so much so that besides her school uniform, there is little differentiation between garments she uses to sleep and to go out. She changes clothes twice a day; one is the uniform for going to school, and the other is a casual *gamis* that she wears for going to the afternoon school and the evening *ngaji—studying Quran*. She even wears the same *gamis* for sleeping at night (she doesn't have dedicated sleeping wear, such as pyjamas). She notes that her mother used to be unhappy if she changed clothes more than twice. Women in this context are responsible for traditionally hand-washing the family's clothes. Therefore, changing clothes often means burdening her mother with more items to wash and iron. Although she is accepting of this situation, she shares with glee all the consumption choices she can make in girl games:

Haifah:	"… I just do mix and match here. Try and try... I just want to see how it looks. I like to mix dress and jacket here. I don't like too girly clothes, so I put on a jacket like this. I like games that have many choices of bags and shoes. This game? Oh, this is shopping mall. This has more models, like this one, which looks sporty. Also, there are salon for make-up, hair and for nails. Other games usually separate these activities. But in this game, all is included."

In the excerpt, Haifah's DVC practice in girl games is a typical example of market experimentation (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010). She describes her explorative experimentation with global consumer culture as "mix and match" and "try and try." Like other Jilbab girls, Haifah tends to embody the position of middle-class Western adult consumers (Cumming 2017) as they immerse themselves in their DVC experimentation with Western fashion and body culture. In her story, she applies thick cosmetics to the avatar's body, changes her hair colour, combines a leather jacket with a short-sleeved top, and continuously experiments with different fashion styles, all of which are unavailable to her in the actual real of material consumption. . Haifah expresses her enjoyment of DVC in girl games with phrases like "there are more choices," "I can buy different clothes," and "but in this game, all is included," which are similar to how adult and teenage female consumers describe their shopping mall experiences (Martin 2009).

Additionally, anticipation of novelty drives DVC experimentation. In keeping with previous studies (Denegri-Knott et al., 2013; Kozinets et al. 2017) anticipating novelty and adventure sustained participants' prolonged DVC engagement. Novelty has been one the main attraction of games (King 2002). For example, in the case of Fadilah, who has been playing a variety of girl games, including cooking, makeovers, and dress-up practices with diverse roles

and contexts, such as a princess, a model, a bride, a schoolgirl, and a doctor,. She has also played a Muslim clothing game, which is basically like other dress-up games but with Muslim garments like jilbabs. She reported how she was playing girl games less. In part, this was to be done because the games were unable to produce novelty. She describes this as '*itu itu saja*'—*nothing new, and it is no more challenging*. In describing her experiences, she reckoned:

Fadilah:	"Yes, so many! …I have played princess, doctors, weddings, cooking, schoolgirls, Rapunzel, nail colouring and many more. emm, I played Muslim clothing too."
Interviewer:	"Muslim attire?"
Fadilah:	"Yes, but it is only very few, and the game is not good."
Inteviewer:	" How's not good?"
Fadilah:	" emm… The graphic is not good, and the choices of clothes are not much, like '*itu itu saja*' (only that, there is limited)".

In the excerpt, Fadilah's decreasing interest to girl games is due to the decreasing sense of exploratory experiences, as she described: "Recently, there are not many interesting games, most are similar…'. Most participants also expressed a similar dilemma: that girl games no longer hardly satisfied their desire for exploration, highlighting that such experiences—to try something new and more challenging—serve as significant motivation in girls' DVC engagements. Fadilah's assertion above also notes that the ideal DVC in games should accommodate consumers exploratory desires for diverse, novel, and challenging experiences, as well as be relatable or contextual, such as "there is a story in it.". Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2013) argued that one of the reasons that DVC may be compelling is its steady supply of novelty and difference.

Secondly, despite appearing as mere casual drag-and- drop activities, the process of experimenting with different styles of digital virtual consumption (DVC) often necessitates intricate decision-making. Participants have expressed enjoyment in exploring new trends and styles through online purchases, much like Haifa's experiences of trying different combinations in virtual games. The act of engaging with fashion shopping and experimentation in DVC girl games mirrors the actual real-world experience of fashion shopping, where consumers select specific retailers based on their fashion assortments and perceived variety, as revealed in prior studies (Townsend and Kahn 2013, Donnelly et al. 2020). This suggests that games have become potent platforms for participants to explore a more diverse array of goods than those available in their local marketplace. This observation is in line with Molesworth's (2006) opinion, and the study's findings provide additional support. Take Fatiya, who has been playing the "Talking Angela" game for almost two years and has downloaded it millions of times (as of 2019).. Despite the distinctive aspect of embodying an avatar character as a cat in the game, Fatiya's narratives regarding her decision-making process during purchases are remarkably similar to how she described her shopping experiences in material consumption. Thus, even within the ostensibly

fantastical confines of DVC, real-world consumer behavior and decision-making patterns find an intriguing parallel.

7.1. Fatiya's design, Talking Angle Games

Interviewer:	"How the prices are different here?
Fatiya:	"Because different clothes are for different occasions. "
Interviewer:	"Different occasions?"
Fatiya:	"see, these clothes for going out and for party are more expensive."
	not for everyday wear. Party dress are usually made of "expensive fabrics; that's why those are more expensive."
Interviewer:	"I see, but this is still locked?"
Fatiya:	"Yes, I can buy after I reach that level."
Interviewer:	"Will you buy it? Is it expensive?"
Fatiya:	"I want to buy it. I want to own all my clothes here. I need to see how much money I have."
Interviewer:	"What about buying the cheaper clothes?"
Fatiya:	"No, the expensive ones are fine. I will collect coins first. If she buys expensive clothes, I only give her candy."

.Fatiya's story is interesting here. Fatiya's assessment of fashion's values is premised on the reality that "*party clothing is usually made of expensive fabrics; that's why those are more expensive*," even if this is not the case with DVC in girl games. Even though she wants to buy everything she sees in Talking Angela, she often gives careful thought to what she can actually buy before making a purchase, and she evaluates styles and prices before making a fashion-forward selection (Park et al 2006).

Thirdly, the experimentation in DVM is largely about experimenting with individual subjectivities. Nabila's experience provides an example. She revealed her story about how some neighbourhood friends often use her tablet to play games and watch YouTube while socialising

139

together. However, rather than joining in, she prefers playing alone. This gives her a greater sense of freedom to undertake DVC experimentation.

Nabila:	"I like playing this game alone. I can play whatever I like. If there's a friend watching me play...
Interviewer:	"What games you playing when you are alone?"
Nabila:	"Just the usual dress up. But when there is a friend, just feels different. "

Nabila's story is quite revealing. Particularly because she lives in a highly collectivist social environment. She used to spend much time with her peer groups, both at school and in her neighbourhood. In this sense, DVC in girl games operates as an individuating mechanism, which is a way to secure personal subjectivity from conformity pressures (Frones 2016). Similarly, Haniyah, Fatiya, and Nurina's desire to engage with DVC in girl games (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth) is fuelled by their personal daydreams (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012).

Haniyah:	"The part of choosing clothes here that I like most is the shopping."
Fatiya:	"My most favourite part is the part choosing clothes and accessories."
Nurina:	"To buy the dress and choose glasses... I like it all."

Engaging with girl games empowers Jilbab girls to express their unique interests and assert their individuality. Through these games, they have the freedom to shape their own opinions, attitudes, tastes, and lifestyles, highlighting their role as the originators of these personal choices (Frones 2016). This showcases how digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games serves as a platform for subjective experimentation with market resources. Within these games, Jilbab girls can explore activities such as mixing and matching clothes, engaging in various DVC experiences, and engaging in practices that foster their sense of individualization (Frones 2016). By engaging with DVC in girl games, they can experiment with different styles, express their unique preferences, and construct their own narratives within the virtual realm. This emphasises the significant role of girl games in facilitating subjective exploration and self-expression within the context of market resources.

Fourthly, the Jilbab girl's practices of experimentation with the global marketplace and consumer culture affect consumer learning, especially in terms of commodities and market value. Through experimentation, participants learn the meanings and functions of apparel based on what they encounter during their DVC practices in girl games. Jilbab girls, whose mundane everyday lives are routinized by Muslim clothing culture, engage with types of fashion and dress-up practices that are never a part of their routines. These include makeovers, shopping for clothes, and mixing and matching styles that are associated with global consumer culture. In this way,

Jilbab girls gain knowledge of new consumer products and fashion commodities through the process of engagement, which plays a significant role throughout the participants' DVC experiences. DVC girl games continue to supply novel and up-to-date items and experiences, as I have mentioned in the previous chapter. This is especially evident because they are continually introduced to the newest updated version of girl games, which is relevant to what is offered in the global marketplace. Even though such products might not always be available in the participants' local markets, they can still gain knowledge about these products and their functions through their participation in DVC.

Interviewer:	"What is it?"
Haniya:	"This is for the cheeks, something like blush, maybe... But I never seen something like this before."
Interviewer:	"never seen in games or in market?"
Haniya:	"in previous games and in real market, maybe it is not yet available here because this is new…"

Figure 7.2. Haniya's design, Make Over Games

Girl games are frequently used as instruments for market promotion (see Molesworth 2006). As shown in Haniya's response, she learned about a new product on the market because of what she encountered in makeover games. Meanwhile, it is also worth noting that Haniya's and other participants' experiences demonstrate how girl games frequently fail to facilitate consumer learning. There are a lot of girl games that do not provide the necessary product descriptions and information about what and how they operate, and this makes the learning process more complicated for participants.

The process of learning how to combine different pieces of clothing to create particular looks or fashions is one experience that participants frequently share. As described in Chapter 5, Jilbab girls dress in a modest way. Most of them only have Muslim clothes, and they don't even wear fashion clothes when they play girl games. However, during the interviews, most of the girls displayed a sophisticated knowledge of clothing trends from around the world. The following extract from Fadilah is one such instance. In Fadilah's rural Demak neighbourhood, ladies tend to

wear traditional Muslim attire, particularly *gamis*. The following extract illustrates that she recognised and could characterise specific fashion types in her DVC experimentation, such as how she defined her designs for the sporty urban girl below. This is despite fact that she herself wears Muslim clothing and is rarely exposed to global fashion media.

Fadilah:	"This is sporty urban girly."
Interviewer:	"Tell me more about this style; what is sporty urban girly?"
Fadilah:	"I don't know much... it was from the game; I just chose from what was available. In this game, I just made similar design.
Interviewer:	"similar designs?"
Fadilah:	"yes, there's a part in the game, the competition. "
Interviewer:	"Do you copy these models?"
Fadilah:	"Yes… But often I still couldn't win, although I made same designs.
Interviewer:	"Do you think these styles are applied in our Muslim fashion?"
Fadilah:	"Yes. There are *gamis (Muslim dress)* with this model too… or sometimes in the market, there is *gamis* with many embroidery... that is not sporty".
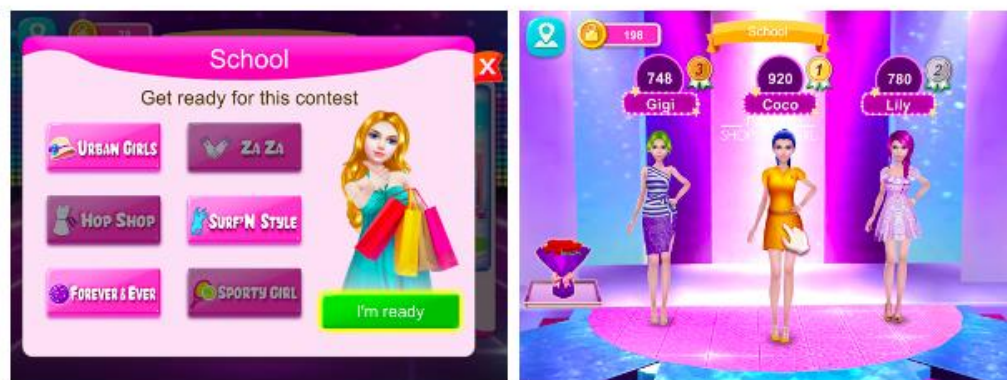
Figure 7.3. Fadilah's design, Shopping mall Girls Games

Fadilah has developed a strong familiarity with global fashion styles and metonyms through her participation in girl games. Metonyms, which are specific linguistic figures associated with different fashion styles (Thompson and Haytco 1997), serve as a defining feature of these styles within the games. Similarly, Faizah has also become well-versed in global fashion trends. The findings of this study indicate that participants' engagement with digital virtual consumption (DVC) practices in girl games has contributed to their learning and increased competence in the realm of fashion. This suggests that the use of online fashion stores is not a fleeting or impulsive activity for these individuals but rather a long-term endeavour driven by the pursuit of knowledge and skill development. Participants actively perpetuate their fashion consumption knowledge, which can be adapted to the local context of Muslim clothing (Salonen, Närvänen, & Saarijärvi, 2014).

Jilbab girls' engagement with girl games involves not only exploring fashion and style but also familiarizing themselves with the dynamics of the modern market. Through their interactions within the games, participants gain exposure to various aspects of the market, including consumption outlets, different shops, price tags, payment methods, and promotional programmes. The data indicates that participants actively engage with and make inferences about these elements, such as sales, discounts, advertisements, and even special events like Black Friday sales. Grimes (2015) highlights that such games are designed to incorporate virtual economies, utilising game mechanics and virtual items, as well as incorporating branding and third-party advertising strategies. While the level of involvement in promotional programs varies among participants, it is noteworthy that most girls tend to avoid in-game ads. However, they actively participate in sales promotions that are embedded within the games themselves (Grimes 2015). An example of this can be seen through Putri's story, which exemplifies how Jilbab girls navigate and engage with the promotional aspects of girl games. Putri's experiences shed light on the ways in which these games serve as platforms for players to develop an understanding of market dynamics and actively participate in promotional activities within the virtual environment.

Figure 7.4. Putri's design, barbie Fashion Closet Games

Putri:	"(whilst playing) Ah, new shirt! Yes! What is it? It is a bonus, but I have to watch the advertising first."
Interviewer:	"will you watch the ads?"
Putri:	"Yes, because the offer is good. If I don't like the bonus, I don't watch theads."
Interviewer:	"Do you often watch ads in girl games?"
Putri:	only sometimes, because the ads will use up the internet data, so I don't like it. In another game, it gives discount time without watching ads, but here (in this games), we have to watch ads first, which is so annoying."
Interviewer:	"what is discount time? "
Putri:	"I can buy cheaper clothes during discount-time. But it is very short time—only a few seconds, not too long."

Putri's reaction to advertising and sales promotion programmes in the game Barbie Fashion Closet reflects a common response observed among the participants in this study. Similar reactions have also been documented in previous studies (Cansalvo 2007, Taylor 2005). Grimes (2015) further categorises different types of in-game promotions, which include velvet rope self-promotion, cross-promotion and branding, third-party advertising, and utilising safe-chat systems for viral marketing (p. 117). Engagement with these promotional features often results in rewards, such as virtual currency, virtual items, and additional points. These rewards serve as a significant motivation for participants to actively participate in specific activities within the game.

7.1.2. Actualization and Stimulation of Global Consumer Experiences

DVM in girl games provides participants in this study with the ability to actualize their imagination, daydreams, curiosities, and desires related to global or Western consumer roles, such as becoming a supermodel or a character in a movie, and engaging in diverse consumption practices, such as modern fashion goods and apparel. DVC practices typically emerge as the realisation of consumers' idealisations, including their imaginations, their pursuit of idealized lifestyles, and their desires (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott, 2007). DVC provides Jilbab girls with a safe and secure space to explore their desires and imaginations, free from the constraints of their immediate environment. By enabling them to experiment with diverse consumption practices, DVC offers consumers the opportunity to pursue their idealised lifestyles and embody global or Western consumer roles, allowing them to experience pleasure through such consumption experiences.

Participants in this study have reported that their engagements with DVC in girl games enable them to practice things that are often hindered by parental, social, cultural, and religious constraints in their everyday lives. Some participants expressed that their practices in DVC are often associated with things they really want to do 'in real life' but are unable to due to social, religious, and financial constraints. For instance, some girls expressed a desire to experiment with nail-colour, hair colour, and different hairstyles— consumption that is highly stigmatised and avoided in traditional Muslim society. Also, undertaking these practices in DVC via girl games C provides them with an opportunity to talk about the prohibited topics.

Farida:	"Recently, I like to play this game, The nail colour... What I like are these stars, pearls, and stickers. **I also like to try different nail colours here.'**
Interviewer:	"Do you recently use nail colours?"
Farida:	… Honestly, yes, I just tried it once. Last time, my school friend secretly broughtan halal nail colour. It was when we had

after-school group work (kerja kelompok) in our friend's house. She said it was her sister's. It is Halal, so yes, we all tried it. The colour was pink."

Interviewer: "How is it Halal? \"

Farida: "It is not waterproof, so we can use it.".

Interviewer: "What about the non-halal nail colour? What makes the differences?"

Farida: "The nonhalal nail colours are waterproof and make 'the wudlu' not valid."

Interviewer: "How is it?"

Farida: "It (the nail colour) can obstruct the 'wudlu' water from reaching the skin, so your ablution (*wudlu*) will not be valid (if there's part of the body that is blocked from water during the ablution). You can't pray when your ablution (*wudlu*) is not valid, right?"

Interviewer: I see... and these halal nail colours?"

Farida: "Because it is not waterproof, we don't have to remove it every time we're about to pray."

Interviewer: "What do you think of applying nail colour?"

Farida: "If we use the halal ones, I think it is fine. It makes the hands prettier and we can be more girly".

Interviewer: "Can you use it when going to 'ngaji'or'school'ol'?"

Farida: "Of course, not... Only if we hang out with best friends or use it at home when we are alone.

Interviewer: "What about with other friends?"

Farida: "Maybe it will be okay. But people might not know if the nail colour is Halal; they might think badly about it.

DVC practices in girl games offered Jilbab girls a way to actualise and enact ideas, wishes, and daydreams that may not be possible in everyday routine social interactions. As Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2012, 2013) assert, DVC practices can push beyond the limitations of consumers immediate environment and imagine possibilities that might otherwise be unattainable. It is important to note, however, that these practices are not trivial or lacking in thought. Ostensibly, participants engage in careful consideration of what to choose and purchase as they work to construct and enact their designs within the girl games. DVC offers a unique and dynamic arena for girls participating in this study to explore and engage with their imagination, allowing for the creation of new and innovative ideas and practices.

Most importantly, through their participation in diverse consumption practices and the embodiment of different consumer roles, Jilbab girls engage in a process of self-reflection and exploration, allowing them to navigate and construct their own identities. This aligns with Zukin's (2004) assertion that we learn to navigate adulthood through the act of shopping. Shopping and consumption are intricately linked to our socialisation and personal development. For Jilbab girls, the act of consuming and immersing themselves in consumer culture can empower them with a sense of agency and control over their consumption choices. In their pursuit of embodying their idealised selves, they actively shape themselves as modern consumers. This process of self-formation through consumption is a significant aspect of their journey towards becoming

145

individuals who are able to navigate and participate in the complexities of modern consumer society.

Haifah:	"This is my favourite part, hair styling. I always like to play with hair. I used to style my friends' hairs (giggles). I can make buns or plaits. Here I can also colour and learn more about different hairstyles.
Interviewer:	"Do you style your hair while you wear jilbab?
Haifah:	"No problem. We still like to style our hair, no matter how. "We cover it with Jilbab.
Interviewer:	"Don't you want to show your styled hair to other people outside your family?
Haifah:	"No. I don't want.
Interviewer:	"Do you like styled coloured hair?
Haifah:	"Yes, but not weird colours, red or purple. I like dark brown.

The experiences of Jilbab girls shed light on how they express their subjectivity through stigmatised consumption practices, as evidenced in the accounts of Farida and Haifah. These findings align with previous research that highlights how gamers create personas within digital realms to express aspects of themselves that they feel the need to conceal or suppress in the offline world (Robinson, 2007). This is often because certain aspects of their identity are considered taboo or controversial (Linderoth and Mortensen, 2015).

The evidence presented here supports the notion that DVC provides a safe and secure environment for Jilbab girls to explore and experiment with their consumer subjectivities, even those that are considered taboo. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2010) argue that pleasure and emotional satisfaction can be derived from within the mind rather than solely relying on the physical experience of using or owning a product. The consumption practices of Jilbab girls provide support for this claim, as the pleasures derived from using nail colours and hair colours are stimulated and actualized through DVC in girl games without being solely dependent on the direct relationship between physically employing or possessing a product and the resulting sensations of satisfaction. By actualizing their desires through DVC, participants are able to experience pleasure and gain a deeper understanding of their preferences and dislikes.

7.1.3. Recontextualization of Local Consumption

DVC in girl games enables Jilbab girls to become familiar with modern fashion consumption. However, the results imply that this learning process is not simple and that creolization (Belk and Ger, 1996) and recontextualization (Ger et al., 2018) are factors that influence it. Recontextualization refers to consumers' reinterpretation and reapplication of global brands, products, and consumption patterns (Ger, 2017). The context, which refers to the

146

information available to a person at a specific time, plays a significant role in this process of meaning-ascription (Clark and Carlson, 1981). As such, recontextualization (Ger and Belk, 1996) often involves local appropriation that alters the intended meanings and purposes of global producers. This phenomenon is also evident in DVC, given the permeability of digital games to cultural meanings in material culture (Myers, 2013). In the case of Jilbab girls, recontextualization manifests in various ways, such as the ways in which meanings are constructed, how participants behave based on their frame of reference, and how local ideals guide their decisions.

DVC not only exposes Jilbab girls to new products and services, but it also shapes their understanding and interpretation of these items. According to McCracken (1996), consumption goods hold diverse meanings depending on the social context. This suggests that the value and usefulness of an item are dependent on a particular way of life within a specific cultural setting (Slater 1997, p. 136). Therefore, the ability to comprehend why things are done a certain way is rooted in the local sociocultural contexts where consumer knowledge is co-constructed through social interactions, not solely through globally mediated experiences (Rogoff et al. 1993). McCracken (1989) also pointed out that although a product can be adapted to fit into some aspects of the larger context, its original meanings and functions are modified to correspond to regional categories. In this sense, the process of meaning-making in DVC for Jilbab girls is an essential aspect of their consumption experience, as it allows them to navigate and interpret consumption goods in ways that are relevant to their local sociocultural context.

The local context is what first shapes this meaning-making process. The findings revealed that participants attribute meaning to a contextualised object that is recognisably familiar to them (Kleine and Kernan 1991). In the context of global-local meaning making, Appelbaum and Jordt (1996) suggested that the assignment of meanings to foreign objects is always predicated on a system that regulates the assignment of meanings to all objects within a given cultural context. In other words, the cultural context in which foreign products are found determines what meanings are given to them (Arnould 1989).

Figure 7.5. Putri's design, Princes Dress Up and Makeover Game

Putri: "I like this. She looks beautiful, as well as 'anggun' (elegant)."
Interviewer: "How elegant?"
Putri: "The dress... the dress looks so pretty. The colour is light purple; make it more graceful."

Putri's experience provides a good example to support the previously mentioned assertion. She designed an outfit with an anggun-style appearance, which means "elegant" or "graceful" in the Indonesian dictionary (KBBI, 2019). Previous studies on preteen girls' fashion dialogues (Tsaliki 2016, Cody 2012, and Willet 2008) show their familiarity with fashion characteristics and trends such as sexy, girly, and glamorous (Tsaliki 2016, Willet 2008). However, in this study, Jilbab girls do not use such fashion features when referring to what they encounter in girl game play. Instead, they express their fashion opinions using local vernacular, like "*sopan*" (polite), "*pantes*" (suitable), "*anggun*" (elegant), "*syar'i*" (completely covered), "*saru*" (indecent), "*kekinian*" (modern and trendy), and "*keren*" (cool). According to Giddens (1991), understanding the meaning of words is crucial for incorporating them into daily life. To understand the meaning of "sexy," "girly," "athletic," and "glamorous" in the context of Western fashion, one must be familiar with their everyday application. In contrast, Jilbab girls use terms like "*sopan*," "*pantes*," and "*anggun*," which connote specific cultural values. This highlights how meanings are based on sets of differences that are not only between signifiers but also reflect reality in everyday life (Giddens, 1991).

Furthermore, although Jilbab girls' DVC engagement with girl games certainly incorporate elements of global consumer culture, local beliefs, cultures, traditions, and routines greatly influence their actions. These girls' DVC practices reflect the prevailing values and customs in their hometowns. For example, Badriyah prefers using dark hair colours for her avatar's hair because she believes other hair colours represent rebellious characters, a characteristic that is often disapproved of in her community. For instance, Azizah believes it is inappropriate to wear bare-chested dresses, a view that reflects the modest dress code in her community, while Badriyah affirms that bikinis are unacceptable as they go against the modesty

148

standards upheld in her community. Thus, it is clear that Jilbab girls' DVC practices in the girl games they played are not just a reflection of global trends but are also deeply intertwined with their local cultures and values.

Figure 7.6. Haniya's design, Winter Fashion Game

Haniya:	"This dress, I like it... but it is black."
Interviewer:	"What about black dress?"
Haniya:	"Black is for mourning occasions, like going to 'takziyah', not suitable for parties."

Putri's story provides another example of how Jilbab girls conform to local cultural ideals when it comes to fashion. Putri describes how she had to dress a certain way for certain occasions based on the expectations of her community. This reflects the idea that fashion choices are not made in isolation but rather are shaped by social norms and expectations (Crane 2000). Putri's use of terms like "*sopan*," "*pantes*," and "*anggun*" to describe her fashion choices highlights the importance of cultural context in shaping how Jilbab girls think about fashion. These terms reflect local cultural ideals of modesty, suitability, and elegance that are valued within Jilbab culture and demonstrate how these values influence fashion choices (Giddens 1991).

Haniya's conformity to the local Javanese Muslim culture can be seen in her decision to not wear black during her dress-up practices in girl games. This is because black dresses are strongly associated with mourning attire in Indonesian culture (Faisol 2018) and are typically avoided in day-to-day dress-up practices and other social occasions (Puspitasari 2019). Haifah's choice to avoid black dresses reflects her adherence to the cultural norms and values of her community.

Figure 7.7. Putri's design, Barbie Fashion Closet Game

Putri:	"This one is for going to campus... and the next one is to go out with friends."
Interviewer:	"What about wearing this one to campus?"
Putri:	"that can't be... It is not allowed. My sister must wear shirts to go to campus. Her friends who wear T-shirts were expelled from her class. My sister said her lecturers are strict.

In the same vein, Putri dresses up to go to campus in accordance with local ideals. She learned from her sister's experience about what constitutes a proper college appearance, such as that students should always wear formal shoes and never wear casual attire, such as t-shirts and non-collar clothing (Hayati 2013, Karamah 2011). Using the fashion accessories that are available in girl games, Putri naturally created models of proper campus wear based on those references. She embodies the concept of the perfect model to go to university into her design with consideration.

Third, the creolisation of DVC practices in girl games among Jilbab girls is part of a recontextualization process. Ger and Belk (1996) use the term "creolization" to describe the process of mixing and matching things from different cultures. The creolisation of DVC practices among Jilbab girls involves the local mixing and blending of foreign products and activities. The interviews revealed a wide range of creolization in participants' DVC practices, including the use and interpretation of global products in light of local references. In the following example, Karima shares an illustrative story. As we can see, Karima finds a way to give significance to a global commodity that is unavailable to her in the actually real of material consumption.

Karima:	"The shoes look nice. There are no shoes like this here (in Demak), right?"
Interviewer:	"Have you ever seen anyone wear such shoes?"
Karima:	"Yes, Syahrini (a celebrity). But I have never seen these shoes in the market here".
	"the shoes here are like those for farmer to go to their rice fields."

150

People in Karima's neighbourhood don't usually wear boots. Karima, like other participants in this study, typically wore sandals rather than shoes. Most Jilbab girlshave to wear shoes as part of their school uniform, and most of the time, they can only wear certain types of shoes, like trainers or flat shoes. Karima, like everyone else, assumed that the usual boots worn by celebrities on TV were part of their act. Her grandparents wore boots when they went to the paddy field, so she associates them with that activity more than any other. She doesn't know what wellies are because the information about them doesn't show up in her knowledge structure in that way. Here we demonstrate how Karima derived her interpretation of the products in DVC from her personal meaning repertoire and how the denotative meanings of global consumer goods may be subject to such variation (Klein and Kernan 1991). According to Klein and Kernan (1991), consumer meanings are the end consequence of perception and are distinctive by nature. Jilbab girls create interpretations of global goods by juxtaposing perceptual and countervailing meanings, which typically creolise the intended meanings that were first given to global goods.

Fourth, recontextualization involves revisiting and appropriating previous understandings of global and local encounters. In the context of DVC in girl games, it is important to note that Jilbab girls are not always presented with fictitious or foreign consuming habits or "alien" commodities. Some participants in this study found that elements of DVC were already present in their daily lives, even if they were not actively engaging in DVC activities or consuming DVC products. This can be attributed to the diverse range of mediated experiences they encounter, such as local television shows, social media, and trips, which have exposed them to various aspects of the global consumer experience.

For example, Naila's perception of the facial treatment she applies to her avatar in Salon games reflects her real-life experiences. She draws a connection between the virtual beauty treatment and her own experiences with facial treatments in the physical world. This highlights how Jilbab girls integrate their knowledge and experiences from the actual world into their engagement with DVC. It demonstrates how their local sociocultural context and personal experiences shape their understanding of global consumer practices. The presence of these mediated experiences reinforces the notion that DVC is not detached from reality but rather interconnected with the participants' everyday lives. It indicates that the global and local dimensions of consumer experiences are not mutually exclusive but intertwine and influence each other. This dynamic relationship between global and local encounters further contributes to the recontextualization process as Jilbab girls adapt and incorporate elements of DVC into their existing consumer practices and understandings. She explains:

151

Figure 7.8. Naila's design, Make-Up Salon Game

Naila	: "These cucumbers... these are for masking the eyes."
Interviewer	: "Using cucumber?"
Naila	: "Yes. It is a natural treatment. So, it is good... Because it is not made from chemical substances. Chemical substances might cause negative effects; it is better to use natural materials for the face, like this cucumber. My mother used to put aloe vera in my hair because it was awful. I played a lot under the sun, and my hair turned red. Yes, aloe vera is a good medicine, and it is free because it grows in our backyard (giggling)".
Naila	: "I thought it was only us (Indonesian people) that used natural stuff like this." "Ooh, people outside Indonesia also use these plants. I just know this. Does aloe Vera also grow abroad? I thought it only grew in Java Island."

In Naila's excerpt above, she made sense of her DVC practices by drawing from her past experiences. She is familiar with the use of natural ingredients for traditional hair treatments. Here, despite the fictional displays in girl games, familiar meanings presuppose sets of differences and that such differences can be accepted as part of reality as met with in daily experience in local. Also, as Naila said, "*I thought it was only us (Indonesian people) that use natural stuff like this."* learning through DVC expands her understanding on the globalised aspect of certain consumption practices, which previously she considered local and traditional.

The collage effect is especially noticeable when participants describe their involvement in restricted and stigmatised behaviours that are connected to perceived negative aspects of western culture (Nilan and Parker 2013), such as going to parties, dressing revealingly, and keeping dogs as pets. These negative depictions of the West are related to the prevalent moral panic that affected social discourse about modernity and globalisation in Indonesia (Schmidt 2016, Fealy and White 2012, Nilan and Parker 2013). The collage effect, as seen in the excerpts from Malika below, shapes the participants' interpretations of their DVC experiences in girl games. Malika is a 12-year-old girl who grew up watching Barbie videos on YouTube. She knows that Barbie is American and that most of the things she does in the movies, like partying and dancing, come from western culture.

Figure 7.9. Malika's design, Shopping Mall Girl Game

Malika: "She's going to a party."
Interviewer: "What party?"
Malika: "Maybe dancing in party, something like that... like in barbie (movies), they like to have parties with friends... there is no party-party like this here (laughing)."
Interviewer: "what about having party like this?"
Malika: "Because they are more free."

Malika's perception of her party outfit is influenced by a montage of western perspectives. Malika's interpretation of DVC's meaning continues to reflect the spread of moral panics toward the west (Schimdts 2016, Nilan 2008), particularly considering Malike's statements that "there is no party party like this here (in the local)" and "because they are more free (than us in the local)." Such moral panic also appears in many participants' stories of their DVC experiences. For example, Wardah believes that wearing tight, revealing clothing is the standard appearance for Westerners, and Halimah believes that keeping a dog as a pet is only acceptable for non-local people, etc. In this regard, while role-playing is thought to encourage a broader understanding of culture and social life (Frones 2016), the collage effect tends to foster animosity toward western culture among locals. The fact that this is the case suggests that the mediation of global consumer culture through DVC is not developing in an isolated manner. Rather, it appears to be situated not just in the orchestration of digital, virtual and material practises but also within the dynamic and dialectical relationship between global and local.

The participants in this study demonstrate how their DVC practices are influenced by a range of consumer experiences obtained from various sources, such as social media, celebrity stories, TV advertising, YouTube makeovers, and fashion tutorials, among others. These tangible examples highlight the collage effects of DVC in girl-game mediation. It is important to recognise that online dress-up games are not isolated entities but rather part of a broader network of commercialised behaviours that exist in both the online and offline worlds, spanning across multiple media platforms. DVC girl games are intricately woven into a web of symbolic and

153

material consumption that connects various aspects of participants' lives, including social media interactions, YouTube videos, local television programmes, international animated films, advertising, offline shopping experiences in malls, and celebrity culture. This interconnectedness amplifies the influence and reach of DVC in shaping participants' consumer practices and desires.

An illustrative example is Faizah's fascination with winter fashion dress-up in the game. The opportunity to experiment with snow and winter aesthetics was what initially drew her to this theme. As she engaged with the game, Faizah's imagination took hold, and she found herself admiring a beautiful coat and other items. In an attempt to explain a product she was not familiar with, Faizah referred to a recent Instagram post from a celebrity she follows. This example highlights how participants draw upon their exposure to various media sources to navigate and make sense of the DVC experiences within the girl game. These findings underscore the interconnectedness of media platforms and the way DVC practices intersect with broader consumer culture. The integration of various media influences into DVC experiences reflects the complex and dynamic nature of contemporary consumer practices, where participants actively engage with and draw inspiration from a diverse range of sources to shape their consumption choices and preferences.

Figure 7.10. Faizah's design, Winter Fashion Dress Up Game

Faizah:	"I played this game too, the winter fashion... We don't have winter here.
Interviewer:	"what is interesting from this game?"
Faizah:	"These clothes. People wear this thick jacket when it is snowy. I like the accessory for the ears here… Is it a headphone?"
Interviewer:	"No, it is not a headphone."
Faizah	: "But it looks like one... it is pretty. and the jacket is so thick. If we wear this jacket in here, we'll totally get wet by sweat. (laughing)"
	"The (jacket) colour is pink too... I saw Riaricis (@riaricis1795) wear something like this in the snow."
Interviewer	:"Ricis?"
Faizah	: "Yes, on her Instagram."

154

A combination of references from various sources shaped Faizah's DVC experiences. She drew upon winter-related themes and clothing depicted in her favourite animated film, Frozen, as well as an Instagram post showcasing Ricis's winter vacation in Europe and a YouTube video featuring a celebrity's holiday vlog in Japan's snowy mountains. These examples highlight the influence of social media encounters, particularly through platforms like YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook, in shaping Jilbab girls' descriptions of their DVC experiences in girl games. Their perception of the realism of these experiences as well as the excitement and creativity associated with their DVC experiences are both influenced by the collage effect these various references produce. It underscores the connections between DVC and various consumer experiences in their lives.

These findings provide evidence of how participants engage in the local recontextualization of global consumer culture, where meanings are shaped and mediated through interconnected sources, whether they are virtual, material, or digital. These processes influence participants' learning, imagination, and desires and determine how and where these desires are actualized, whether through material consumption, DVC, or a combination of both. This demonstrates how consumers engage with global consumer culture in localised ways, recognising that globalisation is not a linear process of homogenization or heterogenization, as other studies have also concluded (Mahi and Ekchard, 2014; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006; Sandikci and Ger, 2007).

7.1.4. Regimentation of Modern Consumption

DVC in girl games mediates global consumer culture by facilitating regimentation and the acquisition of practical knowledge. The standardised and routinized practices embedded within the games contribute to the cultivation of habits and behaviours related to global consumption, which are then translated into participants' material culture practices. The regimentation involves the adoption of specific practices that become routine over time. These practices are ingrained within the gameplay and are learned and followed by the participants. Giddens' (1991) concept of regimes helps us understand this phenomenon, as it refers to the sets of habitual practices that individuals engage in to maintain order and predictability in their daily lives.

In the context of consumption practices, these regimes manifest as established routines and behaviours related to bodily appearance, such as makeovers, dress-up, and fashion choices. The regimentation of these practices can be observed in girl games, where players are guided through a sequential series of steps for activities like facial care, makeup application, and hairstyling. One example of regimentation in DVC girl games is the makeover regime. Many

games follow a sequential series of steps for applying makeup, including cleaning the face, removing acne, moisturising, applying foundation, eye shadow, blush, lipstick, and styling the hair, often accompanied by selecting and wearing appropriate attire. These games tend to present a standardised order of makeover practices without offering alternative approaches. The games typically follow a standardised order of these practices without offering much flexibility or alternative options. This regimentation generates predictability in everyday practices and allows players to replicate and embody specific modes of practice associated with global consumption

Through continuous engagement with these practices in girl games, participants acquire practical knowledge and develop habits related to global consumption. By following the step-by-step instructions and guidelines provided within the games, these habits can be translated into their material culture practices. For example, participants may adopt specific beauty routines, makeup techniques, or fashion preferences that they have learned and practiced in the virtual world of the game. This process of continuous and reflexive engagement with the objects, doings, and meanings within girl games contributes to the cultivation of practical knowledge in the realm of global consumption. By internalising and enacting these practices, participants become familiar with the rituals and behaviours associated with modern consumer culture. The regimentation of these practices within the game environment helps shape their understanding and engagement with global consumption patterns and establishes a sense of order and predictability in their everyday lives.

Faizah:	"First here is (perawatan) body treatment. The face here looks dull (jelek). So, at first, we treat the acne; here there are many acnes too."
Interviewer:	"What about without doing treatments?"
Faizah:	"I can't (go on to the next play)... I need to finish this part first (Playing)."
Interviewer:	"So, now you do the treatments?"
Faizah:	"Yes, we wash with soap... and then use this, a tool, to apply soap to the face... (Continue playing.) But this (face machine) tool is new here. Maybe the game has just been updated.
Interviewer:	"Do you think people in reality clean their face like this?"
Faizah:	"Of course, and I can learn too from these face treatments."
Interviewer:	"Learn about?"
Faizah:	"To apply cosmetics like this..."

Nurul's recognition of the importance of following procedures in the games highlights her understanding of the necessity for progression (Molesworth 2005). Furthermore, her ability to reproduce body maintenance routines through continuous experimentation aligns with the findings of a previous study (Webb 2016) that suggests young girls develop procedural knowledge by engaging in body routines within DVC.

In girl games, DVC practices mediate consumption regimes that encourage girls to take care of their bodies and maintain a perfect appearance. These practices involve various activities, such as treating acne, applying skincare products, using beauty tools, and engaging in body treatments. For example, participants like Nurul believe that trimming eyebrows contributes to beauty, Azmiya emphasises the importance of getting rid of acne despite the potential pain involved, and Fadila suggests that fasting can help girls stay slim. It is noteworthy that the majority of Jilbab girls embrace traditional gender ideologies that advocate for disciplining the body through routines, even if they may result in physical discomfort.

These observations highlight the influence of DVC in shaping girls' perceptions of body care and the internalisation of traditional gender norms. By engaging in DVC practices, girls learn and replicate consumption regimes that prioritise appearance and physical maintenance. This suggests that DVC not only provides entertainment but also contributes to the construction of girls' beliefs and behaviours regarding body discipline.

Nurul:	"(while doing the eyebrow's trimming in the games) My mother sometimes trimmed her eyebrows, using a tweezer like this too."
Interviewer:	"Did she?"
Nurul:	"Yes, she said it was little painful." (silence while playing)
Nurul:	(while doing the eyebrow's trimming in the games)
Interviewer:	"Do you think eyebrows need to be trimmed?"
Nurul:	"If we want to be beautiful, then we need to trim the eyebrows... If we don't trim it, it won't look so good when we apply eyebrows pencils. It will look untidy. But if we trim it too much, like if the eyebrows become very thin, it won't look good either."

The findings presented in this paragraph align with previous studies that have explored the self-responsibility and control that tween girls develop in caring for their appearance and conforming to societal beauty standards (Willet 2008, Tsaliki 2016). Nurul's experience, where she relates her DVC practices to those of her mother, is not an isolated case. It illustrates how body regimes in DVC embody global beauty ideals that are disseminated through various media experiences, contributing to a sense of self-regulation and control over their bodies (Giddens, 1991).

Engaging in dress-up games, girls in Jilbab have developed new fashion tastes, leading to personal transformations in relation to the fashion taste. The following descriptions provide a few examples that support this argument.

Fadilah:	"for this style, the shoes should be high heels...
Interviewer:	"What about being matched with this pair of trainer shoes?"
Fadilah:	"No. That shoes are for sporty styles. This design is not a sporty look."
Interviewer:	"What about wearing sporty shoes with the dress you pick?"

Fadiah: "That's not suitable to this style ... This dress suits high heels; otherwise, it will not look nice."

Figure 7.12. Fadilah's design, Fashion Dress Up Game

(Continue playing)

Fadilah: "Then, now I should pick the purse. I need to buy this one… I like it in the same colour.
(Continue playing)
Interviewer: "You chose the necklace with the same colour too?"
Fadilah: "Yes, to make it look good, of course."
Interviewer: "Are they always the same colour?"
Fadilah: "It does not always have to be with similar colours, pink-pink or purple-purple... I can also mix it with neutral colours, like black or silver. It should be in synchronous colours."
Interviewer: "Can you just pick whatever combinations for your model?"
Fadilah: "I can, but she won't be pretty."

Most Jilbab girls, like Fadilah, carefully evaluated the fashion styles and colours they encountered in girl games. As shown in Fadilah's notes, "*that's not suitable for this style... This dress suits high heels; otherwise, it will not look nice.*". Fadilah's careful evaluation of fashion styles and colours in girl games highlights the attention to detail that many Jilbab girls exhibit. Fadilah's note about a dress not looking nice without high heels serves as an example of how they take into account factors like style compatibility and appropriate accessories. While there are no strict rules dictating what individuals can or cannot wear in fashion systems, our dress codes are often characterised by guidelines rather than strict mandates (Enninger 1985). The findings of this study demonstrate how continuous engagement with DVC practices shapes participants' fashion choices, usage, and evaluation.

Furthermore, the study revealed that taste regimes mediated through DVC in girl games extended beyond fashion and appearance to encompass other areas such as food and lifestyle. For

example, Jilbab girls often created virtual homes for their avatars that reflected their personal tastes and preferences in interior design and home decor. This indicates that DVC practices not only shape fashion choices but also influence broader aspects of lifestyle and self-expression among Jilbab girls in the virtual realm.

Fatiya:	"... (I choose) this '*sepatu jinjit*'" (high heels in Javanese)
Interviewer:	"What about these shoes?" (Showing trainer shoes)
Fatiya:	"No, that is for 'sporty' (style). This is not" (sporty style)
Interviewer:	"What about wearing sporty shoes with the dress you pick?"
Fatiya:	"This dress suits high heels; otherwise, it will not look nice." (Continue playing)
Fatiya:	"Then now, I pick this bag... it has the same colour with the dress." (Continue playing)
Interviewer:	"You chose a necklace with the same colour too?"
Fatiya:	"Yes, to make it synchronous" ('serasi' in Javanese)
Interviewer:	"Are they always the same colour?"
Fatiya:	It does not always have to be with similar colours, pink-pink or purple-purple. I also can mix it with black. Black can be used with any colours. It looks better in synchronous colours" ('bagusan kalo warnanya serasi' in Javanese).

From Fatiya's experience, we can see that fashion regimes are being contextualised here. DVC's mediation of global fashion taste regimes was reinterpreted in light of local norms and lexicons. Note that Fatiya used words from her own language, like "*sepatu jinjit*," which means any kind of high heels. Meanwhile, in global fashion culture, the shoes may be referred to as stiletto, wedges, loafer heels, and so on. Although DVC in girl games mediates global taste regimes, it is important to note that local cultural practices and preferences play a significant role in interpreting and expressing these global influences in specific contexts. Jilbab girls in this study frequently incorporated Islamic values and symbols into their fashion choices, such as opting for modest clothing or wearing hijab in particular styles. This illustrates the adaptation and transformation of global fashion taste regimes to align with local cultural contexts and values.

7.1.5. Routinization of Modern Consumers Subjectivities

Routinization plays a crucial role in the establishment of ontological security within the realm of DVC. Giddens (1984) introduces the concept of routinization as the process of engaging in habitual actions on a daily basis, which brings about familiarity and predictability in one's behaviours. Through these daily routines, individuals develop a sense of "practical consciousness," where certain actions become automated and taken for granted, requiring little conscious thought or effort. These routines not only provide a sense of familiarity and comfort but also contribute to a feeling of trust and security in one's daily life. Within the context of DVC, routinization is evident in the prescribed sequences of body treatments and the use of specific

159

cosmetics for appearance control. Participants in DVC games are guided to follow a specific set of practices and consumption patterns to maintain a desired appearance. This may include activities such as maintaining a flawless appearance, undergoing body treatments, using beauty products, applying cosmetics, and even using contact lenses. By adhering to these prescribed routines, participants seek to achieve a sense of control over their physical appearance and align with the "suitable" and "accepted" practices within the DVC environment.

These routines extend beyond the virtual realm of DVC and influence participants' actions and consumption practices in their everyday lives. The practices and preferences established within DVC often carry over into their offline experiences, reflecting a sense of continuity and routinization. Participants may incorporate the use of specific beauty products or follow similar sequences of body treatments in their daily routines, influenced by the habits and practices developed within DVC. Routinization within DVC plays a significant role in establishing ontological security by providing a sense of familiarity, predictability, and trust in one's daily actions and consumption practices. By following prescribed routines and engaging in specific behaviours, participants seek to maintain a desired appearance and align with the norms and standards set within the DVC environment. These routines extend beyond the virtual realm, shaping participants' actions and consumption practices in their everyday lives.

Haifah:	"the similar part... ehm, now I think more about matching clothes... also, like, I know fashion styles a bit. I also like scrolling in Instagram; I look at fashion, bags or shoes."
Interviewer:	"Instagram?"
Haifah:	"sometimes the IG of celebrities, like Ayu Ting Ting... I look at her bag and clothes. They are good, like in the video game..."

The study found that long-term DVC experiences can be easily translated into real-life materiality and dressing-up practices, as participants discussed how they found the taste regimes to be applicable to their everyday lives. For instance, Faizah's account exemplifies how the simple drag-and-drop action in DVC dress-up has not only made her more familiarised with the fashion styles she enjoys, but also helped her manage her dress-up routines in real life. Through DVC experimentation, Faizah has not only become more conscious of her appearance but has also incorporated a taste regime by learning how to blend "appropriate" colors and mix and match outfits in real life. These findings illustrate how DVC girl games are not just a form of entertainment, but also serve as a platform for developing skills and knowledge that can be applied in the real world.

Interviewer:	"you said these games is helpful, how?"
Faizah:	"…to match colours. Before, I used to be careless, matching red and orange (giggles) Just mix my clothes with any colours

of Jilbab. Now I think I care more… blue with light blue… something like that" (giggles).

In a similar vein, Nurul, adopts a taste regime from DVC in order to construct meanings and evaluate associative practices in her everyday life. In particular, Nurul followed a regimen of proper makeover styles in DVC in order to provide significance to her mundane day-to-day life and characterise the distinctions between different social groups.

Figure 7.13. Nurul's design, Frozen Dress Up Game

Nurul:	"My mother likes to use red lipstick. I told her it was not good"
Interviewer:	"What's good lipstick then?"
Nurul:	"Natural colour like this is good. Bright red colour like 'wong ndeso'" (rural people).

Nurul associates the bright red colour of lipstick with "*wong ndeso*" or country people, implying that this colour is associated with rural areas. However, the meaning of "*rural*" is highly contextual and can vary depending on the particular setting being discussed. Ger (2017) explains that modernization has created a societal divide where urban areas are seen as progressive and modern, while rural areas are often viewed as uneducated and backward. This urban-rural dichotomy can influence taste regimes, as people may seek to distance themselves from things associated with rural life to adopt the tastes of the urban elite. Nurul's comment about red lipstick can be seen as an attempt to distance herself from the perceived low social status associated with rural life by adopting the taste of the urban elite. This illustrates how taste regimes that are routinized through DVC experimentation can be reproduced in everyday contexts. As participants experiment with different fashion styles and makeup looks in DVC, they may develop a preference for certain aesthetic features that are associated with the urban elite. This preference can then influence their behaviour in the actually real as they seek to adopt the tastes and styles of the dominant social group. Therefore, DVC experimentation can be seen as a site where global taste regimes are mediated, appropriated, and routinized, which can then be reproduced in everyday contexts.

161

Previous studies suggest girl games shape young girls' development of identity and the accumulation of consumer knowledge (Carrington and Hodge, 2010; Tsaliki, 2016). The experiences of participants like Adiba and Nurina, as mentioned earlier, are not unique. Many other participants in this study have also reported that their engagement with girl games has played a significant role in familiarising them with global commodities and shaping their aspirations for future lifestyles. Through their interactions with girl games, participants have the opportunity to navigate virtual environments that simulate real-world consumer practices and choices. They can experiment with different fashion styles, makeup looks, and lifestyle choices, allowing them to envision and aspire to specific future lifestyles. This exposure to global commodities and consumption experiences within the context of girl games contributes to the formation of their consumer knowledge and preferences.

Like Adiba's and Nurina's experiences described earlier, other participants have also reported that their engagement with girl games has helped them become familiar with global commodities and shaped their aspirations for future lifestyles.

Halimah:	"If we play games just to play, it is useless. But if we play, then we can learn something; it is useful, right?"
Interviewer:	"How can it be useful?"
Halimah:	:"Maybe when I want to buy clothes in the future, **if we know nothing about models, we can be like a villager** (*bisa kayak ndeso*), right?"

While highlighting the importance of learning and knowledge in order to avoid the meaninglessness and hedonistic aspects of digital gaming, Halima's assertion is noteworthy because it suggests that exploratory learning—about fashion, for example—can be crucial in order to distinguish between "*villager*" (*ndeso*), a term that is used to signify ignorant backwardness, and "city" or "urban" to represent progressive modernity (Türe and Ger, 2016). Ger (2018) argued that the conflict between the urban and rural worlds originated during the early modernization era in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Mardin, 1973). This is to show that knowledge and literacy are still very important differences between the city and the countryside. Ger (2018) said that global consumer culture encourages self-orientalism, which is why secular fashions, shopping malls, and foreign foods are becoming more common in cities (Kravets and Sandikci, 2014), further separating city life from rural life and the middle class from the lower class (Ger 2018). In relational terms, social class remains relevant in local consumers' identification works (Ger et al. 2017). Consumers use global products, brands, and styles to show how they are different from others in their own communities. This study confirmed an earlier assumption in the DVC literature that virtual spaces are not independent of offline identities and institutions but rather penetrated by them (Belk 2013, Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013).

162

7.2. Unstable Ontological Security and the Sequestration of Moral

Upon delving into the data, a discernible pattern emerges, showcasing that the experiences of Jilbab girls with digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games are marked by a distinct sense of disembodiment from their local selves. Engagement with DVC activities offers these girls a unique avenue to explore behaviours and actions that diverge from their typical real-life conduct. The descriptions of the games emphasise their playful nature, providing a virtual space where participants can effortlessly experiment with various roles and actions with a few clicks. In essence, the participants underscore the significance of DVC in girl games as a secure realm for personalised experimentation. Within this digital domain, transgressive acts unfold, allowing Jilbab girls to engage in activities typically beyond the bounds of their everyday lives. This includes donning revealing clothing, participating in dating scenarios, and other deviations from their usual routines. Concrete examples from the study include Alina experimenting with a bikini in a pool party dress-up game, Nining virtually cooking bacon in a breakfast menu game, and Nabila and Fadila immersing themselves in dating girl games.

7.2.1. Reality Inversion

Moving beyond the realm of gameplay, the concept of reality inversion comes into focus, particularly when individuals face existential demands. Drawing on Giddens (1991), reality inversion emerges as a psychological coping mechanism, subtly reassuring individuals and alleviating the concerns that accompany these critical moments. This inversion becomes a lens through which Jilbab girls navigate the virtual landscapes of girl games, offering insights into how they consciously or unconsciously manage existential demands within the digital sphere.

Aisah:	"The makeover here is not realistic".
	"In reality, it is impossible this way.".
Fadilah:	"I played this game (Kode Keras Cewek) because it is about girls when there is someone she likes; it is not real about 'pacar-pacaran' (dating."
Haniyah:	"The kissing is only click-click; it is not real. This is only a game; it is impossible to be happening in real life".

Within this study, participants perceive girl games as an alternate reality, offering them experiences detached from their physical selves. For instance, Aisah and Haniya indulge in makeovers and virtual kisses with a mere few clicks, experiencing a sense of disembodiment. Drawing from Giddens (1991), this disembodiment acts as a defensive mechanism, strategically minimising potential emotional harm. Participants often employ the phrase "It's just a game" as a protective shield, downplaying any potential impact of their virtual experiences. Despite the escape that digital virtual consumption (DVC) provides from material constraints, there is scant

163

evidence indicating a desire among participants to translate their virtual encounters into tangible real-life actions.

While some participants acknowledge the link between DVC girl games and real-world practices, as highlighted in the disembedding experiences detailed in Chapter 6, where participants may feel shame and guilt, for the majority, these aspects are not deemed significant in relation to the overall gaming experience. The immersive and entertaining facets of gameplay take centre stage, captivating players as they explore and interact within the virtual confines of the game. As participants become engrossed in these virtual realms, the boundaries between the game's magic circle and real-world practices may blur. Consequently, the findings support the notion that the enjoyment and engagement derived from gameplay itself override potential implications of boundary blurring between the virtual and real world. Players prioritise the fun and experiential aspects of the game, relegating other considerations to a secondary role in their overall perception. This underscores that, for the participants, the essence of the game lies in the joy and immersive experience it provides, with the potential ramifications of boundary blurring taking a back seat in their assessment of the game

7.2.2. Resourcing to Play Rules

According to Molesworth (2005), play is a dominant aspect of players' experiences, and this holds true when participants express that the games create alternative worlds for them. Even as the boundaries between the game's magic circle and real-world practices become blurred, Myers (2013) argues that the impact on gameplay is minimal. Molesworth (2005) emphasises the significant role of play in shaping players' experiences within DVC girl games. The participants in this study echoed this sentiment, expressing how these games create alternative worlds that provide a sense of escapism and immersion. The notion of entering into a different reality through gameplay is central to the enjoyment and engagement of the experience. DVC serves as a space where individuals can explore and engage in experiences that dissolve traditional moral boundaries. Participants in this study reveal that DVC in girl games provide a safe space for individualised experimentation.

Farida:	"Just like that, I don't know why (laughing). this is only to play".
Laila:	"This is... ehm, just like this.".
Nurul:	"Here is only click, click, then done; use eye shadow, click, lipstick, click" (laughing)

In the sphere of play, the experiences of Farida, Laila, and Nurul are illustrative of how the building of meanings in their digital virtual consumption girl game experiences is frequently taken for granted. A common strategy that participants use to deflect any unpleasant dissonance is to

argue that the activity is "only a game." Despite the fact that other components of the game may be seen as being less significant, the major focus continues to be on the fun and engagement of the game itself. "Liminoid" or "inbetween" (DenegriKnott and Molesworth 2012) describes digital virtual consumption (DVC), which has characteristics that are different from the real world. Consumers are able to experience an array of items and lifestyles that they might not be able to access or afford in the material world. This is because the DVC allows them to do so. In this place, the boundaries and constraints of materiality are suspended.

7.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter provides a comprehensive examination of the different forms of DVC practices in girl games and their implications for participants' engagement with global consumer culture. These practices, including stimulation of desire, actualization of consumer daydreams, actualization of consumer fantasy, experimentation, and routinization, shape the understanding and interpretation of fashion products and consumption practices among Jilbab girls. The chapter also highlights the role of DVC in mediating global consumer culture and shaping participants' understanding and acquisition of practical knowledge. It facilitates regimentation and routinization, providing a sense of familiarity, predictability, and trust in daily actions and consumption practices. These modes of praxis are not only significant at an individual level but also contribute to broader patterns of consumption and subjectivity formation within digital spaces. In summary, this chapter provides valuable insights into how DVC practices in girl games engage participants with global consumer culture, offer an immersive and playful experience, and shape their understanding and interpretation of fashion products and consumption practices. It also emphasises the role of DVC in mediating global consumer culture and its impact on participants' acquisition of practical knowledge.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Findings 4: The Reembedding Mechanism Within the Local Culture

The formation of the modern consumer subject is a complex process, and a key aspect of this is the reembedding mechanism (Giddens 1991). This mechanism is defined as how global practices are brought back into local cultures. It aims to maintain a sense of belonging and respect for cultural values and practices while also embracing the broader world. This chapter focuses on the experiences of Jilbab girls. These girls must strike a strike a balance between global and local influences and values, which often involves handling conflicts across different aspects of their lives. Using ideas from Giddens (1991), we examine how they manage these challenges and tensions when combining global experiences or practices into their local culture.

This chapter is divided into two parts. Firstly, I discuss the varied ways the reembedding mechanism experiences. To achieve this, we employ Giddens' (1991) theoretical notions of fragmentation and unification as our guiding frameworks. These concepts allow us to discern the different strategies that Jilbab girls deploy in their attempt to reembed global practices into their local culture. Fragmentation and unification serve as mechanisms that the girls use to accommodate, reshape, or reject global influences, thereby maintaining cultural continuity while engaging with the broader world. This exploration will help us understand the myriad ways in which the reembedding process is applied in real-life situations, contributing to the formation of identities that are both global and local in their orientation. In the second part, I delve into the psychological process of these experiences. As Jilbab girls navigate the interface of global and local realities, a host of ontological security factors come into play. This chapter strives to provide an insightful account of the interplay between the global and local in shaping identities. It provides an understanding of how individuals manage this complex negotiation in the context of contemporary consumer culture. By examining the reembedding process and its psychological impacts, we gain a more nuanced understanding of the factors that contribute to the formation of the modern consumer subject.

167

8.1. Characterising the Experiences of Reembedding to the Local Routines

In previous chapters, I have delved into the complexities of digital virtual consumption (DVC) practices in girl games, highlighting how they invoke the experiencing of diverse identities, roles, and relationships, as well as the navigation of conflicting practices, desires, values, and beliefs. The reembedding mechanism, in this context, refers to the process of reintegrating these newly formed aspects back into local environments. This intricate process forms the cornerstone of my understanding of the formation of modern consumer subjects. Engaging with the theoretical frameworks of Trentmann (2006) and Karababa and Ger (2011), I consider how individuals actively appropriate market-mediated meanings to craft social relationships through consumption. According to Slater (1997), it is at this point that agency plays a crucial role in enabling people to actively engage with and act upon their individual experiences and choices.

The consumer subject, as various scholars have contended, is moulded within specific social, cultural, and market contexts that set forth norms and expectations for consumer behaviour (Trentmann, 2006; Belk et al., 2003; Chessel and Dubuisson-Quellier, 2018). By investigating how these processes manifest in digital virtual contexts, I extend the literature in this field, which has predominantly examined the influence of the market, media, civil society, and state on the formation of consumer subjects (Chessel and Dubuisson-Quellier, 2018). My research has revealed that DVC practices of Jilbab girls in girl games weave together processes of both unification and fragmentation vis-à-vis local values, norms, and culture. Giddens (1991) describes unification as a process where individuals integrate various aspects of their identity to form a coherent sense of self, while fragmentation refers to experiences of internal conflict or disunity. I further unpack these processes by scrutinising how Jilbab girls problematize DVC practices and experiences.

There are two main types of reflexive experience that have been identified: one is unification, in which people question cultural representations or social practices that are different from local norms; and the other is fragmentation, in which people accept global social meanings or practices but see them as debatable and culturally contingent (Thompson and Hyatko, 1997). This dual lens provides a more nuanced understanding of the reembedding mechanism and its potential to unify or fragment individuals from their local context. By achieving such understanding, I illuminate the individual trajectories of consumers within specific social contexts, the factors that shape their consumer identities, and how these processes are reflective of changing societal values (Trentmann, 2006; Slater, 1997).

8.1.1. Unification to the Good Muslim Consumer Subject

The importance of daily routines in the local community on the development of good Muslim (social) subjects has been explored in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 reveals that the sense of security felt by Jilbab females is precariously unstable. When confronted with taboo or stigmatised behaviours, unfamiliar circumstances, or consumption patterns, they manifest emotions of unease and embarrassment. Their apprehensions regarding the observance of Islamic tenets in their selection of clothing are the primary source of these tensions. This section of the chapter addresses the re-embedding mechanism, showing how Jilbab girls adjust undesirable DVC practices to their local context and filter them out. This section of the chapter specifically focuses on the findings of how Jilbab girls assess how global modern fashion choices align with Islamic ethics and Muslim cultural standards. Amid the difficulties they encounter in constructing a socially acceptable and distinctive sense of self, they contemplate the intricate and multifaceted nature of their identity throughout this process. Through the examination of these topics, the chapter gives light on the ways in which Jilbab girls handle the tensions that exist between their Islamic faith and the cultural customs of their local community. It emphasises the difficulties they encounter in defining and sustaining their identity while complying to social norms and expectations.

8.1.1.1. Adherence to the Islamic Principles

Through the prism of their local practical consciousness, Jilbab girls view the adaptability of global fashion that they experience through DVC in girl games. This consciousness directs their material consumption in their day-to-day activities. Jilbab girls practise Muslim dress in accordance with Islamic principles established in the Quran, the primary and divine source of Islamic philosophy, and the Sunna through the Hadith, the secondary and worldly source derived from the Prophet Muhammad's commentary (Bassauliny 2016).. As a manifestation of adherence to the Islamic faith and belief, these texts mandate that the female body be covered in order to shield it from the masculine gaze (El Guindi, 1999Π). Additionally, Jilbab girls evaluate whether or not global fashion is compatible with Islamic principles and the cultural standards of Muslims. As well as their acceptability within the local community, they consider the potential repercussions of their fashion decisions on their religious convictions, identity, and self-expression. This intricate assessment procedure includes assuring adherence to Islamic principles, weighing their personal preferences against societal norms and expectations, and taking into account the comfort and practicality of clothing choices.

169

Firstly, Jilbab girls believe that the fashion in DVC is not suitable for their everyday lives because it does not align with Muslim clothing, as discussed in Chapter 5. The primary constraint in adopting fashion models in DVC available in girl games is the modest standard of appearance that Muslim women must adhere to. The girls believe that the differences between Muslim and non-Muslim clothing are obvious; as Farida claims below, Muslim clothing should be longer and more covered.

Interviewer:	"Do you want clothes like this when you grow up?"
Farida:	"these are not Muslim clothes... The shirt is too short (not covering the buttock). I like wearing t-shirt like this, but it should be longer.

Farida explained that Muslim women possess acceptable standards of clothing. Whilst she engages with diverse dress-up practices in DVC, she is easily maintaining the boundaries of what clothing models and styles can be adopted and adapted. In providing reasons on how and why such adaptation may occur, Farida contrast the clothes in terms of body coverages (see Chapter 5).

Additionally, the girls assessed clothing options based on their adherence to the fundamental rules of Muslim clothing, as they do in their everyday lives in Demak. Previous research has shown that Muslim fashion is often regarded as a symbol of adherence to Islamic principles of modesty and the concealment of the female body from the male gaze (cite sources). Even further, some girls use the standard of Muslim clothing to critique contemporary fashionable Muslim clothing (Beta 2014, 2019). Most Jilbab girls refer to the appropriate Muslim dressing, known as the *syar'i* model—fully covered, as the more appropriate Muslim attire, rather than those of modern Muslim fashion—such as the combination of jeans and a Muslim blouse.

Interviewer:	"Will you possibly adopt these styles when you go to university later?"
Putri:	**"No,** I still like wearing syar'i (the long and covered shirt). Even if I want to wear trousers, I don't want jeans; I want culottes from fabric".
Interviewer:	"You prefer the *Syar'i* model?"
Putri:	"Yes, because it is the *true* Muslim model, not just for styling" (*model yang benar, bukan nggaya*)

Putri believes that wearing the syar'i model represents the *true/authentic* Muslim identity rather than a fashionable one, the other Muslim women who like to dress up fashionably, such as wearing jeans and shirts. She interprets Muslim dressing as involving long-covered shirts, fabric-made trousers, and avoiding wearing jeans. This emphasises the importance of clothing—even between different styles of Muslim clothing—in marking and differentiating between Muslim

identities; in this case, those who are more pious wearing *syar'i* models and those who wear fashionable ones as less true/authentic Muslim women (Sakai and Fauzia 2013).

Secondly, participants in the study also discuss how the clothing in DVC girl games violates Islamic gender norms, making it impossible to adopt in material consumption. The jilbab is important for concealing the body from the male gaze, which is reproduced by the participants, who argue that covering the *aurat* is a must for Muslims. Aizah, Putri, and others explain how clothing serves as protection, social control, and helps maintain the dignity of Muslim women from slander. As Haifa is a prime example, the Muslim dress code reflects the piety of Muslim women.

Haifah:	"These styles are very revealing. The body shape can be seen through.".
Interviewer:	"What about wearing revealing clothes?"
Haifah:	"It is forbidden for us (Muslim girls) to show aurat.".
Interviewer:	"Why Muslim girls must not show aurat?"
Haifah:	"To be polite, and also to protect ourselves".
Interviewer:	"Protect yourself."
Haifah:	"If people see our bodies, they may do something bad."

Haifah's assertion that exposing and displaying the aurat is forbidden (haram) according to the Qur'an reflects the significance of modesty and piety in Muslim clothing consumption. The jilbab, a loose-fitting garment worn over the head and body, serves as a means of concealing the body from the male gaze, which is an important aspect of Islamic dress codes. This belief is shared by many participants who argue that covering the aurat is a must for Muslims, including Aizah and Putri, who explain that clothing serves as a form of protection, social control, and maintains the dignity of Muslim women from slander. Interestingly, these accounts from the participants align with previous research on fashion and modesty among pre-teens in non-Muslim contexts. For instance, Mascheroni and Pasquali's (2013) study found that young girls in Italy avoid revealing clothing because it may lead to unwanted sexual comments from boys and undermine their sense of modesty. Such findings indicate that modesty and the avoidance of sexualization are not unique to Islamic cultures, but rather, are shared by individuals across different societies.

The concept of *aurat* plays a crucial role in Islamic dress codes, and adherence to the *shar'i* scripture, as stated in the Qur'an and Sunnah, is seen as essential for being a good Muslim. This emphasis on adherence to religious texts rather than personal interpretation reflects the significance of tradition and religious authority in Islamic culture. Such accounts highlight the significance of modesty, piety, and adherence to religious texts in Islamic dress codes (Belk and Sobh 2011).

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

Azizah: "It is not only just wearing jilbab but also covering the whole body. If we want to be good Muslim, we must cover *our aurat* (Islamic rules on parts of body that must be covered) properly…."

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This finding suggests the functioning of ideology in fashion consumption (Thompson and Hayto 1997). Hence, as religious ideology embedded in webs of meanings that shape shared understanding of culturally contingent social life, thus it is perceived as natural order of things in cultural associations, social practices, or relationships (Geertz 1961).

Moreover, the girls' adherence to their cultural and religious practices also emerges in the way they problematize their makeover practices in DVC. For instance, Azizah shared her experience of feeling conflicted about engaging in makeover practices, given the religious norms that discourage the use of cosmetics, especially at a young age. The girls' ontological security in adhering to such routines reflects their commitment to their religious beliefs and practices.

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

Azizah: "…wearing makeup is allowed only after I grown up or after I got married. and It should not be too much."

Interviewer: "After getting married?"

Azizah: "… my teacher said, if we use make-up when we go out, most likely it is to attract men, thus it is not allowed. But if we wear make-up to please husband after we get married, Allah will give more '*pahala*' (*the reward from God*)"

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Azizah's understanding of Islamic principles highlights the importance of appropriate usage and purpose of consumption practices related to makeover and body treatments in the context of Jilbab girls' DVC practices in girl games. . While Islam does not restrict these practices, adhering to Islamic norms is essential for Jilbab girls, as it provides a sense of security and serves as a reward from Allah. As per Islamic teachings, women's accessories include anything that decorates and beautifies the body, such as clothing, accessories, jewellery, and original creations like the face, hair, and body parts. However, Muslim women are instructed to hide their accessories and refrain from showing them off in public.

Jilbab girls' engagement with body treatments in DVM also requires adherence to Islamic laws, especially with regards to ornate jewellery, which could attract the attention of men and is considered haram or forbidden by Islamic scholars. Thus, Jilbab girls' engagement with DVC in girl games not only involves navigating conflicting practices and desires but also requires them to reflect on the ideological aspects of consumption practices and reconcile them with their religious beliefs. This highlights the self-reflexivity embedded in Jilbab girls' engagement with DVC in girl games, as they navigate their identity and cultural values within the context of global consumer culture.

Fatiya:	"We cannot have Tattoos."
Interviewer:	"What's the reason?"
Fatiya:	"Because having tattoo means we change what Allah has made from us, our natural body. When someone has tattoo, it means she changes Allah's creation permanently. So, that is not allowed."
Interviewer:	"So, are these makeover practices here allowed?"
Fatiya:	"Yes, these are alright. Emm, as much as we are changing what Allah created, wearing make-up is allowed."

Fatiya's concerns about tattoos in the game she played reflect her knowledge of Islamic rules on tattoos that she learned in school. In Islam, altering one's body through procedures such as plastic surgery, implants, botox, and tattoos is considered strictly unlawful as it involves changing the divine creation (Abdullah 2006). Consuming tattoos is viewed as a violation of Islamic norms, and it is considered haram. Fatiya's understanding of these rules demonstrates how the Jilbab girls in this study navigate the tension between their religious beliefs and the consumption practices they encounter in popular culture, including in DVC. By problematizing these practices, the Jilbab girls engage in self-reflexivity and critical thinking, which are important skills for navigating the complexities of contemporary consumer culture.

8.1.1.2. Maintaining Everyday Routines in the Local

Participants problematize the adoption of global styles and fashion by drawing importance to maintaining everyday routines in the local. It emerges in the ways they emphasise the importance of having collective subjectivity, not standing out too much among peers, and avoiding stigmatisation from society. Such idealisations emerge from the Javanese cultural values that emphasise obedience and compliance as members of a collectivist society (French et al. 2001). Throughout socialisation, children and young people in this culture are constantly taught to maintain good order, which includes getting along with each other in the family as a core value that guides the organisation of wider society (Muelder 1996).

The act of problematizing DVC practices related to dress usually aims to uphold a conventional appearance and align, at least partially, with an understanding of what is not representative of one's identity. This involves minimising self-assertion, averting shame, and sidestepping inconsistency. Rather than subscribing to the tenets of contemporary global consumer culture, which underline the importance of individuality and the pursuit of unique styles in consumption, the Jilbab girls in this study tend to question these aspects. They place emphasis on the significance of conforming to collective subjectivity, which is a departure from the

individualistic trend commonly seen in today's consumer culture. This is captured in Nining's experiences:

Figure 8.1. Nining's design, Shopping Mall Girls Game

Interviewer:	"will you make or buy a model like this?"
Nining:	"No, these clothes are for celebrities."
Interviewer:	"celebrities?"
Nining:	"Yes, like Gen Halilintar." (Youtubers whose Instagram accounts she follows for their everyday updates)
Interviewer:	"Then what about you wearing this style?"
Nining:	"Of course not. (laughing)… I don't like this (model-with jilbab), too stand out" (*terlalu mencolok*) ...
Interviewer:	"Where do you stand out?"
Nining:	"from everyone, this model in Instagram is so odd."
Interviewer:	"What about standing out?"
Nining:	"No, I'll be uneasy and odd" (*malah jadi ga enak, aneh*)

Nining notes that there is chance to see the adaptability of global fashion in the local context, such as Muslim fashion that is worn by local celebrities (by showing an Instagram post from a local Muslim celebrity who was wearing the Muslim version of a popular style in DVC). However, Nining asserts that such styles, although adaptable, she will never adopt because it are "too stand out", " so odd", and "difficult to wear". Haifah's account below offers another useful example. While she designed Muslim clothing in a Muslim dress-up game, she considers that such models are neither readily adoptable nor inspiring for her clothing's styles in material consumption.

Figure 8.2. Haifah's design, Muslim Girls Game

Interviewer: "What about wearing this style for you?"
Haifa: "Where do you think I can go wearing such clothes? (laughing)… it will be very ashamed."
Interviewer: "You'll be ashamed (wearing the model)?"
Haifa: "Just weird! (aneh!). I'll be ashamed."

The excerpt provided sheds light on Haifa's sincere attempt to maintain a "normal appearance," as Giddens (1991) conceptualized it. This necessity imposes limitations on her fashion choices, including the aspirations she may derive from her self-designed model of digital virtual consumption (DVC). For Haifa, like other girls in this study, straying from her usual style can incite tensions and potentially provoke feelings of shame. As such, the range of Haifa's fashion options is not solely a matter of personal preference. It is, instead, significantly influenced by deeply rooted societal norms and ideologies that encourage adherence to conventional styles and discourage deviation into potentially provocative or unconventional fashion choices. The avoidance of challenging the accepted norms demonstrates an undercurrent of collective subjectivity, emphasising the value of fitting in over asserting individuality. The navigation of this complex dynamic between personal style and collective expectations forms a critical part of the girls' consumption practices and their identity formation.

This preference for conformity can be understood in terms of ontological security, which refers to the need for a stable and consistent sense of self in an unpredictable world. By adhering to familiar styles and avoiding anything too different or jarring, Haifa is able to maintain a sense of control over her identity and reduce the risk of feeling alienated or disconnected from those around her. However, this desire for social connection and a sense of belonging can also create pressure to conform to others' expectations. Adolescents, in particular, must navigate the tension between expressing their individuality and fitting in with their peer group. Studies have shown that tweens and teens face significant challenges in this regard, including the need to balance their

desire for self-expression with the pressure to conform to social norms (Brookes and Kelly, 2009; Russell and Tyler, 2002; Harris, 2005).

For Jilbab girls, this pressure is even more pronounced as they must also navigate the expectations of their families, friends, and communities. The findings of various studies have highlighted the numerous ways in which this expectation for social conformity can be manifested (i.e., Parker and Nilan 2013, Heffner 2018) as restrictions in clothing choices, curfews, and limitations on social interactions. Ultimately, the desire for social connection and belonging is a fundamental human need that can be both empowering and constraining, depending on the context and the individual's ability to navigate these complex social dynamics.

Haniyah:	"Impossible to wear this style; just too much... I'll be ashamed."
Faizah:	"If I do that, what would people think of me?"
Retno:	"I'm afraid people may talk about me."
Nurina:	"It is uncomfortable to my friends."
Halimah:	"That way, people might think badly."

These excerpts shed light on the psychological tensions experienced by Jilbab girls as they navigate consumer subjectivity within the framework of Javanese society. Following Arnould and Price (2002), we can observe how Jilbab girls develop a sense of consumer subjectivity that is cohesive and integrated, allowing for the idealisation of shared norms while minimising the impact of any practices that deviate from them. During interviews, Jilbab girls expressed worry and shame when admitting to wanting non-compliant consumption objects, reflecting a strong adherence to the collective subjectivity that defines them as shy, conservative, self-effacing, and pious individuals. To understand these tensions, it is necessary to consider the cultural context of Javanese society, where parents teach their children to act in socially acceptable ways by demonstrating when to feel shame, fear, and scared (Kuntjroningrat 1989). Compliance and obedience, maintaining good relations, helping others, and putting oneself in the position of others are ideal human values in this culture (Muelder 1996, Geertz 1961).

Jilbab girls denounce the adoption of global fashion by following "extrinsic traditionalism as a mechanism to perpetuate shared norms" (Arnould and Price 2002, p. 149), emphasising the continuity of daily routines as good Muslim girls and upholding collective subjectivity. They develop a sense of consumer subjectivity within a collectivist framework to minimise the impact of practices that deviate from accepted norms. When they express a desire for non-compliant consumption objects, such as those found via DVC in girl games. They feel worried and ashamed. Such feeling are important in the filtering of global aspirations and influence. By reducing choices to their most basic form, conventional routines shape their behaviour among an infinite range of possible patterns. Shame plays a crucial role in preserving

176

social conformity, fostering a desire to avoid disagreement and confrontation with the majority and maintaining social harmony (Muelder 1989, Geertz 1961)

Further, social stigma and stereotyping also play a significant role in the constraints faced by Jilbab girls in adopting global consumer culture. It emerges from the findings.

Azizah:	"There is my neighbour here... she often posts photos without wearing a *jilbab* on Instagram. You know what, Her hair is brown; she coloured it. People here like to talk badly about her recently."
Interviewer:	"What do people talk about? That she wasn't wearing Jilbab for Instagram?"
Azizah:	"Many things. Like, why she become '*cah nakal(naughty girls*) like that, Her sister is nice, though, I used to play with her sister."
Interviewer:	"What do you mean, 'cah nakal'?"
Azizah:	"If she wears Jilbab, she should not do that... she also like to meet many boys, like '*cah nakal*'... Why she do that? Moreover, her father..."
Interviewer:	"What about her father?"
Azizah:	"...like a 'big person' (the respectable person)! … people here talk badly. She just causes her parents shame, right?"

In Demak, traditional Javanese Muslim society has strict norms and stigmas against certain consumer behaviours for young girls, such as wearing tight clothing, using cosmetics, getting tattoos, colouring hair, or using nail polish. These norms emerged during interviews with Jilbab girls, as they expressed fear of being stigmatised in their communities for transgressing such behaviours. The term "*cah nakal*" (bad/naughty girls) is used to stigmatise young girls and women who violate societal standards by acting inappropriately (Beazly 2002, 2006), such as engaging with boys or going out late at night, as Azizah mentioned. This shows how Jilbab separates them from others (Parker and Aggleton 2003), representing the dominant desirable character of young girls. Nurul, Wardah, and Azizah's experiences demonstrate that the community disapproves of people who deviate from established social norms and values.

Although stigmatising others is generally seen as negative, Jilbab girls can benefit from it in some ways, such as boosting their self-worth, gaining more control, and reducing anxiety. According to research by Dovidio, Major, and Crocker (2000), stigmatising may lead to an increase in the stigmatiser's perceived and actual control, resulting in differential treatment and avoiding certain situations altogether.

Nurul:	"I can't try make- up for real yet, just later when I'm older."
Interviewer:	"What about if you wear makeup at your age now?"
Nurul:	"What? No! Children can't use make-up. Now that's impossible."
Interviewer:	"impossible?"

177

> Nurul: "Yes… I don't want to be '*cah kemenyek*' (an attractive and flirty girl), so shameful."

Makeup use is often negatively perceived, especially among young girls, due to the belief that it is used to attract men (Jafari, 2013). Nurul and Wardah's experiences highlight how stereotypes contribute to discrimination. The term "*cah kemenyek*" is used to describe women who are believed to have low self-esteem and lack dignity because of their attempts to attract men through their physical appearance. This stereotype reinforces the idea that women who wear makeup are promiscuous and are seeking attention from men. Such stigmatisation perpetuates gender inequality and undermines the freedom of women to express themselves.

Women in Indonesian society are subject to a number of restrictions, which social stigma supports and reinforces. Women and girls are also not permitted to indulge in activities like drinking alcohol, smoking, having premarital sex, wearing revealing clothing, or leaving the house without permission (Beazly 2002, 2006). Women are expected to conform to certain stereotypes, such as being good, nice, kind, and helpful. They are expected to be housewives, take care of their families, and engage in activities like cooking, cleaning, and childcare (Beazly 2002, 2006). Further, this study suggests that certain consumer practices may stimulate stigmatisation, such as wearing tight clothing, using cosmetics at a young age, getting tattoos, colouring hair, or using nail polish. As a result, girls who do not conform to these expectations and stereotypes are stigmatised and labelled "cah kemenyek, cah nakal.". Jilbab girls are aware of the social stigmatisation they may face if they do not conform to these expectations. Hence, they avoid anything that may be deemed non-conformist or inappropriate, such as certain global fashion trends, by filtering them out.

8.1.1.3. Dissuading Consumeristic Lifestyles

Jilbab girls face challenges in navigating global fashion consumption and consumerism mediated by DVC in girl games, as discussed in this chapter. However, their engagement with consumer culture is not solely a matter of personal choice or agency, as material constraints such as lower economic status play a crucial role in shaping their aspirations and opportunities. Many of the Jilbab girls in this study come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, and their experiences resonate with the findings of Nilan (2012), who surveyed over 3,500 low-income young Indonesians and found that they face significant obstacles in pursuing their life goals and preferred lifestyles due to material and structural barriers. These challenges include financial hardship, limited educational access, caregiving responsibilities, and social isolation, which can

limit their prospects for higher education and decent employment. These material constraints are not easy to overcome through individual effort alone, and thus we refer to them as external barriers (Nilan 2012, Nilan and Parker 2013).

Despite these material difficulties, the Jilbab girls in this study demonstrate a remarkable degree of self-awareness and critical reflection, taking into account the broader context of their lives and the potential trade-offs involved in their consumption choices. They are acutely aware of the financial constraints they face and often adjust their expectations and preferences accordingly, leading to a heightened "perception of distance" from mainstream consumer culture (Mahi & Ekchard 2014). According to Belk, Ger, and Askegaard (2003), this distancing effect can reduce their desire for consumer experiences that seem unattainable or unrealistic given their material circumstances. Thus, Jilbab girls' engagement with global consumer culture is not a simple matter of conformity or resistance but rather a dynamic negotiation between personal aspirations and external constraints, mediated by the affordances and constraints of DVC in girl games.

| Interviewer: | "What do you think of buying many things like these for real?" |
| Haifah: | "ehm, I don't know... This is only for rich people. Also, we need to buy food and pay the schools rather than buying bags and shoes. If we spend too much money for shopping, how do buy other things?" |

The concept of the "perception of inaccessibility" (Ekchard and Mahi 2014) in regard to consumption refers to the awareness that certain items are expensive and out of reach for many individuals. The story of Haifah and Azizah highlights this idea, as Haifah is aware of her financial limitations and recognises that consumerism is often associated with wealthy individuals who have already met all their basic needs. In contrast, Azizah was raised in a traditional family that places a strong emphasis on the importance of living within one's means and avoiding excessive materialism. For Azizah, consuming expensive items is seen as unnecessary and even wasteful. This belief system is rooted in the values and principles of her upbringing, which prioritise practicality and frugality over lavish spending.

Interviewer:	"What do you think of having so many clothes?"
Azizah:	"We may be confused, like every time we need to think which one to wear. '*malah repot*' (may cause hassle)."
Interviewer:	"What about spending a lot of money to buy so many clothes?"
Azizah:	"It should not be too much. We need to make saving for more important things."
Interviewer:	"What are important things for you?"
Azizah:	"School fee, then saving to go Pilgrimage to Mecca (*nabung buat pergi haji*)"

179

Interviewer:	"Are Muslims allowed to buy many things like this? I mean, not the non-Muslim clothes, but having so many things like this?"
Azizah:	"We should not... what for buying too much? *Eman-eman,* we need to save the money."
Interviewer:	"What if a Muslim is rich and has much money?"
Azizah:	"em, I don't know... Then, most importantly, Muslim must give *Zakat* (mandatory gift giving based on *Islamic law*)."

Azizah adopts a distancing strategy towards global fashion consumption by prioritising her religious obligations, such as paying zakat (Islamic almsgiving) and performing the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca (Quraishi 2018). For her, the pursuit of fashion should never come before her religious duties, even if she can afford it. This viewpoint illustrates how social norms and values rooted in religious and cultural traditions shape aspirations in addition to individual preferences (Iqani 2004). Despite the material constraints they face, the Jilbab girls in this study remain committed to the national and normative ideals of a good life and the transition to teenagehood as Muslim girls (Naafs 2018). This means that while global fashion mediated through DVC can provide them with aspirational identities, they also recognise the importance of adhering to the normative standards of a good life as Muslim girls.

Azizah's approach highlights the significance of religious consumption as a way of affirming and expressing one's identity as a Muslim. By prioritising her religious obligations, she is able to distance herself from global consumer culture that may conflict with her moral and ethical values. This is in line with the notion of "ethical consumption," which emphasises the moral and social dimensions of consumption practices rather than just their economic and individualistic aspects (Barnett et al. 2005). Thus, the Jilbab girls' engagement with global fashion is not a simple matter of following trends or imitating Western styles, but rather a complex negotiation between personal aspirations, religious obligations, and social norms, mediated by the affordances and constraints of DVC.

8.1.2. Fragmentation from the Good Muslim Girls Identity

In the context of reembedding mechanisms, fragmentation from the local Muslim clothing norms becomes noticeable. This section of the chapter elucidates such fragmentation while emphasising the heightened sense of individuality that Jilbab girls demonstrate in their process of reintegrating global consumption practices into the local culture (Ekchard and Mahi 2014). Personalised consumer experiences are indicative of the first mechanism (Giddens 1991). As individuals navigate the global consumer market, they have the opportunity to engage with and select from a plethora of available options. This assortment enables them to curate their

consumption practices in a way that is reflective of their individual preferences and beliefs. It allows them to align their choices with their personal identity while diverging from collective norms (Giddens 1991). Consequently, their consumption experiences become unique to them, exhibiting a significant degree of personalisation.

The second mechanism is the aspiration towards modernity (Belk et al 2003). The term "modern" is often associated with progressive, forward-thinking attitudes and consumption practices that keep pace with the latest trends (Ger et al 2017). The quest for modernity enables Jilbab girls to engage with global consumer culture and integrate elements of it into their local context. This pursuit allows them to balance the traditional with the contemporary, aligning themselves with current global trends while still retaining connections with their cultural roots

8.1.2.1. Appropriation Strategy

Fragmentation can arise from diversifying social interactions across different contexts, where individuals encounter varying frameworks for "appropriate" behaviour and different arenas for security (Giddens 1991). According to Giddens (1991), engaging with global media often presents certain lifestyles as desirable, leading individuals to *appropriate* foreign cultural elements into their local culture while reflecting their community's identity and values. As such, individuals' choices in consumption, actions, and lifestyles contribute to their self-identity narrative. Within the context of fashion consumption, clothing choices in DVC girl games familiarise players with different standards of appropriate dress, often creating conflicts between personalised styles and fitting in with predominant frameworks (Murray 2002; Thomson and Hayko1997). Therefore, the choices individuals make are not only about consumption, actions, and lifestyles but also about how to act appropriately and make informed decisions that align with their sense of self.

Firstly, Jilbab girls adopt modern ideas and styles for appropriate Muslim clothing and self-presentation. Many other studies have demonstrated how young people in the local area undertake such appropriation strategies (i.e., Nisa 2012, Schmidt 2016, Beta 2014). Participants talk about various strategies to appropriate their Muslim clothes, such as Halima below.

Interviewer:	"do you wear trousers?"
Halima:	"I wear it, and I prefer wearing trousers to skirt when I hang out with families in Semarang."
Interviewer:	"So, you're wearing jeans?"
Halimah:	"Yes, no problem."

"I usually wear long shirts, so although I wear jeans, I still cover my lower body part. My shirts should be up to here (showing the knee-length)."

"I can't wear short or tight shirts like this (showing picture); somehow 'risih' (anxious) people might see me, my body... oh no!"

Interviewer: "What do you think of Muslim girls wearing jeans?"

Halimah: "It depends on where to go. When going to school or *ngaji* (study Quran, it is not allowed. But for going out, many people wear jeans."

In Halimah's view, as long as Muslim women cover the *aurat properly*, then the choice of specific styles is not problematic. Even so, she assured herself that she will comply to what was deemed appropriate, such as never wearing shirts and trousers that were too tight, too short, too revealing, etc.

Jilbab girls in this study recognised the multiple standards of ethics regarding the consumption of Muslim clothing, drawing from various sources within Islamic literature to manage their self-presentation (Jafari and Suerdem 2012). Fashionable modest Muslim clothing combines two symbolic fashion systems: modest veiling, rooted in local tradition and Islamic scriptures, and fashion, which is ever-changing and driven by consumer desires (Sandicki and Ger 2010, Bucar 2016). Jilbab-wearing girls are exposed to various media contents about consumeristic lifestyles among local middle-class Muslim women who display their self-identities on social media, such as Fatiya, who likes to follow public figures who share pictures of their travels. Few girls refer to YouTube videos for practical guides on how to wear a stylish jilbab or for watching talks about non-halal lipstick, etc. Bucar (2016) notes that multiple sources, including social media influencers, celebrities, and bloggers, impact what is considered fashionable head covering for Muslims in Indonesia. Jilbab girls easily found references on how local people *Muslimify* secular fashion (Beta 2014), but they did not adopt the forms of stylistic Muslim fashion they saw on television or social media.

This appropriation involves selectively choosing and modifying cultural elements to create a hybrid form that is familiar and unique to local consumers. Most participants generally knew how to adapt global fashion styles to Muslim clothing while maintaining Islamic basic terms and conditions. They maintained the fashion characters from global fashion narratives, such as sporty or girly, but *muslimify* (styling to accord with the Islamic rules) them by adhering to Islamic principles.

Azmiya: "All these styles can be Muslim clothes too. Wear a jacket or other outerwear, done! This model, change into the long skirts, done! This dress, trousers, and jacket are done! Then wear Jilbab."

During the discussion, Azmiya claimed that adapting secular clothing to conform to Islamic dress codes was a simple task, and several other participants echoed her sentiment. They discussed modifying clothing by wearing longer skirts and jackets to ensure proper coverage of the body. Although market-driven consumption practices were desirable, being a good Muslim was of utmost importance. Muslim tweens actively seek ways to "*halalize*" secular clothing to align with their religious beliefs (Husain et al., 2019).

Nurul:	"... '*gamis'* is sometimes a bit uncomfortable... especially when you take on a motorcycle, the feet can be exposed too. Wearing trouser is actually easier to do. But not the skinny trousers that can show the body shapes, so not appropriate for women."
	"Wearing styles like jeans and t-shirts are good because... it is the styles for youth, more *kekinian*. Wearing *gamis* to go out with friends sometimes does not look good either. Because my friends often wear youth clothing."

Nurul added that Muslim attire could be altered to suit functional needs. She shared her personal experience that wearing traditional Muslim dress, such as *gamis*, was not always practical for modern-day activities such as riding motorcycles or playing sports. Thus, many Jilbab girls prefer wearing trousers to cover their *aurat*, despite certain Muslim conservatives stigmatising it for violating Islamic clothing codes that forbid women from imitating male clothing styles. This highlights how the fundamental principles of Islam are open to constant reinterpretation to accommodate local cultural and social traditions.

Furthermore, the appropriation of external cultural elements, such as global consumer culture, is justifiable through the incorporation of local values. For instance, Farida emphasised the importance of managing one's appearance to earn people's respect. This perspective is rooted in classic Javanese values embodied in the traditional proverb "*ajining rogo soko busana*" (the value of one's appearance depends on clothes). According to the proverb (see Sugianto et al., 2019), how we present ourselves through conventional clothing affects one's self-esteem.

Interviewer:	"What about having many clothes and apparel like these?"
Farida:	"Yes, of course."
	"Because… If we don't have a good appearance, other people will look down on us, like we are poor or something like that. If you don't have clothes to change every day, people will think you are poor; that is not good."

Farida's account highlights the culturally specific ways in which desire is experienced and enacted. As Belk et al. (2003) argue, desire itself is culturally bound, and different cultures have different norms and expectations surrounding what is desirable. In the case of Indonesia, desired items such as good appearance, cars, and smartphones reflect a broader global consumer culture

that emphasises the material basis of a good life. This is relevant to previous research that has documented the pursuit of material success among young Indonesian women (Parker, 2012). The importance of fashion and appearance in gaining social respect suggests that fashion is a key component of upward mobility in Indonesian society. Consumers use global brands and styles to articulate local social distinctions, and this reflects the intersection between global and local culture.

Despite the availability of numerous methods for managing appearance based on global images, Jilbab girls aspire to a "normal" modernity (Kravets and Sandicki 2014) that represents the local manifestations of global movements (Ger et al. 2017). This finding suggests that traditional Muslim society is in a state of flux and that its younger members—such as Jilbab girls in this study—seek to reconcile traditional values with the changing global context. Furthermore, this aspiration for upward mobility and desire for material success is particularly relevant in the context of the rapidly growing Muslim middle class in Indonesia (Nilan and Parker 2013). This thesis gained insights into broader social and cultural transformation in traditional Javanese Muslim society by examining the ways in which local culture and global consumer culture shape desire.

8.1.2.2. Commodified Experiences

This study explores the complex dynamics of how Jilbab girls engage with digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games. It explores how these interactions may unintentionally contribute to the commodification of their experiences. In this analysis, the concept of "disembedding" by Giddens (1991) is of utmost importance. This concept highlights the ways in which Jilbab girls are attempting to disembed themselves and distancing themselves from their self-identity and the cultural practices that they engage in through material culture. Local consumers are exposed to a variety of narratives and options through the mediated global consumer culture (Ger et al., 1996). Consumers in local contexts often view some choices as aspirational models, motivating them to imitate lives that are considered desirable (Jafari and Guolding, 2013). This, in turn, influences the development of their self-identity. In addition, instead of imposing a single lifestyle, the influence of global consumer culture allows consumers to have a wide range of choices, giving them the chance to create personal narratives that align with their own identities (Giddens, 1991).

184

The results showed how digital virtual consumption in girl games mediates different lifestyle choices. This adoption of commodified experiences fragments the self-narrative of good Muslim girls in traditional Muslim culture. Here, digital virtual consumption experiences play a crucial role, allowing for the exploration of personal choices and the facilitation of self-expression on par with that of global material culture consumption (Belk and Sobh 2012). As Jilbab girls engage in individualised experiences of fashion consumption through girl games, "fragmentation" arises as a result of these experiences as they embrace modern consumer subjectivity. This emergence is significant in light of a more extensive pattern of individualization (Murray, 2002), in which particular patterns of consumption may contradict the dominant ethical standards in local communities (Karababa & Ger, 2012). Thus, while digital virtual consumption allows for self-expression and identity construction, it also emphasises the complicated interplay of globalisation, consumer culture, and cultural identity. The commodified experiences presented through DVC in girl games allow Jilbab girls to express subjectivity and individuality, both in the DVC and in shaping their subjectivity in the material culture. Malika showed this individualization tendency in the ways she re-embeds to the local culture.

Malika: "I think it is up to them whether they want to wear syar'i clothes or not, or even not wearing Jilbab at all. If they wear syar'i, that's good. If they don't want to wear Muslim clothes, that's also ok. It is up to them."

Malika's assertion is compelling. Her assertion, "If they wear syar'i, that's good. If they don't want to wear Muslim clothes, that's also ok. It is up to them." highlights the internal referentiality that Giddens suggests is crucial for self-development. According to Giddens (1991), the development of the self depends on the ability to master appropriate responses to others. If an individual tries to be too different from others, they may struggle to develop a coherent self-identity. Individualism becomes extended to the sphere of consumption, and the designation of individual wants becomes essential to the continuity of the system. The market-governed freedom of individual choice becomes an overarching framework for individual self-expression.

Malika's personal story stands in contrast to the conformist tendency among traditional Muslims, as described in the previous section (give a number to identify the section you are referring to specifically). However, the freedom that Malika expresses is not automatic or individualist, but rather arises from the autonomy that comes from being exposed to a range of mediated experiences through girl games. This exposure allows her and other participants to become familiar with the qualities of things (commodities) and occurrences (consumption practices) that are outside of their immediate, local context. Numerous studies have documented significant changes in Muslim dress practices and meanings among modern Indonesian Muslims, which reflect shifting societal values in the local consumer culture. For instance, Smith-Hefner's

research (2007) in Yogyakarta over two decades shows a sharp increase in the use of headscarves, while the Jilbab, the traditional dress of Indonesia in the modern era, is now expected to be tasteful, modern, and modest. Urban Muslim girls display a variety of hijab/stylist jilbabs, including athletic, professional, and formal styles, as well as tunics, long pants, flowy skirts, jeans, and casual attire. They also use social media platforms and style blogs to showcase a "fun" and "colourful" version of Islam (Beta 2014), which Indonesian young women use as references for making fashion choices and building their sense of self, including Jilbab girls in this study. Like Malika, there is no single way to wear Muslim attire.

Furthermore, the emergence of a sense of entitlement to personal desires indicates the initial formation of modern subjectivities, even among those with limited economic means. Indonesia's younger generation, which is more attuned to contemporary global trends, exhibits an increasing level of individualistic desires, a trait indicative of modern subjectivities taking root (Nilan, 2012; Nilan & Parker, 2013). The presence of individual desires denotes a sense of personal agency, enabling one to move from being primarily subject to obligations to satisfying one's own desires (Belk et al., 2003). These desires, deeply entrenched in a broad spectrum of consumption-related idealisations and cultural meanings, embody various aspirations such as living a fulfilling life, maintaining the reputation of a 'good girl,' and contributing positively to the family's welfare (Nilai, 2012). In the context of Jilbab girls, this sense of agency allows them to actively participate in shaping their identities through their consumption practices. While navigating between global and local structures, they are able to carve out a space that represents their individual preferences and beliefs. The manifestation of their desires, therefore, is not merely a reflection of personal wants but also signifies their negotiation with cultural norms and social expectations. The understanding of these dynamics, as shown in this study, contributes to the broader discourse on modern subjectivities and consumer culture.

Interviewer:	"Then what you think of Muslim women that are "*kekinian*" (cool)?"
Mutia:	"Usually they have good education; they work in offices, not being housewives. Also, it is good to go abroad for schooling. like those in the cities... mostly wear good clothing, have good looks, like wear good fashions... the styles are good.
Fatiya:	"Use a laptop, the clothes are good; drive a car."
Azizah:	"Study in university; also gather with other girls to help society."

The concept of being 'kekinian' or'modern' among Jilbab girls is an intricate construct encompassing various aspects of their lives. As the collected excerpts suggest, Jilbab girls appreciate good clothing and aesthetics, uphold the importance of education, aspire to modern careers, and embrace technological skills. These ideals contribute significantly to their notions of social mobility (Nilan, 2012; Parker & Nilan, 2013). The influence of mediated global

experiences, particularly through digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games, in forming these ideals is undeniable. Through DVC, the girls experiment, actualize, and stimulate various lifestyle possibilities, recontextualize them in their lives, and eventually establish a routinized pattern. This process provides a simulated blueprint of their ideal futures, which may inspire their own aspirations. However, it is critical to note that these ideals are not exclusive to Jilbab girls; they resonate with a broader demographic (Nilan, 2012). Aspirations towards education, career advancement, and social mobility are collective trends prevalent among contemporary Indonesian youth (2012). The shared desires among Jilbab girls and other young Indonesians for social advancement and a fulfilling life indicate a collective wish to engage with commodified experiences. These aspirations ultimately aim at enhancing their socio-economic status and creating more opportunities for personal growth and development in a rapidly evolving national landscape.

8.2. Restabilizing Ontological Security

The reembedding mechanism, as observed among the participants in this study, is markedly characterised by restabilizing ontological security, which os an increased sense of subjectivity and agency. This heightened subjectivity refers to Jilbab girls' conscious awareness of their local identities, distinct experiences, and individual perspectives. This heightened sense of agency enables the participants to effectively reintegrate global consumption practices into their local contexts. They confidently navigate the tensions between global and local structures, desires, and values. They are not merely passive consumers absorbing global trends; instead, they actively engage with these trends, interpret them through the lens of their cultural values, and then incorporate them into their lives in a way that maintains consistency with their cultural identities and practices. This understanding extends the literature on consumer subjects among young people from the local context (Mathur 2014, Maqsood 2014). In this vein, the reembedding mechanism thus empowers the participants to assert their personal choices while balancing the demands of their local culture and the influences of global consumerism. It signifies their ability to shape their identities, assert their individuality, and exert control over their consumption choices in the ever-evolving global consumer landscape.

8.2.1. Unification to the Local

The discussions thus far in this chapter highlight the complex interplay between social processes, cultural traditions, and individual perceptions in shaping fashion consumption practices among Jilbab girls. The reembedding mechanism emerges as a tool facilitating the integration of global consumption practices into local contexts, reinforcing collective identity, and fostering a sense of community security. These factors notably influence Muslim clothing consumption. This mechanism sheds light on the significant role of external influences or'referentialities' in shaping Muslim dress consumption practices, as outlined in Chapter 5. In the context of modernity and sociology, 'external referentiality' refers to the benchmarks, standards, or norms that are derived from outside sources, such as cultural, social, or religious institutions. These external referentialities often serve as guides or influences on individual behaviour, including moral norms, cultural practices, or societal expectations (Giddens 1991).

The distinctiveness of the reembedding mechanisms lies in their ability to illuminate the deeper layers of idealisation influencing Muslim clothing (Bassiony, 2016). These idealisations are often rooted in religious ideologies and normative commitments. The following excerpts will further substantiate this assertion.

Putri:	"Yes, because it is the *true* Muslim model, not just for styling (*model yang benar, bukan nggaya).*"
Haifah:	"It is forbidden for us (Muslim girls) to show *aurat.*"
Azizah:	"It is not only just wearing jilbab but also covering the whole body. If we want to be good Muslim, we must cover aurat properly."
Fatiya:	"Yes, these are alright. Emm, as much as we are changing what Allah created, wearing make-up is allowed."
Nining:	"Of course not. (laughing)… I don't like this (model-with jilbab), too stand out (*terlalu mencolok*). I'll be uneasy and odd."
Haifa:	"just weird!). I'll be ashamed."
Nurul:	"Yes… I don't want to be '*cah kemenye*k' (an attractive and flirty girl), so shameful."

The above excerpt reveals how strategies to avoid guilt and shame are deeply embedded in the reembedding mechanism. This illuminates a fascinating paradox within the DVM practices of Jilbab girls. While they relish the process of dressing up in girl games, they simultaneously wrestle with the notion that such practices could potentially contravene their religious beliefs. Self-reflection, which includes reflection on the ideological foundations of consumption practices, punctuates their engagement with DVC.

The emphasis on religious ideology is not as pronounced when discussing the daily routines of the Jilbab girls; however, when interacting with 'the other' via DVC, the significance

of adhering to Muslim clothing practices comes to the forefront. This introspection is deeply anchored in the girls' commitment to Islamic ethics and norms, which are also reflected in their consumption of cosmetics and adoption of makeover practices that are in line with the Muslim culture within their local context. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2013) contend that DVC's most substantial potential lies in its capacity to stimulate self-reflection and self-realisation, facilitating an understanding of one's identity, preferences, and state of being. The findings of this study substantiate this claim. The girls' engagement with DVC not only offers a platform to explore varied styles and identities, but it also provides them with an opportunity to reflect on their cultural and religious practices.

8.2.2. Fragmentation from the Local

Fragmentation often stems from the diversification of social interaction settings. Individuals find themselves engaged in a variety of encounters and environments. Modern life in Indonesia is no exception, with a limitless array of possibilities made available through mediated experiences delivered through a wide range of channels, sources, and platforms, including but not limited to DVC in girl games (Nisa 2012, Schmidt 2016, Beta 2014, Rakhmani 2016). These mediated experiences introduce a broad spectrum of global and modern ideas about consumption and consumer culture (Salter 1997), which Jilbab girls often use as a reference point. The analysis in this section will focus on the increasing subjectivity among Jilbab girls in drawing upon these global aspirations and desires. The following excerpts illustrate this point.

Halima:	"I like wearing jeans skirts, etc. tight (skinny) jeans is fine, but sometimes I cover my bum with oversized shirts. It is still appropriate."
Farida:	"If we don't have a good appearance, other people will look down on us, like we are poor or something like that."
Malika:	"I think it is up to them whether they want to wear syar'i clothes or not, or even not wear Jilbab at all."
Nurul:	*"In fact, we all use handphone and computers from abroad. In my handphone, there is Al-Quran too. It is good, isn't?"*

This evidence implies that Jilbab girls' competence as active modern consumers while extracting meanings from locally produced Muslim culture and modern culture has given rise to a new set of meanings in Indonesia's contemporary traditional Muslim society. Access to multiple media discourses at the global, regional, and local levels is crucial because it allows for the flow of diverse ideas, enriching the lives of today's Jilbab girls through exposure to many points of view and perspectives. This process of mediation helps people feel like they have control over

189

their lives, because traditional sources for judging what is right and what is true are not as clear as an anchor to outside meaning.

Jilbab Girls' assertion draws attention to Giddens' idea that commodification drives the emergence of internally referential systems. Giddens notes that a market system generates a range of available choices in the consumption of goods and services, and the plurality of choice is a significant outcome of commodified processes. In this vein, the reflexive project of the self may involve struggles against commodified influences; however, as stated by Nurul, *"we all use handphones and computers from abroad. In my handphone, there is Al-Quran too. It is good, isn't it?" suggesting that* not all aspects of commodification are detrimental to it. However, commodification in the context of consumerism tends to prioritise appearance as the main determinant of value and views self-development primarily in terms of display. Here, the reembedding mechanism is characterised by its ability to restabilize ontological security, which is the process of bringing back order and stability of self-identity that is rooted in local values, beliefs, and practices (Giddens, 1991). By restabilizing ontological security, Jilbab girls can reaffirm their sense of self and establish a sense of continuity between their past, present, and future selves. This can provide a comforting and stabilising effect during uncertain and changing times. This process can empower individuals to navigate the complexities of moral dilemmas, balancing the adherence to local cultural norms with the adaptation of new, global influences. The reembedding mechanism offers a pathway to integrate new experiences and practices within a familiar cultural context, thereby enabling the Jilbab girls to maintain a sense of ontological security.

8.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter explores the reembedding mechanism, which involves incorporating global practices back into local cultures. The aim is to maintain a sense of belonging and respect for cultural norms while engaging with the broader global context. Specifically, the focus is on Jilbab girls who navigate between local and global influences, often facing conflicts in various aspects of their lives. Drawing on Giddens' (1991) theoretical ideas, this chapter examines the strategies employed by Jilbab girls to integrate global experiences into their local cultural milieu. The girls use fragmentation and unification as mechanisms to adapt, reshape, or resist global influences, thereby preserving their cultural continuity while engaging with the wider world. This exploration highlights the diverse ways in which the reembedding process operates, contributing to the formation of identities that encompass both local and global orientations.

190

As Jilbab girls navigate the intersection of global and local realities, issues of ontological security become apparent. This paper aims to provide a comprehensive account of how the interplay between the global and local influences identity formation. It sheds light on how individuals manage these complex negotiations within the context of contemporary consumer culture. By examining the reembedding process and its psychological impacts, we gain a nuanced understanding of the factors that contribute to the formation of modern consumer subjectivity. The discussion also emphasises the importance of cultural and religious norms in shaping the experiences of Jilbab girls. The findings reveal how engaging in diverse global practices facilitates self-reflection and self-realisation among these young women, and they explore the strategies they employ to navigate mechanisms of unification and fragmentation while preserving their identity as good Muslim girls. This study supports Giddens' notion that commodification fosters the emergence of internally referential systems and provides evidence of the active role Indonesian young Muslims play in constructing their future adult lives within a collectivist context

CHAPTER NINE

Discussion

The primary objective of this study was to theorise and present empirical evidence on how digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games influences the formation of modern consumer subjects among Jilbab girls. My interest lies primarily in understanding the processes by which micro changes occur in consumer subjectivity in light of global and local cultural dialectics (Ger et al 2018). To achieve this understanding, the study draws upon Giddens's (1991) concept of modern self-identity formation and the mediation of global experiences, as well as Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's (2012, 2013) ideas on digital virtual consumption. Previously, the four chapters dedicated to the findings documented various aspects of Jilbab girls' DVC practices in girl games, specifically focusing on different stages of mediation, which are the embedded stage, the disembedding mechanism, the disembedding stage of DVC practices, and the reembedding mechanism. This chapter's purpose is to provide a theoretical reflection on the importance of these findings by showing how they address the main problems with current theories about how modern consumers are formed and how they use technology to consume. Additionally, it explores how the interplay between global and local contexts manifests in the context of DVC.

Firstly, this thesis introduces the concept of digital virtual mediation (DVM) to explain the process of mediation through digital virtual consumption (DVC). By doing so, it addresses research questions 1 and 2. The mediation of modern subject formation occurs through a series of four distinct yet interconnected processes: embeddedness, the disembedding mechanism, DVC practices, and the reembedding mechanism. These processes involve different practices and are underpinned by ontological securities that contribute to the formation of the modern consumer subject. Secondly, in addressing research questions 3 and 4, this thesis explores the experiences of DVC among Jilbab girls, highlighting how the dialectic of global and the local shapes DVC practices. This discussion aims to enhance our understanding of the interplay between local and global consumer culture that emerges in the realm of DVC, which remains largely unexplored in the existing literature. Thirdly, this thesis addresses research question 5 by examining the transformative potentials of DVC in the formation of the modern consumer subject. It addresses the processes of DVC practices that shape the transformation of consumer subjectivity, which

192

include the routinization of modern subjectivity and the sequestration of everyday experiences. Table 9.1 below illustrates the interconnected contributions, which are based on the research questions that arise from the identified limitations.

This thesis makes significant contributions to consumer research by addressing three key limitations in the current understanding of how digital virtual consumption mediates the formation of the modern consumer subject. The following paragraphs provide a detailed discussion of each contribution point.

Table 9.1. The Summary of theoretical contributions			
Theoretical Underpinning: – Digital Virtual Consumption (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010, 2012, 2013) – The Self-Identity and Modernity (Giddens 1991a) – The Experiences of Mediation (Giddens 1991a)	- The current literature on media functions in GCC tends to focus on cultural consequences rather than mediation process, leaving a gap in our understanding of how DVC operates in this context. - The process of mediation of global and the local may produce disembedding and reembedding mechanism. How such process shapes the process and the consequences of mediation through DVC are still little understood.	– Global and local encounters are profound with the dialectic of global and local. How such experiences emerge in DVC practices are still little known.	– Global market mediation plays important role in the formation of modern consumer subjects, we lack understanding on the potentials of DVC in mediating such process. – While DVC has been extensively studied, its transformative potentials, especially beyond the context of western consumers remain underexplored.
Research Questions	1. How do DVC practices in girl games influence the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects? 2. How do the disembedding mechanisms of DVC girl games differ from the reembedding mechanisms within local culture?	3. What are the experiences of Jilbab girls engaging with DVC practices in girl games? 4. How does the dialectic between global and local influences emerge in the DVC practices of Jilbab girls?	5. How does the transformative potential of DVC in girl games contribute to shaping Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects?
Findings	– DVC practices in girl games mediate the formation of Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects by enabling them to navigate between digital and material practices. Through their active engagement with digital virtual platforms, these girls experience global consumer culture, shaping their identities as modern consumers while still rooted in their sociocultural contexts. – The disembedding mechanism in DVC girl games allows participants to distance themselves from their immediate local norms and immerse in a global digital culture. In contrast, the reembedding mechanism involves reintegrating their digital experiences back into their local context, where they align these experiences with existing sociocultural practices. This process highlights the balance between adopting global consumer practices and maintaining local cultural ties, which further conceptualised as digital virtual mediation (DVM) – Digital virtual mediation refers to the dynamic process through which digital virtual practices mediate the experiences of global-local dialectic of consumer culture.	Jilbab girls experience DVC practices in girl games as a space for experimentation, actualization, and stimulation, where global consumer culture allows them to explore modern consumer subjectivities. However, these experiences also involve elements of regimentation and routinization, as DVC girl games engage participants with practices of global western consumer culture. The dialectic of global and local influences in DVC practices emerges as a two-way interaction. The global shapes the local by introducing new opportunities for experimentation. Simultaneously, the local culture influences how these digital experiences are recontextualized, embedding them with moral and cultural significance, ensuring that global practices are adapted to fit within local norms and values.	DVC in girl games plays a transformative role by – Facilitating sequestration of experiences that shape sense of freedom and disembedded from the local material culture, so consumer can engage with DVC practices without moral constraints. – Routinisation of modern subjectivity that shape the re-establishing of new ontological securities of modern consumer subject. The formation of modern Javanese Muslim consumer subject: – The increased agency in the process of engaging, making meaning, navigating and reflecting consumption choices within the dialectic of global local. – The changing senses of ontological security, from anchoring in the local traditional into the internally referential modern.
Theoretical Contributions	By theorising DVM as the dynamic process through which digital virtual practices mediate the experiences of consumer culture, this thesis extends the literature by exploring the potentials of DVC in the mediation of cultural globalization.	1. Demonstrate the how dialectic of global and local emerges in DVC realm, of which revisit the previous conceptualization of DVC as facilitating unlimited freedom of experience. 2. Demonstrating the intertwined of morals and cultural standards of consumption appropriateness in material and in digital virtual spaces	Demonstrate the transformative potentials of DVC beyond the current understanding of DVC transformative potential in facilitating reflexive practices and experiences.

194

9.1. Digital Virtual Mediation (DVM)

The purpose of this thesis is to fill the gap in the existing body of literature in the field of consumer research, specifically the limited understanding of the mediation of modern consumer subject formation through DVC. This study expands upon the current theory of digital virtual consumption (DVC). DVC is defined as consumer experiences and practices in digital virtual environments that differ from material consumption; however, there is a link between DVC and material consumption (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012, 2013, Drenten and Zeyer 2018). There has been a focus on the ways in which DVC influences material culture, especially during the pre-purchase behaviour phase, which includes consumer stimulation and experimentation, decision-making, and desire actualization (Drenten and Zayer 2018). According to the research, it is crucial to figure out how digital virtual consumption interacts with actuality (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013). This is especially true for delving into the nuances of consumers' experiences in virtual worlds and how they shape consumer culture in material culture (Drenten and Zayen 2018, Belk 2016). Comprehending this requires delving into the intersections and divergences of digital virtual and material cultures, as well as investigating the basis and convergences of these separate realms. According to Zhang and Dholakia (2018), it is recommended to concentrate on two aspects: (1) the similarities and differences that exist between material and digital virtual consumption, and (2) the consumer behaviours that enable the crossing and preservation of cultural boundaries between these domains via virtual consumption (Zhang and Dholakia 2018). To bridge this conceptual gap, I propose formulating a conceptual framework for digital virtual mediation, which elucidates the mediation of modern subject development through digital virtual consumption. The framework underscores the interweaving of social identities, morals, and psychological aspects of consumer experiences in both the material and digital virtual spaces, shaping the formation of their subjectivities as modern consumers.

Adopting the mediation perspective has enabled this study to recognise the potential of DVC practices and experiences in mediating global consumer culture, especially in the formation of modern consumer subjectivity, which is the focus of this study. Moreover, as this research situates itself within the interplay between global and local dynamics (Ger et al. 2018; Ger and Belk 1996), shedding light on the dialectic between the global and the local (Giddens 1991), the mediation perspective enables this study to exploring the process and experiences of how consumers engage with the dialectic between global and the local (Tomlinson 1994, 1999), rather than overfocusing on consequences and transformations among consumers in the local context due to global influences on their culture of consumption and social relations, which have been the focus of attention among recent studies in consumer research (Jafari and Goulding 2013, Mathur

195

2014, Kelly et al. 2010, Hawkes 2004). By incorporating the mediation perspective, my inquiry also goes beyond a narrow focus on specific platforms, such as girl games; hence, this study made an attempt to contextualise consumer-mediated experiences in DVC in the broader sociocultural and technological contexts that shape the mediation process. In doing so, this study extends the existing literature on digital virtual consumption (DVC) in two significant ways. Firstly, the mediation approach recognises the institutional and technological embedding of DVC in addition to its sole driving force (Silverstone, 2005). This lens emphasises the significance of placing DVC practices in specific contexts that embed consumers' actions and experiences. This approach enables the recognition of sociohistorical factors that influence consumer experiences and acknowledges the previously overlooked role of culture in shaping DVC. Furthermore, by considering DVC practices as both institutionally and technologically enabled, this study suggests that DVC experiences involve the process of disembedding from and reembedding into situated contexts (Tomlison 2005).

Drawing from the findings, I introduce the concept of **Digital Virtual Mediation** (DVM), which is defined as the mediation process of consumer subjectivities as consumers engage in practices and experiences of digital virtual consumption. Digital virtual mediation identifies the intricate link between material and digital virtual practices as consumers navigate and negotiate their experiences in the digital realm while staying rooted in local social and cultural traditions (Tomlison 2005). In this conception, DVM processes are situated and immersed within material culture in particular sociocultural settings that shape and are shaped by them. Furthermore, taking into consideration the notion that digital virtual consumption is defined as the experiences that consumers have within the digital virtual space, which is disembedded from the material culture (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012), the DVM process includes the mechanisms of disembedding and reembedding (Giddens 1991a, 1991b). The disembedding mechanism is the process by which consumers manage to disengage from the norms that structure their everyday practices in material culture in order to immerse themselves in the subjectivities of digital virtual consumption. Meanwhile, the reflexive process through which consumers reintegrate their DVC subjectivities in order to conform to the norms that define daily routine in material culture is known as the reembedding mechanism.

Understanding DVM is necessary for gaining a more in-depth understanding of the dialectics and dynamics of global and local that are involved in the interaction of material and digital virtual consumption in the process of modern consumer subject formation. This view underscores the profound intertwining of DVM processes with the materiality of everyday consumption routines (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012). To be more explicit, the DVM analysis presented in this study sheds light on the subsequent influences and significance of

mediated global consumption through DVC in shaping consumer subjectivities among young consumers in the local within their daily routines. The theorization of digital virtual mediation (DVM) is built on the understanding that consumer subjectivities emerge within the framework of individuals' day-to-day routines within a particular local setting (Giddens, 1991). In this understanding, the understanding of DVM needs to be situated in the various ways consumer identities are embedded with social norms and rules that characterise certain social identity. Further, DVM explicate the process through which the self-identity changes due to the adoption of modern subjectivities as mediated by digital virtual consumption experiences.

Furthermore, by combining Giddens' (1991) perspective on global mediated experiences, DVM is able to define the comprehension of routine behaviours and ontological security with respect to particular experiences within the context of experience. The DVM model takes into account both the practical and psychological aspects of DVC experiences, offering a more thorough understanding of the complex nature of digital virtual consumption and its impact on consumer behaviour. The model of digital virtual mediation shown in Figure 9.1 includes four separate processes: how consumers' identities are embedded in a certain social context; how identities are disembedded from their local context; what it is like to be disembedded from the local context through DVC; and how identities are re-embedded into the local context.
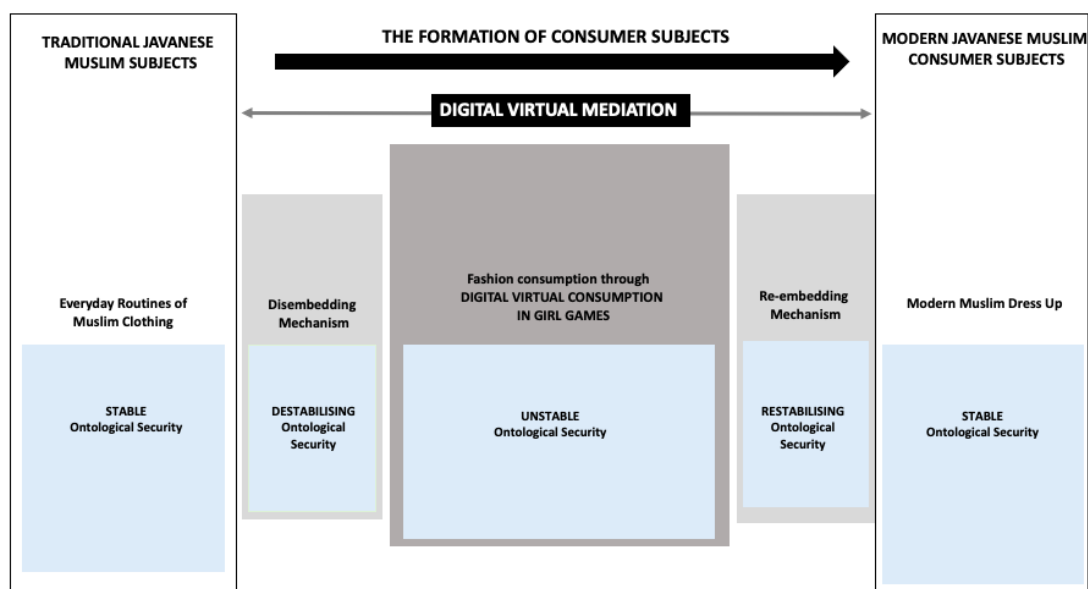

Figure 9.1. The Digital Virtual Mediation

9.1.1. The Embeddedness of Consumer Subjectivities in the Local

The experience of digital virtual consumption, as well as the transformation that results, is institutionally and technologically embedded in everyday life (Silverstone, 2005). Understanding how specific consumer subjectivities are embedded in daily routines is therefore the first stage in developing an understanding of how digital virtual mediation shapes the formation of consumer subjects (Giddens 1991). This claim is pertinent to the CCT literature, which contends that the primary setting for the construction, performance, and contestation of individual and collective identities is consumption (Shankar et al. 2009, Thompson 1996: 389). According to this view, consumption becomes an important mechanism that strengthens and anchors identity (Bardhi et al., 2012; McCracken, 1986). Consumers cultivate a reflexive understanding, the formation, and long-term maintenance of a consistent self-identity through regular consumption practices and experiences in their daily routines. Consumer subjectivities emerge in different ways as a result of the need to maintain order and consistency of identity within the context of social relations, cultural norms, and the local milieu. Individuals are able to establish and maintain order and continuity in their consistent identity within a particular local milieu with the assistance of routines, which, according to this understanding, have a significant impact on how people behave and how they feel about their safety (Giddens 1984, 1991a, 1991b).

These practices have their origins in religious principles and help contribute to the development of a sense of shared identity among the community as good Muslim girls. The findings, as discussed in Chapter 5, have elaborated that Jilbab girls' subjectivities underpin their everyday routines of Muslim clothing and are embedded in the formation and maintenance of young girls as "good Muslim girls." The good Muslim girl, according to the findings, embodies adherence to moral Muslim ethics, compliance with parental and school regulations, and observance of daily customs within the family and community. Chapter 5 delves deeper into this topic, highlighting how everyday Muslim clothing routines among Jilbab girls are linked to institutional norms such as religious ethics, social norms of being a good girl, school rules, and familial rules. In the findings, the various ways in which young consumers demonstrated a tendency to conform to the conditions of their immediate social settings within the context of the collective experiences that they had within their families, schools, and societies were described. Participants' stories about wearing Jilbab in everyday life spoke to broader social dynamics, such as their perceived relationships to the influences exerted by Islamic clothing rules as they learned from school rules that are regimented and perpetuated in everyday school routines, emphasising appropriate Muslim clothing, parental guidance, and their conceptions of gender and gender relationships. For the purpose of establishing a relatively stable framework for social organisation, the external referentialities of social norms play a significant role in the formation

198

of these practices. In all of these cases, Muslim clothing routines became a way for consumers to align with certain cultural viewpoints while resisting or subverting others in their pursuit of the good Muslim girl's identity. According to Ludiekce et al. (2010), the moral character's long-standing tradition provides a cultural framework for consumers' moralistic identity work. This helps to explain how consumers use this mythic structure to transform their ideological convictions into identity narratives. In this sense, the wearing of the busana muslim among Jilbab girls provides a relatively stable framework for organising social practices and relationships for the purpose of a good Muslim girl's identity. Specifically in the context of traditional Muslim society in Demak, this sheds light on the identity-value-enhancing connections that exist between marketplace resources, ideological meanings, and social structure (Luedicke et al. of 2010).

Furthermore, within the flow of day-to-day routine, the wearing of Muslim clothing is part of practical understanding—knowing how to go on (Phipps and Ozanne 2017)—that produced a stable sense of ontological, which refers to a sense of stability and continuity in one's self-concept and identity, of being a good Muslim girl. Chapter 5 discusses how Jilbab girls maintain their daily routines by dressing in Muslim clothing (Haifah and Malika, p. 114). The experiential aspects of busana Muslim emphasise that adhering to the propriety standard of Muslim clothing provides a sense of security (Phipps and Ozanne 2017), manifesting as a sense of normalcy (Azizah, Badriyah, and Fahima, p. 105) or doing the right thing (Haifah, Fahima, and Mufidah, p. 100). In this case, normative standard clothing practices incorporate moral principles and promote a shared sense of identity and security among Jilbab girls. The experience also demonstrates how adhering to such standards produces a sense of ease and reduces psychological tensions due to the avoidance of risk factors. For example, avoid the social stigma associated with being "*cah kemenyek*" (flirty girl) or "*cah nakal*" (naughty girl). Avoiding parental anger and receiving silent treatment from friends also creates a sense of security and ease. In this context, adhering to normative clothing practices ensures the stability and continuity of ontological security.

In understanding the role of digital virtual mediation in shaping contemporary consumer identities, it becomes evident that the subjectivities of Jilbab girls are intricately interwoven with the formation of their social identities within the context of traditional Muslim society in Demak. At this initial stage, it is arguable that their consumer subjectivities are deeply embedded in adhering to societal norms and propriety standards, which are closely linked to "the authoritative performance" (Thompson and Price, 2005) and the idealised norms associated with their social identity. For these girls, wearing appropriate Muslim attire serves not only as a means of adhering to cultural expectations but also as a way to maintain a sense of ontological security within the everyday routines of social interactions and religious practices specific to their local milieu.

9.1.2. The Disembedding Mechanism

The disembedding mechanism is a critical phase in the process of digital virtual mediation (DVM). It encapsulates consumers' practices and experiences in disembedding themselves from the norms and idealisations that shape consumption routines in their everyday local culture, while justifying their proclivity for global consumption. This phase has received attention in the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) literature, with numerous studies highlighting consumers' anxieties and insecurities about their engagement with global consumption (Eckhardt and Mahi, 2004; Belk and Sobh, 2012; Moufahim et al., 2021), particularly because it departs from local practices. Furthermore, consumers are known to negotiate and rationalise their desires and preferences for global consumption that differ from local cultural norms (Ger et al., 2003; Belk and Sobh, 2012; Eckhardt and Mahi, 2004). In a similar vein, consumers are also looking for reasons to justify their preference for digital experiences that are distinct from their material culture (Molesworth, 2005, 2013). Despite being critical to understanding global consumer culture in the digital realm, disembedding experiences and practices have frequently been overlooked in previous research.

This study addresses the role of the disembedding mechanism in the formation of modern consumer subjectivities in the context of digital virtual mediation. An alternative way of looking at this disembedding mechanism, which is made possible by DVC, is through the lens of Giddens' symbolic token and abstract systems (Giddens, 1991). Our research indicates that DVC girl games possess attributes similar to symbolic tokens, influencing contemporary consumer interactions and experiences on a global scale, just as money permits transactions to surpass temporal and geographical limitations (Giddens, 1991). As discussed in Chapter 6, participants in our study expressed a sense of connection with young girls from various locations, engaging in playful consumption via DVC girl games despite their geographical distances. Furthermore, DVC serves to facilitate abstract systems that are inherent to global consumer culture. This enables individuals to dis-embed themselves from the material culture that characterises their everyday lives. The discussion in Chapter 7 delves deeper into how Jilbab girls use DVC girl games to participate in global consumption experiences such as virtual makeovers, wearing non-Muslim attire, and attending a variety of social events such as weddings, parties, schools, campuses, and offices. These experiences generate abstract systems that influence modern consumer behaviours, allowing individuals to experiment with and shape their modern consumer subjectivities.

The process of disembedding often involves encountering ethical dilemmas and can lead to a sense of precarious ontological security. Participants often struggle to reconcile their involvement in digital virtual consumption (DVC) with Islamic teachings and local traditions, which may include activities such as alcohol consumption, pork consumption, and the wearing of

revealing clothing. Furthermore, the social stigmas associated with such practices confront these young girls in their daily material lives. The above draws attention to the perception that certain consumption behaviours pose a threat to the integrity of society, the values of families, and the authentic Islamic identity of Muslims, in addition to the overall Islamic way of life (Alserhan et al. 2014, El-Bassiony 2016). These experiences frequently trigger emotions of insecurity and instability, indicating the beginning of the disembedding mechanism.

The study's findings shed light on various disembedding mechanisms among Jilbab girls, as discussed in Chapter 6. Jilbab girls use a variety of accounts to rationalize and justify their participation and practices in DVC. They use avoidance and appropriation strategies to strengthen their preference for global consumption instead of local alternatives (Ger 2017, Eckhardt and Mahi 2014). As described in Chapter 6, in their accounts, Jilbab girls draw on a variety of modern values, including the importance of play, the potential of self-learning, self-improvement, and self-competence (Eckhardt and Mahi 2014), while emphasizing their alignment with modern abstract systems (Giddens, 1991) rather than those of traditional culture and local values. In Chapter 6, it is also noticeable that there is an emergence of agency among Jilbab girls in this traditional society, especially in their accounts of affirming their right to pursue knowledge and skills that improve their lives regardless of cultural or religious constraints. According to Giddens (1991), the disembedding mechanism refers to the process by which consumers shift their sense of ontological security from external referentialities like traditions, family, and culture to the internal referentiality of modernity, which includes modern values, modern systems, and modern culture.

9.1.3. The Disembedded-ness from Everyday Routines though DVC

The concept of disembeddedness in digital virtual mediation signifies a phase where consumers feel disconnected from the norms and structures prevalent in their material culture. Scholars in the realm of digital virtual consumption (DVC) and global consumer culture have acknowledged this sense of detachment, or "disembeddedness" (Molesworth, 2005; Myers, 2013; Jafari & Goulding, 2013). Myers (2013) suggested that considering individualized and subjective values associated with the aesthetic qualities of digital virtual goods in DVC is important. In DVC games, the objectives, mechanics, and rules determine the value of virtual commodities, giving players the agency to assign subjective value to these items during gameplay (Molesworth, 2013). Consumers frequently perceive consumption practices within games as mere gaming activities, considering them less serious and trivial compared to everyday consumption practices in material culture (Myers, 2013). Likewise, literature on global consumer culture has highlighted similar

sentiments, suggesting that local consumers tend to view mediated global consumption as "vicarious experiences" rather than direct engagements in authentic settings (Jafari & Goulding, 2013). Other studies have also demonstrated how consumers emphasise the performative aspects of global consumption (Moufahim et al., 2022). Even so, the symbols and visuals representing diverse cultures can stimulate consumer imagination (Jafari & Goulding, 2013; Fox, 2003). These instances demonstrate the emergence of "disembedded experiences," which have not been thoroughly examined in the prior references.

The phase of disembedded from everyday routine in digital virtual mediation represents a significant immersion of consumers into digital virtual consumption, where the norms and rules governing everyday life are suspended. This finding suggests two crucial points regarding the disembedded experiences among participants. Firstly, digital virtual consumption provides a space where consumers can disembedded themselves from the routines of maintaining their social identity. In this study, Jilbab girls, for instance, do not necessarily adhere to the norms and rules of being "good Muslim girls". Through DVC practices, these girls are introduced to a "plurality of possible options" (Giddens 1991) wherein they can experiment with unlimited potentials and alternative roles, virtual identities, and senses of selves. For example, in girl games, Jilbab girls actively assume the role of modern Western consumers through their avatars, engaging in the consumption offerings available to them in the digital virtual environment. In doing so, participants explore and actualize the desires and subjectivities associated with modern consumers, engaging with a diverse range of global consumption practices and lifestyles that differ significantly from their everyday consumption routines in Demak.

What is particularly compelling from these findings is the notable use of the third-person perspective by participants, which resonates with Belk's assertion regarding the evolving nature of the core self. Belk (2016) posits that digital virtual spaces, where avatars and visual embodiments are prevalent, diminish the significance of the physical body and no longer view the core self as singular (Belk 2013). However, unlike findings from Molesworth (2005) indicating a tendency for consumers to adopt a first-person perspective, this study suggests that due to the disjointed identity markers between material and digital virtual consumption, participants are inclined towards adopting a third-person perspective. Through this perspective, they redefine their identities through self-extension and self-aggregation, bringing their virtual selves to life by assembling and materialising their identities (Williams et al. 2011, Costa Pinto et al. 2015). Thus, Hongladarom (2016) asserts that the digital virtual self operates on a two-selves concept, where the player's real self and the avatar's virtual self are extensions of each other yet remain distinct entities.

Furthermore, in addition to providing consumers with a space to disengage from their social identities, Digital virtual consumption (DVC) suspends the norms and ethical guidelines embedded in particular social identities (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010), such as those of "good Muslim girls" in the case of Jilbab girls. The results of this study provide strong evidence that Jilbab girls follow the rules and guidelines governing performances in the digital virtual space, even though they find it difficult to incorporate them into their everyday lives. As a result, the internal referentiality of the modern system that operates within DVC female games regulates DVC practices (Giddens 1991). Taking this into consideration, the rules that govern girl games can be compared to those that govern Western fashion consumption. Western fashion consumption is distinguished by the presence of non-Muslim styles, novelty, rapid changes, and a wide variety of styles (Davis 1992, McCracken 1988). Instead of conforming to the consumption norms of Muslim clothing that are prevalent in material culture, Jilbab girls are given the authority to make decisions within the DVC girl games system based on their own preferences and the regulatory framework that governs DVC. As a result, Jilbab girls are able to navigate and excel in the space of global consumption within DVC. They do this by placing their individual preferences and the marketplace ahead of religious adherence, traditional norms, and other external factors that shape everyday material consumption in Demak.

In this regard, the disembedded experiences through digital virtual consumption (DVC) can be associated with Giddens's "sequestration of experiences" (1991, p. 149). This concept describes a situation in which consumers are free to impose subjective meanings according to their own frames of reference, independent of the institutional influences of social norms and prevalent practices, particularly those that require moral reflection. According to Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2010), DVC allows people to break free from the limitations of cultural and normative norms, thereby separating them from the rules and conventions that dictate day-to-day existence. Furthermore, one prominent aspect of this phenomenon that our research identifies is the sequestration of experience. A sense of trust is promoted through DVC, especially in girl games, offering a safe haven that lessens the dangers of identity disruption. Giddens' (1991) claim that morality not only permeates these virtual experiences but also that the disembedding mechanism may hide morally dubious issues is consistent with Jilbab girls' self-assured participation in DVC gaming. Giddens (1991) compares the sequestration of morality and the sequestration of experience in this way.

However, despite the sequestration of norms and rules of everyday routines in digital virtual consumption, consumers' still often feel precarious. The finding, as discussed in Chapter 6, has elaborated that Jilbab girls frequently experience insecurity, evidenced by feelings of constraint, guilt, and shame, especially upon reflecting on their transgressive experiences or

violations of norms and traditions, suggesting they continue to evaluate their DVC experiences more critically and consensually (Myers, 2013). Myers (2013) suggested that the liminal status of signs and symbols within games allows the material culture to still infiltrate, through the actions of the game player. The emergence of insecurities implies that digital virtual consumption cannot completely isolate the norms and rules of daily routines (Giddens, 1991).

9.1.4. The Re-embedding Mechanism

The reembedding mechanism, a process by which consumers reflexively evaluate the global consuming experiences gained from digital virtual consumption, is a further phase in digital virtual mediation (DVM). This involves adopting specific patterns of consumption while rejecting, abandoning, or avoiding others in order to conform to the societal norms and permissible standards of daily consumption in the consumer's cultural locality. Giddens (1991) defines reembedding as the process of recasting or reappropriating lost social relations, thereby re-establishing their connection to specific temporal and spatial contexts. As a result, consumers must reconsider and reconfigure global consumer culture to align with their specific local circumstances and situations. Previous studies have shown evidence of how local consumers use global brands to strengthen their social identities in local contexts (Kravets, 2014) or modify elements of contemporary consumer culture according to their cultural values (Ekschard and Mahi, 2014). In the context of this study, as discussed in Findings Chapter 8, this process takes place as Jilbab girls reflexively navigate and negotiate what they want and desire in relation to global consumption. They then reappropriate these aspirations and desires in order to develop alternative ideas and meanings that are congruent with their daily routines and value traditions in Demak.

This dynamic process can be characterised as "modern reflexivity," which refers to the continual modification of social activity and everyday material interactions considering newly developed modern and rational ideas, knowledge, or desires (Giddens, 1991). This process of continuous revision is a hallmark of the modern era. In this vein, Jafari and Guolding (2013) contend that this kind of reflexivity takes the shape of a learning process, which takes the form of virtual learning, in which individuals compare and contrast the visible and unseen parts of their local and global cultures. At this level, however, the primary point of cultural reflexivity takes place. This is due to the fact that the concrete characteristics of other cultures, such as products and pictures in the media, are more prominent in the flow of global culture. People watch and examine the commercialised features of other cultures, interpreting them into a range of deeper

cultural meanings derived from the unseen components of those societies, such as freedom and individualism (in chapter 7).

This study proposes that fragmentation and unification—two distinct processes—can characterize the reembedding mechanism, building on the findings discussed in Chapter 8. Fragmentation pertains to the act of disassembling or segregating cultural elements into discrete categories or identities, whereas unification entails the integration of local and global components into unified identities or cultural practices (Abdul Karim, 2016). By means of this reflexivity, participants participate in the reshaping and renegotiation of their cultural identities and practices, amalgamating a wide range of influences originating from both local and global settings. First, fragmentation is a part of the reembedding process. It means breaking away from the established routines and moral frameworks that guide certain behaviours in different situations (Giddens, 1991). This form of reembedding entails appropriating and establishing new ontological security by integrating modern values and desires. According to this study's findings, participants want to adopt modern and Kekinian behaviors, such as wearing jeans and dressing stylishly (Chapter 8). In many Muslim places, young people are developing fluid and hybrid identities (Karim 2016, Jafari and Guolding 2013, Mathur 2014). In these places, local cultural identities like religion and ethnicity are not being pushed to the side; instead, they are negotiating with global identities and being re-embedded in new situations (Abdul Karim, 2016).

Meanwhile, unification refers to the reflexivity that characterises the process of aligning global influences with the routines and norms for identity maintenance in the local context (Giddens, 1991). According to this study, Jilbab girls consider how easily Western fashion trends seen in girl games could fit into their daily lives if they adhered to the modesty standards set forth for the identity of good Muslim girls. For instance, participants consider whether Western fashion styles sufficiently cover the aurat (the body parts that must be covered), avoid revealing the body shape or transparency, and steer clear of clothing associated with negative labels such as "*cah nakal*" or "*cah kemenyek*." Jilbab girls evaluate global fashion choices through the lens of unification, taking into account their alignment with Islamic codes and norms, parental expectations, and societal perceptions of appropriate Muslim attire, all in the pursuit of maintaining their social identity as good Muslim girls. Giddens (1991) posits that identity maintenance involves a reflexive monitoring of risks to uphold a sense of security anchored in external referentialities such as religion, tradition, and kinship relations. Jilbab girls engage in critical evaluations of global commodities and digital virtual consumption practices, navigating potential risks arising from normative violations, social sanctions, stigmatisation, and disapproval from others. This self-reflexivity extends beyond mere self-consciousness to encompass the ongoing monitoring of social life, ensuring day-to-day continuity, and the continuous revision of

coherent biographical narratives (Giddens, 1984; 1991a). This dynamic interplay between unification and fragmentation highlights the complexity of the reembedding mechanism and the role it plays in developing current cultural identities in the digital virtual mediation era.

9.2. The Dialectic of Global and Local in DVC

In examining the interplay between the global and local within digital virtual consumption (DVC) practices, this section delves into research questions 3 and 4. According to theorists like Appadurai (1986) and Miller (1987), scholars in the fields of anthropology and sociology have long argued that the material dimension plays a fundamental role in consumers' lives and cultures. Consumption extends beyond being a mere external reflection of internal psychological processes (Belk et al 2003); rather, it functions as a pragmatic interface actively shaping meanings, actions, and social connections (Ger et al 2018, Ger 2017). According to this, the global and local in material cultures interact in a way that is constantly negotiating and adapting (Ger 2017). Young consumers move between globalised consumer trends and local cultural contexts, changing the way they buy things to fit into their social and cultural environment (Jafari and Guolding 2013, Lemish et al. 1998, Patterson 2005) Meanwhile, the case of DVC presents a unique terrain for exploring the dynamics of global and local dialectics in digital virtual space, which has yet to be thoroughly investigated. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2010) conceptualise DVC as having a complex relationship with material culture, suggesting that it involves a hybridization of the material and the virtual. They propose that the digital virtual realm has the potential to embody material culture while also transcending its constraints (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2010), offering a space for the negotiation and reconfiguration of global and local dynamics. These assertions underscore how DVC practices and experiences are influenced by and contribute to the ongoing negotiation between globalised virtual spaces and local material realities, shedding light on the intricate interplay between the digital and the material in modern consumption landscapes.

The findings emphasise that global and local consumption are interconnected and mutually influential, rather than separate or independent forces (Get 2018). The previous section elaborated on how young consumers can disembed themselves from local social norms and rules while engaging in global consumption through DVC practices. Previous research suggested that DVC develops its own structures based on the actions of its users (Myers 2013). However, it is worth noting that such experiences do not occur in a vacuum and are not entirely devoid of material culture structure. Chapters 6 and 8 illuminate the tensions, negotiations, appropriation, and transformations that characterise the DVC experiences of Jilbab girls, highlighting the

dialectical nature of global and local in this digital virtual space. According to Giddens (1984), structure is not external to individuals but rather formed by their actions, which exist as memory traces that inform human knowledge. This assertion implies that the structure of everyday routine consumption in material culture has been internalised, resulting in a certain ontological security (Giddens 1991). This perspective views global consumption experiences through DVC as non-routine practices that are often disembedded from everyday local structures. The findings suggested that such experiences involve a dialectic of the global and the local, as seen in how global consumer culture shapes DVC experiences and local culture shapes DVC experiences, as described below.

9.2.1. Global Consumer Culture Shapes DVC Experiences

Global consumer culture shapes digital virtual consumption (DVC), suggesting how global consumption rules and norms permeate and influence DVC practices among consumers in the local. CCT literature has informed on how global influences can lead to the emergence of new practices, beliefs, and identities among consumers in the locals, within the understanding of glocalization and heterogenization (Sharifonnasabi et al. 2018, Ger et al 2017, Ger and Belk 1996). The findings extend this literature, by describing how glocalization emerge in digital virtual consumption in the forms of experimentation and stimulation of imagination and desires, and regimentation of global consumer culture.

Global consumption in DVC facilitate experimentation and stimulate imagination, and desires among young consumers in this study. As discussed in Chapter 7, DVC provides Jilbab girls with opportunity to engage with a wide range of consumption practices and consumer subjectivities that may not be available to them in their daily lives. These girls engage in experiences of consumption that are usually constrained, such as using cosmetics and makeover techniques, managing virtual money, and engaging in various consumer practices (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010). The findings in Chapter 6 highlight how Jilbab girls immerse themselves in the role of adult women who acquire and manage virtual money, buy and collect fashion dresses and apparel, and engage in various consumer practices through DVC. Many Jilbab girls find pleasure in DVC practices, indulging in expensive outfits, participating in massive sales shopping, and engaging in conspicuous consumerism without worrying about limits to their digital virtual money. Despite the experimentation's seeming frivolity, several of the jilbab girls showed "serious" engagement in the choice-making process when buying DVM clothing. Explicating the meaning-making process showed how such experiences are also relevant to previous assertion on

207

how materialism in global consumer culture is driven by desires of reinforcing status, social class, and upward social mobility (Cleveland et al. 2022),

Digital virtual consumption (DVC) practices involve the regimentation of global consumer culture. In the context of girl games, while these platforms appear to provide a wide range of outfits, items, and styles, they actually impose regimented drag-and-drop operations within predefined gaming procedures. When participating in these games, players must adhere to step-by-step rules that are both instructive and rigid, allowing for minimal deviation from the predetermined goals. These experiences function as a learning process characterized by constant discipline and control, employing reward and charge mechanisms to manage gameplay and enforce a strict dress-up and makeover regime (Cumming, 2017). As a result, DVC girl games exert control over consumption by establishing an affective practice structure that organises items, meanings, and actions. Specific behaviours, responses, and emotions that are associated with routines are conditioned in this manner (Giddens, 1991). As discussed in Chapter 7, girl games impose a regimentation of taste and physical appearance via continuous learning, discipline, and control, resulting in standardised dress-up and makeover techniques. The findings suggest that Jilbab girls not only become familiar with the dominant and idealised standards of femininity and consumption within the context of digital virtual environments, but they also internalise these standards. This is consistent with the findings of previous research (Tsaliki, 2016; Willet, 2008; Webb, 2016), which suggests that participation in girl games subtly guides Jilbab girls to conform to particular standards and norms related to femininity and consumption.

9.2.2. The Local Culture Shapes DVC Experiences

DVC experiences are also shape by local culture. CCT studies have documented how global local encounters can be characterised by instances where local communities resist global western consumer culture and maintain their local, traditional consumption patterns (sharifonnasabi et al. 2019, Ger 2017), due to ideological or cultural reasons (Wilk 2005). Literature demonstrated various strategies employed by local consumers to navigate, adapt to, or resist global consumer culture to preserve their local traditional and religious consumption patterns (Sharifonnasabi et al. 2019, Ger et al. 2018). The interplay between local culture and global consumption is also significantly shapes the practices and experiences of digital virtual consumption among Jilbab girls. This is largely due to the distinct cultural meanings assigned to DVC products and practices and the differing values and morals that shape consumption in both digital and material realms (Myers 2013, Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2011; Cumming 2017). Additionally, the differences in the systems of meaning (McCracken 1998), modes of behaviour

(Slater 1997), and normative standards of appropriateness (Wilk 2005, Ger 2017) between the global and local cultures operate within DVC experiences.

Jilbab girls' DVC practices are highly shaped by their subjectivities as good Muslim girls, where compliance to religious values and cultural norms, obedience to parental guidances and belongingness to peers are paramount. In this regard, Jilbab girls selectively engage with consumption that are acceptable within their local cultural values and avoiding what's not. For example, few jilbab girls avoid playing with human characters and revealing clothing styles because they belief it against their religious norms. Besides, other girls also found to continue feeling guilty and shame as they engage with transgressive behaviours in girl games—such as practicing kissing or cooking pork (the forbidden foodies for Muslim). The findings suggested that the various ways the local culture can shape DVC experiences can be categorised in two forms, which is recontextualization and moral entanglements.

Recontextualization

Recontextualization, as defined by Ger and Belk (1996), significantly influences Jilbab girls' Digital Virtual Consumption (DVC) experiences with regard to global fashion consumption. Within this process, local cultural systems serve as mediators for interpreting and engaging with global fashion consumption. Ger and Belk (1996) and Ger et al. (2018) assert that interactions between local communities and global consumer culture often alter the meaning and function of products beyond the original creators' intentions. This recontextualization can result in the emergence of distinctive local styles with new meanings and functions. The meanings of words in their respective local contexts significantly impact consumers' comprehension of digital virtual products. Jilbab girls, for example, interpret Western fashion trends using local terminology, despite the fact that they are aware of these trends. This exemplifies the significance of understanding local meanings when conducting an analysis of how consumers interpret digital virtual commodities. Local ideals, norms, and traditions primarily recontextualize Jilbab girls' DVC practices, even as they engage with global consumer culture. In a process known as creolization, they incorporate elements from a variety of cultures in order to interpret the function of global goods through the lens of local associative functions (Ger & Belk, 266). This allows them to navigate the globalisation process. They identify with the global middle class, seeing it as a source of stability and comfort. Not only are their DVC experiences influenced by global trends, but they are also significantly influenced by their local culture. This highlights the complex interplay of global and local factors that plays a role in shaping DVC experiences in cross-cultural settings.

209

Moral Entanglements in DVC

Local cultural values and norms have a significant impact on Jilbab girls' digital virtual consumption (DVC) experiences. As discussed in chapters 6 and 7, digital virtual consumption fails to completely suspend the moral complexities that arise from the intersection of global and local influences. The study revealed that Jilbab girls frequently felt shame and guilt as a result of transgressive DVC practices, indicating psychological tensions when participating in activities that contradicted the everyday norms of their material culture. According to this study, the participants tend to carry their moral codes and values into digital virtual practices, resulting in new moral complexities (Wilk, 1995). According to Giddens (1991), disruptions in routine patterns could be the cause of existential crises, which made it necessary to engage in a variety of 'appropriate' behaviours in order to preserve a consistent sense of self-being. Similarly, engaging in transgressive actions in digital culture may result in a compromise of ontological security and generate psychological strain. It is also possible for individuals to experience moral discomfort that is difficult to resolve when they detach themselves from external referentialities such as kinship, religion, and tradition and instead rely solely on their own internal systems. Because of this, the moral framework reaches into the realm of digital technology, becoming an essential component of self-control. This underscores the significance of exploring moral experiences in digital culture, an area that Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) research continues to underinvest in. Giddens (1991) asserts that the self is inherently reflexive, constantly engaging in processes of self-monitoring and self-regulation. According to this perspective, the moral framework does not vanish or become suspended in the digital realm; rather, it extends into it, becoming an integral component of the ongoing process of self-regulation within the digital virtual space.

This expansion of moral codes into the digital landscape of girl games contradicts the widely held belief in the DVC literature that individuals can avoid societal norms and moral obligations by engaging in DVC (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012). Instead, our findings indicate that the moral principles and values that shape individual behaviours in everyday life also govern their actions in the digital realm. The digital virtual spaces (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012, 2013) provides freedom, but it also perpetuates societal norms and moral restraints derived from material culture. This implies that, rather than providing a liberatory space, as previously hypothesised (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012), DVC broadens the domain in which societal norms and moral obligations must be considered and negotiated. Thus, DVC's *liminoid* space involve challenges and complexities in navigating societal norms and moral expectations in a novel setting.

9.3. The Transformative Potential of DVC

In addressing the third objective, this section discusses the transformative potentials of DVC, especially in the shaping Jilbab girls as modern consumer subjects. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2013) posited that the transformative potential of DVC lies within its ability to enables and encourage reflexive experiences due to consumers' experimentation with unlimited social roles and practices. The transformative potential of digital virtual consumption is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Molesworth (2005) and Molesworth (2012) both highlight the pleasures and practices of virtual consumption, emphasizing the role of virtual spaces in stimulating new consumer imaginations and creating meaningful experiences. Ryynänen (2018) further explores the influence of digitalization on consumption, noting the emergence of new forms of e-commerce and changing consumer roles. Denegri-Knott (2010) provides a taxonomy for understanding digital virtual consumption, discussing the potential for these practices to produce new consumer subjectivities and markets. These studies collectively underscore the significant impact of digital virtual consumption on consumer culture and the need for further research in this area. This study extends this literature by understanding the transformative potentials of DVC within the context of global consumer culture. The analysis suggests that the transformative potential of DVC is twofold: the routinization of modern subjectivity and the sequestration of experiences from the everyday routine in material culture.

9.3.1. Routinization of Modern Subjectivity

The transformative potential of digital virtual consumption (DVC) observed in this study is closely related to the concept of routinization. Routinization is the development of habitual, repetitive daily actions that foster familiarity and predictability (Wahlen, 2011; Giddens, 1984). Wahlen (2011) emphasises the significance of understanding the routine and unconscious nature of everyday domestic practices, emphasising how activities are carried out without conscious thought and the longevity and consistency of these routines. This viewpoint emphasises the examination of the temporal aspects of DVC practices among consumers. Routines have had a significant impact on consumer culture research, which is frequently overlooked in discussions of sustainable consumption (Wahlen, 2011; Rook, 1985; Park, 1999). The findings of this study show that DVC girl games engage Jilbab girls in repetitive consumption practices of Western fashion, emphasising the amount of time they have spent playing these games. Some Jilbab girls began playing girl games as young as six years old and have since explored a wide range of practices within these games. Over the years, participants have experimented with countless girl game titles, interacting with diverse consumer roles and fashion trends via DVC (Cumming,

211

2017). Through these engagements, Jilbab girls develop new routines and methods of interacting with modern non-Muslim fashion consumption, demonstrating how DVC promotes routine establishment in their consumption behaviours.

Routines typically occur without the subject's attention or reflection, function below the level of conscious awareness, and are not only repetitive but also stable over extended periods of time (Giddens 1984). This study shows that the routinization of DVC among Jilbab girls has not only increased familiarity with global consumer culture but has also reduced associated anxieties about global culture that tend to be profound among members of traditional society in Indonesia (Nisa 2012). As Jilbab girls participate in routines of global consumption on a regular basis in DVC, they become more familiar with global culture and easily engage in such consumption practices outside of DVC. This can be seen as unconscious experiences that are resulted by DVC routines, emphasising the automatic and assumed character of many consumption behaviours (Wahlen 2011). Routine DVC practices have reduced the sense of otherness and distance (Giddens, 1991) and automated certain tasks, leading to a rarely questioned perceived normalcy (Phipps and Ozanne, 2017). As the findings show, DVC fosters new routines among Jilbab girls, establishing modern fashion preferences and a new form of ontological security based on modern values that differ from those ingrained in everyday material life. This study suggests that people have developed a sense of ontological security through DVC routinization, which allows them to "feel at home with themselves" and in the world (Giddens, 1984, p. 50; Thompson, 2005; Ozanne and Phipps, 2017; Sandicki and Ger, 2010). The findings are consistent with previous research, which found that repeated engagement with DVC girl games fosters a distinct sense of style and aesthetic sensibility that influences material consumption practices (Diss, 2011; Tsaliki, 2016). The routine of girl games makes young girls in Europe more fashionable when it comes to choosing clothes and other products in real life (Diss, 2011; Tsaliki, 2016). The evidence also suggests that continuous experimentation in girl games establishes specific aesthetic meanings, values, and tastes in consumption, which is consistent with previous research (Diss, 2011; Arsel and Bean, 2012).

9.3.2. Facilitation of sequestrated experiences

The ability of digital virtual consumption (DVC) experiences to facilitate experience sequestration closely links to their transformative potential. According to Giddens' concept of "sequestration of experience," modern societies systematically separate certain types of experiences, particularly those involving existential and profound emotional aspects of life, from daily routines. Specific institutions or professionals frequently manage the more unsettling and

disruptive aspects of human life, protecting individuals from them. DVC similarly manages and limits playful and transgressive practices to the digital domain of the games themselves. Engaging with DVC may lead to a psychological state where consumers liberate themselves from their local routines and instead rely on internal referentiality to guide their practices. Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2013) contend that DVC suspends ordinary life rules, offering a performative matrix for exploring diverse practice modes. This is consistent with Shields' (2000, 2003) definition of digital virtuality as a liminoid space—a realm in which people can experiment outside of their typical consumer subject positions. Giddens' concept of "sequestration of experience," which separates daily activities from life's major areas, links to this disembedded state of experience.

DVC serves as an internally referential system, separate from everyday social activities, thus sequestering external referentialities. The crux of this process lies in the loss of the local self as individuals detach from everyday ontological security and adopt the securities provided by internally modern institutions, such as DVC girl games. Giddens (1991) observed that modern institutions strive to construct action settings ordered according to their internal dynamics and disconnected from external criteria. In Chapter 7, Jilbab girls emphasise the playful nature of DVC girl games, which allow participants to engage in DVC practices without actual material consumption. Yet, as Molesworth (2005) noted, the experience of play often overshadows the experiences of the players themselves, and games generate their own unique worlds, which can have moral implications for participants. External disturbances that deflect guilt help to alleviate moral unease that results from the loss of anchoring to external reference points. For instance, Aisah and Haniya consider makeover and kissing games as merely clicks that aren't "real," rejecting notions that deviate from their pre-existing beliefs. Such cognitive dissonance forms part of a protective cocoon that aids in maintaining ontological security. This disembodiment of the local self can be interpreted as a defence mechanism (Giddens 1991). When questioned about the impact of DVC girl games on their worldviews, participants often dismiss them as "only a game" or "not happening in materiality," effectively deflecting potential dilemmas and maintaining their ontological security.

The suspension of morality is a critical aspect of the mediation process via DVC, particularly as moral perspectives are consistently upheld in day-to-day activity. Findings indicate that DVC practices often alleviate the psychological tensions typically encountered when consumers partake in transgressive behaviours in material culture. Giddens (1991) contends that modernity has created an environment where individuals need not confront personal issues that may induce guilt or conflict. Such issues are circumvented by resorting to modern systems, values, institutions, etc. In this respect, DVC experiences are often characterised by a

"sequestration of experiences," which aids in containing anxieties and concerns potentially jeopardising an individual's ontological security. This framework "sequesters" or keeps experiences that could disrupt an individual's sense of security and stability out of everyday consciousness. Giddens contends that this sequestration contributes to "ontological security"—a stable mental state derived from a sense of continuity in the social and material environments in which people live. Individuals can navigate their daily lives without constantly confronting the inherent uncertainties and anxieties of life by managing and compartmentalising these potentially destabilising experiences (Giddens, 1991). DVC a contemporary market apparatus that manifests in the form of video games, successfully reduces these tensions.

DVC facilitates the sequestration of experiences, allowing Jilbab girls to navigate and reconcile the tensions between local cultural expectations and global consumer culture. The ability to participate in these digital spaces without directly confronting traditional norms and values provides a distinct form of empowerment and identity exploration. This emphasises DVC's broader implications for shaping modern consumer practices and how individuals construct and negotiate their identities in a globalised digital context (Giddens, 1991; Denegri-Knott and Molesworth, 2013; Shields, 2000, 2003). Chapter 7's findings demonstrate how DVC establishes consumer experience pathways that eliminate the external criteria defining the identity of good Muslim girls. Within these contexts, the practices of DVC in girl games stem from internal referentiality, reflecting the subjectivity of contemporary consumers and the global trends of Western fashion. This includes game rules, mechanics, graphics, and narratives that are independent of various existential questions and dilemmas. In this liminal space, Jilbab girls have a unique opportunity to engage with modern fashion and consumer practices while avoiding the constraints of their traditional surroundings. DVC's internal referentiality enables them to experiment with and adopt aspects of Western global fashion, fostering a modern and culturally fluid sense of identity. This process emphasises the importance of comprehending how digital environments can generate transformative experiences that alter consumer identities and behaviours.

9.4. The Formation of Modern Consumer Subject

The Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) tradition recognizes the role of mediated experiences in shaping consumer identities (Jafari and Goulding 2013). Understanding the formation of consumer subjectivity requires an examination of how individuals actively appropriate market-mediated meanings to forge social relationships through their consumption practices (Slater, 1997; Trentmann, 2006). Agency is essential in this process because it allows

consumers to make decisions and exert influence based on their subjective experiences (Ger and Belk, 1996). Understanding how individuals acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, and agency to become consumers is thus critical for understanding consumer subjectivity formation. Previous research has shed light on how consumer subjectivity develops, but it frequently focuses on agency and autonomy. For example, Ekchard and Mahi (2014) emphasise the growth of consumer agency and the ability to navigate and transform cultural meanings in global consumption contexts. However, these studies acknowledge that subjectivity is not a fixed or universal construct. Instead, the frameworks in which people live shape it culturally and historically (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986). This viewpoint emphasises the importance of understanding that the formation of consumer subjectivity is complex and multifaceted, influenced by both individual agency and larger socio-cultural forces.

Recent CCT perspectives have added new dimensions to our understanding of consumer subjectivity by focusing on the processes that shape it. Giesler and Veresiu (2014) argue that consumer subjectivity is not a natural byproduct of the capitalist market but rather a process that contributes to its development and stability. A four-step process of personalisation, authorization, capability, and transformation develops their concept of the responsible consumer subject. This framework posits that social, cultural, and institutional factors, in addition to individual choice, influence consumer subjectivity. Jafari and Goulding (2013) provide additional evidence that institutional and traditional forces interfere with consumers' subjective experiences and intercultural learning processes. These forces influence people's lifestyles, identities, dilemmas, worldviews, and life goals. For example, state cultural policies may dictate dress codes, and conservative societal expectations may impose ideal lifestyles on young people. Individuals exposed to global influences simultaneously experience different ways of being. This creates a conflict between local socio-cultural institutions that oppose globalisation and everyday consumption practices that reflect global cultural trends. As a result, consumer practices and lifestyles frequently spark conflict in local communities. Giesler and Veresiu (2014) introduce the responsible consumer subject as a governmental process, emphasising the importance of broader societal structures in shaping consumer subjectivity. Their framework focuses on the interaction between individual agency and the social, cultural, and institutional contexts in which individuals operate. This viewpoint challenges the traditional emphasis on individual agency by acknowledging the complex dynamics that influence consumer behaviour.

Examining these dynamics reveals that the formation of consumer subjectivity is a complex interplay between individuals and their larger socio-cultural contexts. We must understand the concept of agency in this context, acknowledging its mediation by external forces. This holistic approach offers a more nuanced understanding of consumer identity formation,

emphasising the role of both individual and structural factors in shaping consumer subjectivity. This lens enables us to better understand the complexities involved in consumer subjectivity formation. It is the result of ongoing negotiations between personal agency and broader socio-cultural and institutional frameworks, rather than just individual choice. This understanding necessitates a more comprehensive approach to studying consumer identities, one that takes into account the many factors that influence consumer behaviour in both global and local contexts.

This thesis contends that understanding the formation of consumer subjects and their environments necessitates a thorough examination of everyday routines within the contexts in which these subjects emerge (Bevir and Trentmann, 2004; Trentmann, 2006; Slater, 1997). While Giddens (1984) contends that agency remains an important aspect of identity and subjectivity, it is also defined as individuals' ability to make purposeful and intentional choices in a variety of contexts of interaction. This entails constantly reflecting on and comprehending the social and physical environments in which they operate. In this vein, reflexivity is an important aspect to explore. According to Jafari and Guolding (2013), reflexivity is a learning process in which consumers assess the various cultural aspects of global and local cultures before adopting and integrating them. This integration process illustrates how individuals actively reinterpret global trends within their local contexts, demonstrating the dynamic nature of consumer subjectivity formation. This study extends this understanding by characterising the reflexive experiences among local consumers in their formation of the modern consumer subject, which can take two forms: unification and fragmentation. Unification refers to the process by which global and local influences combine to form a cohesive identity, whereas fragmentation emphasises the diverse and sometimes conflicting elements that people use to construct their self-identity. This duality highlights the complexities of consumer subjectivity, in which individuals must balance multiple influences to create a sense of self that is both distinct and contextually relevant.

Firstly, regarding subjectivity though the unification mechanisms (Giddens 1991), DVC presents consumers with a plethora of choices that may appear trivial, but for Jilbab girls, making small decisions about what to wear and how to dress up over the years of engagement offers little guidance as to which options should be selected. However, these mediations and encounters do not only lead to transformations between Jilbab girls, whose basic social relationships remain intact. Chapter 6 has examined how daily routines within the local community influence the formation of good Muslim (social) subjects. Moving on to Chapter 7, it becomes apparent that Jilbab girls experience an unstable sense of security, expressing feelings of apprehension and shame when encountering taboo, stigmatised practices, unfamiliar situations, and consumption practices. These tensions mainly arise from their concerns about adhering to Islamic principles in their fashion choices. The re-embedding mechanism demonstrates how Jilbab girls filter out the

DVC experience to adapt it to the local context by evaluating the compatibility of global modern fashion choices with Islamic ethics and Muslim cultural norms. Throughout this process, they reflect on the complex and multifaceted nature of their identity and the challenges they face in constructing a sense of self that is both individual and socially acceptable. The findings showed how Jilbab girls navigate the tensions between their Islamic faith and local cultural practices, highlighting the challenges they face in constructing and maintaining their identity while simultaneously adhering to social norms and expectations.

In this regard, it's crucial to see these changes are not solely the result of DVC but also have an impact on Jilbab girls' everyday experiences and practices within their material culture. This idea is emphasised by DVC theorists (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013). The development of a modern consumer subject should focus on the ability of consumers to effectively engage with commercial processes within society (Ekstrom 2006). This requires an understanding of the complex relationships, interests, commodities, knowledge, and skills involved, as well as the challenges and limitations that individuals and society face (Thompson and Hirschman 1995). Therefore, it is crucial to investigate how consumers across different cultures understand and adhere to consuming ideologies and norms, which may differ or overlap. Individual and cultural factors both play a significant role in shaping consumer behaviour (Ekstrom 2010).

Secondly, the subjectivity through the fragmentation mechanism is highlighted in the findings. DVC girl games familiarise Jilbab girls with new practices and establish new comfort, shifting them away from previously embedded insecurities in global fashion and dress-up practices. As discussed in chapters seven and eight, Jilbab girls are inclined to fashion styles, body appearance, and taste. Aesthetic competence also influences their daily lives in the real world, as some girls worry about matching the colours of their clothes and jilbab and become concerned when they see others mismatching colours or cosmetics. This illustrates how aesthetic appearances are related to social distinction (Arsel and Bean 2012). The transformative potential of DVC lies not only in reestablishing ontological security but also in the experiential aspects that establish a "reassurance of the familiar" (Giddens, 1991). As a result, the "new" propriety is an expression of a global standard that is integrated into local dress-up routines rather than being an organic development within them. Referring to Giddens (p. 48), subjectivity derives from an individual's capacity to expand their range of mediated experiences and become familiar with the properties of objects and events outside their local context. The findings show how the new appropriate standards of global fashion consumption are recontextualized, regimented, and routinized through DVC and integrated into personal experiences among Jilbab girls. This integration leads to improved pleasures and desires, which further stabilises ontological security.

217

Through the process of mediation, the girls are developing an enhanced sense of agency. They are not passive recipients of these diverse influences; instead, they actively reinterpret and reconstruct them to suit their unique context and needs. As they grapple with the compatibility of these global consumer practices with their local culture, they engage in a process of reembedding. This process involves reintegrating these new practices into their local contexts while maintaining a sense of connection and consistency with their cultural and religious values. Moreover, this process highlights the dynamism of their consumer identities, which are constantly being shaped and reshaped through their interactions with both global and local influences. External referentiality, which traditionally served as the primary guide for determining appropriateness and maintaining ontological stability, is no longer the only anchor. Instead, the girls are developing their own individualised referentialities based on their mediated experiences. This shift reflects the increased subjectivity and sense of agency among the Jilbab girls, demonstrating the complexities and nuances of consumer culture in contemporary traditional Muslim society in Indonesia.

9.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter reflects on the findings of the study, examining their theoretical significance in relation to the mediation process of modern consumer subject formation. This thesis introduces the concept of digital virtual mediation (DVM) to elucidate the process of mediation through digital virtual consumption (DVC). The mediation of modern subject formation transpires through a series of four distinct, yet interconnected, processes: embeddedness, the disembedding mechanism, DVC practices, and the reembedding mechanism. These processes comprise diverse practices and are grounded in ontological securities that facilitate the formation of the modern consumer subject. Secondly, this thesis delves into the experiences of DVC practices among Jilbab girls. It underscores how the dialectic between the global and local surfaces as consumers participate in DVC practices. This exploration aspires to augment our understanding of the interplay between local and global contexts, as well as the material and digital virtual dimensions of consumer experiences within the realm of DVC. This domain remains largely underexplored in existing literature.

Thirdly, this thesis scrutinises the transformative potential of DVC in mediating the formation of the modern consumer subject. It investigates how DVC enables the routinization of modern consumer subjectivity and the sequestration of experiences. Through examining these elements, the thesis illuminates the role of DVC in shaping the formation of the modern consumer subject. Lastly, this thesis provides empirical evidence supporting the formation of modern consumer subjectivity through engagement with DVM. This analysis presents a distinct departure from prior studies of the formation of modern consumer subjects, and in conceptualising DVC as a mediation process that is embedded within a situated context, it acknowledges the significance of cultural routines and ontological security in the dialectic and highlights the ways in which the dialectic of global and local shapes and is being shaped by experience. This thesis demonstrates how a mediation perspective that incorporates Giddens' theoretical sensibilities can improve our comprehension of DVC. This could provide a fruitful lens for consumer researchers, offering new ways to examine and understand the complexities and nuances of consumer practices and experiences in digital culture.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

The objective of this thesis was to illuminate how digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games mediates the evolution of Jilbab girls into modern consumer subjects. My argument hinges on the integration of Giddens's theory of self-identity and modernity, and the mediation of experience (Giddens 1991a, 1991b, 2004, Tomlinson 1994), with Denegri-Knott and Molesworth's theory of digital virtual consumption (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010, 2013c, 2013d, Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2012, 2015). This blended framework serves as a lens through which to understand the experiences of Jilbab girls as they engage with the global consumer culture mediated by girl games. It also addresses the gaps in consumer research related to 1) the mediation of modern consumer subject formation, 2) the interplay between global and local influences in digital culture, and 3) the transformative potential of digital virtual consumption.

In order to answer the study's research questions, this research employed a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, which illuminates the experiential aspects of consumer practices within a specific sociohistorical context, aspects that have been absent in prior studies of DVC. This approach was used to interpret the lived experiences of thirty Jilbab girls aged eight to 13 over a two-year period, drawing upon multiple in-depth interviews and visual narrative methods. This thesis presents three distinct theoretical contributions to our understanding of DVC and the mediation of consumer subject formation in the field of consumer research. By reflecting on these observations, this thesis enhances our comprehension of the mediation process of consumer subject formation in digital virtual culture, and the dialectic between global and local in digital virtual culture. In conclusion, I summarize the theoretical contributions that this research offers to the field of consumer research, critically consider the limitations of the present study, and discuss the opportunities it presents for further research.

10.1. Theoretical Contributions

By synthesizing essential tenets from theories of modernity, self-identity, mediation of experience, and digital virtual consumption (DVC), this study bridges gaps present in the current literature. In the process, it provides notable theoretical contributions to consumer research:

Firstly, this thesis introduces the concept of digital virtual mediation (DVM) to elucidate the dynamic process of consumer subject formation through digital virtual consumption (DVC). Scholars in Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) have long noted that mediation processes can carry substantial cultural significance (McCracken 1988), shape consumer perceptions (Thompson 2004), prompt the socialisation of desires (Belk et al. 2003), and facilitate virtual cultural learning (Jafari and Goulding 2013). This thesis builds on these insights by highlighting the pivotal role of DVM in the formation of modern consumer subjects. By conceptualising DVM as a dynamic process, this thesis provides a theoretical framework for examining the various practices that take place within digital virtual spaces (Kozinets 2018). These practices are not only diverse but are also deeply rooted in individuals' ontological securities (Giddens 1991, Phipps and Ozanne 2017), which serve as the foundation for the formation of modern consumer subjectivity. The mediation process unfolds through four interconnected stages: embeddedness, the disembedding mechanism, DVC practices, and the reembedding mechanism. These stages are anchored in ontological securities, offering consumers a sense of stability and coherence as they navigate the complex landscape of digital and material consumption. Furthermore, this study expands the existing conceptualisation of DVC practices by introducing the concepts of regimentation, routinisation, and recontextualisation. These elements supplement the previously recognised components of experimentation, actualisation, and stimulation (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010b), providing a more comprehensive and nuanced framework for analysing DVC. By doing so, this research deepens our understanding of the processes and practices involved in digital virtual consumption, particularly in the context of modern consumer subject formation.

Furthermore, digital virtual mediation (DVM) helps us understand how digital platforms, such as girl games, mediate global consumer culture in ways that differ from traditional material consumption. This is especially critical in a world where digital interactions increasingly shape consumers' identities and behaviours (Cochoy et al. 2017, Dey et al. 2020). By focusing on how digital virtual practices facilitate the dialectic between global and local, this thesis extends the current literature beyond the conventional focus on material culture to explore the potential of global media in mediating cultural globalisation (Nilan et al. 2011a, Jafari and Goulding 2013, Nisa 2013, Mathur 2015). In particular, DVM illuminates how digital virtual spaces enable individuals to engage with global consumer culture, experiment with consumption practices and identities, and reconfigure their relationship to both global and local cultural norms through

221

disembedding and reembedding mechanisms (Thompson 2005). It highlights the role of digital virtual consumption as an active mediator in the process of cultural globalisation, where the flow of global ideas and values is not merely observed or imitated (Nilan et al. 2011a, Jafari and Goulding 2013), but is experimented with, actualised, recontextualised, regimented, and routinised alongside daily routines in material culture. The findings underscore that modern consumer subjectivity is not a static construct (Eckhardt and Mahi 2004), but is continuously shaped by the interplay between digital virtual consumption practices, everyday material life, and sociohistorical context. This dynamic interaction creates intricate patterns of consumer experience that are embedded in both the virtual and material realms.

Secondly, this thesis presents a nuanced understanding of how the dialectic between global and local emerges in digital virtual spaces. This exploration broadens our grasp of the complex interactions between local and global contexts (Ger et al. 2018, Sharifonnasabi et al. 2019, Steenkamp 2019) and the interplay between material and digital virtual aspects of consumer experiences within digital virtual consumption (DVC) (Rebecca and Jonathan 2011, Lehdonvirta 2012, Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2012b). While these dimensions have been overlooked in existing literature, this thesis seeks to address that gap. By investigating how the global-local dialectic unfolds in DVC, the study revisits and challenges earlier conceptualisations of DVC, which often portray it as a space that offers unlimited freedom of experience (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013). Contrary to these perspectives, this research demonstrates that digital virtual spaces are not entirely detached from local cultural contexts or moral constraints. Instead, the findings reveal that local cultural values, moral frameworks, and standards of consumption appropriateness continue to play a pivotal role in shaping DVC practices and experiences. By highlighting the intertwining of moral and cultural standards of consumption across both material and digital virtual spaces (Maguadda 2012, Myers 2012), this study underscores that digital spaces are not space of unlimited freedom (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012), unconstrained by geographical or physical boundaries (Ger et al. 2018). The research enriches the existing body of consumer research by showing that while globalisation influences digital consumption, local cultural and moral values remain deeply influential in determining how individuals engage with global consumer culture. Thus, in moving beyond the traditional focus on the impact of global consumer culture, this thesis adopts a more nuanced perspective. It aligns with recent scholarly discourse (Kozinets 2018, Giesler 2012, Parmentier and Fischer 2015, Woermann and Kirschner 2015), which argues that the interplay between digital technology and everyday life is not isolated but is intricately shaped by the sociohistorical conditions that influence both. This perspective provides a more comprehensive and multifaceted view of how cultural experiences—and, by extension, consumer culture—are shaped in today's digital age (Lehdonvirta 2012, Kozinets 2019, Cochoy et al. 2020).

Thirdly, this thesis provides new insights into the transformative potential of digital virtual consumption (DVC) in shaping consumer subjectivity by exploring the psychological shifts that occur through routine engagement with DVC practices. It highlights the micro-changes in ontological security that arise as consumers regularly interact with digital virtual spaces. Previously, DVC's transformative potential was primarily linked to reflexive consumer experiences, where individuals experimented freely with various consumer roles and practices (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013). However, this study shows that DVC, especially in the context of girl games, has a deeper transformative effect by facilitating the sequestration of experiences (Giddens 1991). In these digital virtual spaces, consumers are psychologically disembedded from the moral and cultural constraints of their everyday lives, allowing them to explore new identities and desires that might be restricted by local norms (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2010, 2012). This disembedding process enables a unique form of engagement with global consumer culture, where users can adopt new consumption practices, experiment with global trends, and express desires in ways that feel more liberated and boundaryless compared to traditional, material contexts. Moreover, DVC plays a crucial role in the routinisation of modern subjectivity. Through repeated interactions with global consumer culture in digital spaces, users begin to develop and internalise new forms of subjectivity that reflect modern, globalised identities. These virtual practices contribute to the re-establishment of new ontological securities (Giddens 1991, Phipps and Ozanne 2017)—the internal sense of stability and coherence that defines one's identity as a modern consumer. By continually engaging with DVC, individuals shape a sense of self that is more flexible and aligned with global modernity, even as they remain connected to their local cultural frameworks.

Fourthly, this thesis brings forth empirical evidence supporting the formation of modern consumer subjectivity through engagement with digital virtual mediation (DVM). This analysis presents a distinct departure from previous studies of the formation of modern consumer subjects (Eckhardt and Mahi 2004, Black 2009, Karababa and Ger 2011, Chessel and Dubuisson-Quellier 2018). Studies focusing on the formation of consumer subjects have typically examined the dynamic role of market and social institutions, yet little account for the role of new media, particularly girl games. This is a noteworthy limitation, given research stating that digital media has emerged as a key conduit of global consumer culture (Kozinet 2018). By explication the mediation process in the formation of modern consumer subject, this thesis sheds light on the intricate ways the mediation of global and local dialectic shapes modern subjectivities presents new perspectives on consumer subject formation in the CCT literature. This lens provides novel way to examine and comprehend the complexities and nuances of consumer practices and experiences in digital culture.

Lastly, a key contribution of this study is its demonstration of how digital virtual consumption (DVC) facilitates the formation of the modern Javanese Muslim consumer subject. Specifically, the study explains how this formation occurs through a shift in individuals' ontological security (Giddens 1991), which results from their routine engagement with global consumer experiences. For Jilbab girls, continuous interaction with DVC can transform their sense of security, moving it from being anchored in traditional, local sources of stability to becoming more internally referential and aligned with modern values. Through their participation in DVC, Javanese Muslim girls experience a transformation in their sense of self, where their identity as consumers is no longer solely tied to local cultural norms but is increasingly shaped by global consumption practices and the modern values associated with them. The findings highlight an increased sense of agency as they engage with, make meaning from, and reflect on their consumption choices within the dialectic of global and local influences (Eckhardt and Mahi 2014). For these Jilbab girls, girl games provide a platform to navigate global consumer culture while simultaneously negotiating their local cultural and religious values. This heightened agency allows them to actively construct and reconstruct their identities as modern consumers, blending global and local elements in ways that are both meaningful and reflective of their unique cultural contexts. The study demonstrates how this negotiation of identity enables Jilbab girls to balance the pressures of globalisation with the traditions of their local communities, ultimately reshaping their subjectivity as modern consumers (Eckhardt and Mahi 2014).

These findings address the need for integrating sociohistorical analysis into the study of digital virtual consumption (DVC) (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012). By doing so, this research extends the existing DVC literature, which has predominantly focused on the experiences of modern consumers in Western contexts, particularly the UK and US (Molesworth and Denegri-Knott 2007, 2008, Denegri-Knott and Zwick 2011, Magaudda 2012, Molesworth 2012, Ross 2012, Drenten and Tuncay Zayer 2018). The study provides rich descriptions of DVC experiences among consumers in non-Western settings, specifically within a traditional Muslim society. By examining consumer experiences in non-Western contexts, this research offers valuable insights into the cultural nuances and complex dynamics that shape these practices. This contributes to a more nuanced understanding of consumer culture across different social and cultural contexts. In essence, this research bridges a gap in contemporary studies by focusing on the experiences of young female consumers from non-Western backgrounds (Maqsood 2004, Husein et al. 2019). It contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of how consumption practices shape both societies and individuals (Ger 2017, Ger et al. 2018). By doing so, the study expands the scope of global consumer culture theory, acknowledging the diverse range of consumer experiences across different cultural landscapes.

The engagement of Jilbab girls with girl games raises important questions about the nature of their influence on shaping modern consumer subjectivity. While these games provide a platform for creative expression, exploration of global trends, and experimentation with identity, there are several critical issues regarding their impact on identity formation. One of the main critiques of girl games is their tendency to reinforce stereotypical gender roles and consumerist ideologies (Cumming 2017, Tsaliki 2016, Reijmersdal 2013). These games often focus heavily on fashion, beauty, and appearance, which can narrow the scope of identity formation for Jilbab girls. Rather than encouraging diverse expressions of agency or creativity, girl games typically channel empowerment through the lens of consumption—where identity and self-worth are tied to how well one can dress up, shop, and curate an avatar's appearance. This reinforces the idea that femininity is equated with outward appearance and that consumerism is the primary means to self-expression (Cumming 2017, Marsh 2010). For Jilbab girls, this can create a tension between the traditional cultural and religious values they are raised with—values that often emphasise modesty, humility, and community-oriented ethics—and the global consumer culture promoted in these games. While the games may offer a temporary sense of freedom, they may inadvertently push Western ideals of beauty and individualism, encouraging conformity to global consumption practices over local values.

Furthermore, the cultural content embedded in girl games, which often promotes Western fashion and lifestyle ideals (Willet 2008, Tsaliki 2016), can create a cultural dissonance for Jilbab girls. These games might encourage the exploration of global consumer culture, but they may also result in identity fragmentation (Giddens 1991) as the girls navigate conflicting messages between their virtual experiences and their everyday lives, which are shaped by Islamic teachings and local traditions. For instance, while playing these games, Jilbab girls may be encouraged to adopt fashion choices or consumer behaviours that conflict with Islamic values of modesty and ethical consumption. This tension can lead to feelings of confusion or insecurity about their identity (Nilan 2012), as they struggle to reconcile the norms promoted by the game with the cultural and religious expectations of their local communities. In some cases, this could lead to psychological stress as they attempt to align their digital experiences with their real-world values and beliefs. Besides, the disembedding process that occurs in digital spaces (Giddens 1991) may enable girls to experiment with identities free from immediate local cultural constraints, but it can also lead to reembedding in a way that is detached from local traditions. This shift toward a globalised identity may challenge the cultural and moral integrity that many traditional Muslim communities seek to preserve (Tan 2014, Muelder 1991), as these games encourage girls to embrace values that may align with western culture.

10.2. Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

This thesis aimed to specifically investigate the mediation of consumer subject formation through digital virtual consumption (DVC) in girl games, rather than providing an exhaustive documentation of the broader cultural mediation process across various DVC platforms or other consumer experiences. One key limitation is that the study predominantly examines DVC through the lens of girl games and their impact on identity formation. While this focus is insightful, DVC encompasses a wide range of digital practices beyond gaming, such as social media, online shopping, and virtual communities (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2013). The emphasis on one form of DVC may overlook the broader implications of digital consumption in other domains, which could provide additional dimensions to consumer identity formation. Furthermore, this study explores the experiences of DVC practices and their impact on consumer subjectivity at a specific moment in time. However, digital consumption patterns and technologies evolve rapidly. As new platforms, technologies, and trends emerge, the findings may not fully reflect the future dynamics of DVC. A longitudinal approach could offer deeper insights into how digital virtual consumption shapes identities over time.

This focused approach opens up promising avenues for future research, expanding our understanding of digital virtual mediation within the context of global consumer culture. Future studies may return to delve into the diverse ways' consumers engage in disembedding and re-embedding mechanisms, and as well explore consumers' experiences of being disembedded from local culture as found through this study. Furthermore, examining how different cultural contexts shape the digital virtual mediation process and exploring a variety of DVC platforms (Denegri-Knott and Molesworth 2012, 2013, Molesworth 2013) would enrich our understanding of DVC's role in global cultural mediations across different settings, contributing to the ongoing scholarly discourse in global consumer research.

Regarding the dialectic of the global and the local, further investigation is needed to comprehensively understand and analyse its impact on consumer experiences. While Giddens' perspective (1991a, 1991b) provides a useful framework, future research may consider alternative theoretical approaches to explore this dialectic interplay in shaping digital consumption practices. Addressing the centre-periphery relationships' influence on global consumer engagement, as suggested by prior studies (Ger and Belk 1996, Ger et al 2018), would be a valuable area for future research, providing insights into how such distinctions impact digital virtual consumption practices in diverse contexts.

Furthermore, while this study focused on adolescent girls, future research should expand its scope to explore other age groups and consumer segments. This includes examining how

digital virtual mediation affects younger children, pre-teens, and even adult women, to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how global consumer culture is mediated across different life stages. Studying a broader demographic will offer insights into how digital virtual consumption evolves over time and how consumer identities are shaped differently depending on age, socio-economic status, and cultural background. Ethical and policy implications surfaced during this research, emphasizing the need for vigilance in addressing the potential darker aspects of digital play, particularly concerning the marketing and design of girl games (Sinker et al 2017, Grimes 2015). These concerns, such as the sexualization of young girls and age-inappropriate content, underscore the importance of public policy and consumer protection agencies developing guidelines and regulations to ensure that young girls are shielded from harmful and inappropriate digital play experiences (Sinker et al 2017). By addressing these ethical and policy considerations, future research can contribute to safer and more responsible digital environments for young consumers.

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234

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PARENT/LEGAL GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM

Project Title   : Digital Virtual Consumption Practices and Commercial Enculturation among Jilbab Girls

Researcher   : Nurist Surayya Ulfa
PhD Media and Communication, Bournemouth University
Email. nulfa@bournemouth.ac.uk or nurist.surayya@undip.ac.id

Supervisor   : Dr. Janice Denegri-Knott
Head of Promotional Cultures and Communication Centre Research Group
Bournemouth University
Email. JDKnott@bournemouth.ac.uk

You are making a decision about allowing your child to participate in this study. Your signature below indicates that you are 18 years or older and have read the information provided in the participant information sheet and have decided to allow them to participate in the study. If you later decide that you wish to withdraw your permission for your child to participate in the study, you may discontinue his or her participation at any time. You will be given a copy of this document.

Statement	Please Initial or Tick Here
I have read and understood the participant information sheet for my child's participation in the above research project.	
I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that my child's participation is voluntary.	
I understand that my child is free to withdraw up to the point where the data are processed and become anonymous, so my child's identity cannot be determined.	
During the task observed and interview, my child is free to withdraw without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences.	
Should my child not wish to answer any particular question(s), complete the task or the interview, she is free to decline.	
I give permission for members of the research team to use my child's identifiable information for the purposes of this research project.	
I agree and give permission for my child to be featured in any audio recordings and photograph taken during the project.	
I agree my child to take part in the above research project.	

_____

Name of Child

_____ _____ _____
Name of Parent/ Legal Guardian   Date   Signature

_____ _____ _____
Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

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Bournemouth, United Kingdom
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LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN ORANG TUA/WALI

Judul Penelitian	:	Digital Virtual Consumption Practices and Commercial Enculturation among Muslim Children
Peneliti	:	Nurist Surayya Ulfa PhD Media and Communication, Bournemouth University Email. nulfa@bournemouth.ac.uk atau nurist.surayya@undip.ac.id
Pembimbing	:	Dr. Janice Denegri-Knott Head of Promotional and Corporate Communication Culture Research Group Bournemouth University Email. JDKnott@bournemouth.ac.uk

Pernyataan	Centang / Tandai
Saya telah membaca dan memahami lembar informasi partisipan untuk keikutsertaan anak saya dalam penelitian ini	
Saya setuju bahwa saya selalu diberikan kesempatan untuk mengajukan beberapa pertanyaan	
Saya menerima bahwa partisipasi anak saya dalam riset ini bersifat sukarela, tanpa adanya paksaan apapun. .	
Saya mengerti bahwa anak saya bebas untuk mengundurkan diri dari keikutsertaannya dalam penelitian ini meskipun telah sampai pada proses analisis data, begitu juga bahwa partisipasi anak saya bersifat anonim, sehingga identitasnya tetap terjaga.	
Dalam proses penelitian dan wawancara, anak saya bebas untuk mengundurkan diri tanpa harus memberikan alasan dan tanpa menimbulkan resiko negatif apapun.	
Jika anak saya tidak ingin menjawab pertanyaan tertentu, menyelesaikan tugas maupun wawancara, dia bebas menolak.	
Saya memberi ijin kepada anggota tim penelitian untuk menggunakan data anak saya demi kepentingan penelitian ini.	
Saya setuju dan memberi ijin kepada anak saya untuk direkam dalam bentuk audio maupun foto demi kepentingan penelitian ini.	
Saya setuju dan memberi ijin kepada peneliti untuk melakukan beberapa sesi wawancara dan observasi kepada anak saya.	
Saya setuju dan memberi ijin kepada anak saya, untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini	

_____
Nama Anak

_____   _____   _____
Name Orang Tua/ Wali   Tanggal   Tanda Tangan

_____   _____   _____
Name Peneliti   Tanggal   Tanda Tangan

Bournemouth University
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Bournemouth
BH12 5BB

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND ASSENT FORM

Digital Virtual Consumption Practices and Commercial Enculturation among Jilbab Girls

Would you like to take part in a study where I would ask you about your experience of playing girl games (dress up; make over; cooking, shopping games)? Let me tell you a bit more about it before you decide. Is this OK?

What is the study all about?

I hope to find out more about how Muslim girls wearing Jilbab engage with girl games. So, I would like to chat to you and ask you about the games you play and how you feel about them. To better understand your experiences, I also need to know about yourself and your daily life, your favorite things and hobbies and what you may like to do in the future.

Why am I asking you to take part?

Because I am interested in what Jilbab girls like you like about girl games and how they learn about things to want by playing them, I thought it would be good to ask you if you would like to take part.

What will happen if I take part?

If you are happy to do this, I will come and visit you at home. I am asking permission from your parents too. We will talk about the girl games you play and what you like about them. I will need to come to your place twice. First visit, I need to get to know to, what you like, what you do every day, like going to school, being with friends and shopping. The second time I visit you, I will be asking you more about your experiences playing girl games, what you like about them and what you learn from them. I will also ask you to show me how you play and tell me about the avatars you play with.

Will our discussions be kept private?

Yes. We have to follow strict ethical and legal rules and they say we have to keep everything anonymous and confidential. [the researcher will explain about anonymization and confidentiality for this research]. I don't think that any big problems or any particular risks will happen to you as part of this study. I will keep all your answers private and will not show them to anyone. Only people from Bournemouth University working on the study will see them.

Do I have to take part?

Now the important bit. It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, that is just fine – it's not a problem. If you decide you to take part and then later think that you wish you hadn't agreed and would prefer to stop, you just tell me, and I would stop. Of course, I hope you would enjoy talking to me about your experiences.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Why am I doing this research? Well, I hope to find out more about Muslim girls' practices and learning through girl games and I will be using the information from chatting to you and observing you to think in more detail about future research on this topic.

Who has reviewed the study?

As I have mentioned before, I must ensure that I follow a set of rules for researchers and a committee - called the Research Ethics Committee – has already checked what I am doing to make sure I only do the right thing and to ensure that you only take part if you want to.

You should know that:
- You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. You won't get into any trouble with anyone if you say no.
- During the task observed and interview, you are free to withdraw without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences.
- Should you not wish to answer any particular question(s), complete the task or the interview, you are free to decline.
- Your parent(s)/guardian(s) were asked if it is OK for you to be in this study. Even if they say it's OK, it is still your choice whether or not to take part.
- You can ask any questions you have, now or later. If you think of a question later, you or your parents can contact me at *nulfa@bournemouth.ac.uk*.

I need you to sign this form only if you:

Statement	Please Initial or Tick Here
I have understood what you will be doing for this study.	
I understand that I can ask questions during the research or later.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary.	
I have talked to my parent(s)/legal guardian about this project	
I understand that I am free to withdraw at any stages of the research without giving reason and without there being any negative consequences	
I understand that I am free declining to answer any particular question(s), complete the task or the interview.	
I give permission for members of the research team to use my information for the purposes of this research project.	
I agree to be featured in any audio recordings taken during the project.	
I agree to take part in the above research project.	

_____

Your Signature   Name   Date

_____

Name of Parent(s) or Legal Guardian(s)

_____

Researcher Signature   Name   Date

INFORMATION SHEET
(Untuk Orang tua/Wali)

**Digital Virtual Consumption Practices and
Commercial Enculturation among Muslim Children**

Putri Anda diundang untuk berpartisipasi dalam sebuah projek penelitian. Disini saya meminta ijin kepada Anda, agar putri Anda boleh mengikuti penelitian ini. Sebelum Anda memutuskan, saya ingin menyampaikan beberapa hal penting terkait penelitian ini dan apa yang terjadi jika Anda mengijinkan Putri Anda untuk bergabung.

Mohon berkenan untuk membaca *information sheet* berikut ini. Anda juga bisa mendiskusikan hal hal dalam *information sheet* ini dengan orang lain, jika diperlukan. Jika Anda memiliki beberapa pertanyaan atau hal yang ingin didiskusikan, Anda bisa menghubungi Saya.

Penelitian ini dilakukan oleh Nurist Surayya Ulfa, peneliti dari Bournemouth University, Inggris.

Penelitian ini tentang apa?

Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui bagaimana pengalaman anak-anak perempuan Muslim yang memakai jilbab dalam berinteraksi dengan video game. Jadi, saya akan mengamati putri Anda bermain game, melakukan wawancara dan menanyakan apa yang dia lakukan, pikirkan dan rasakan ketika bermain video games. Untuk bisa memahami pengalaman anak-anak secara lebih baik, saya juga akan menanyakan informasi tentang aktifitas keseharian Putri Anda, juga pengetahuan dan pengalamannya tentang aktifitas keseharian lainnya.

Mengapa putri saya dipilih?

Kami merekrut anak-anak perempuan Muslim usia 11-13 tahun yang biasa memakai Jilbab dalam kesehariannya. Putri Anda diundang untuk bergabung karena Putri Anda memenuhi kriteria partisipan penelitian ini. Untuk kepentingan penelitian ini, Putri Anda akan diobservasi terkait bagaimana Putri Anda bermain game. Anda akan dimintai ijin apakah Putri Anda boleh mempraktekkan gamenya pada waktu yang telah disepakati untuk observasi, atau observasi akan dilakukan menyesuaikan jadwal yang Anda setujui.

Apakah putri saya harus berpartisipasi?

Sepenuhnya terserah Anda apakah Anda mengijinkan Putri Anda berpartisipasi dalam riset ini. *Information sheet* ini memberikan informasi agar Anda bisa mengambil keputusan terkait keterlibatan Putri Anda. Jika Anda mengijinkan putri Anda bergabung, maka Anda akan diminta untuk menandatangani lembar *consent form*. Putri Anda juga akan ditanya apakah dia bersedia

untuk berpartisipasi. Dia bisa memutuskan apakah bersedia atau tidak untuk mengikuti penelitian tanpa memberikan alasan apapun. Jika dia bersedia,dia akan diminta membaca lembar serupa ini dan menandatangani lembar kesediaan berpartisipasi (*assent form*)

Dalam prosesnya nanti, Anda masih bisa menyuruh Putri Anda untuk menarik diri dari penelitian ini kapan saja, tanpa harus memberikan alasan dan tanpa adanya konsekuensi apapun. Meskipun demikian, kami berharap putri Anda bersedia mengikuti seluruh proses penelitian sampai selesai.

Apa yang terjadi jika saya ikut penelitian ini?

Partisipasi dalam penelitian ini meliputi wawancara dan observasi. Wawancara akan dilakukan dalam dua tahap dan masing masing tahapan akan membutuhkan waktu kurang lebih dua jam. Wawancara akan dilakukan secara informal dan jadwal interview akan disesuaikan dengan jadwal dan waktu yang memungkinkan bagi Putri Anda.

Tahap pertama wawancara akan mendiskusikan keseharian putri Anda untuk memberikan konteks yang memudahkan pemahaman tenrhadap aktifitas bermain game. Interview tahap ini juga akan membahas pengalaman membeli barang barang/belanja dan pengalaman mempraktekkan Islam dalam kehidupan sehari hari. Wawancara tahap kedua akan mendiskusikan pengalaman bermain video game, apa yang anak Putri pikirkan dan rasakan ketika bermain video games, apa yang mereka pelajari dan hal hal apa yang mereka sukai dari game. Peneliti juga akan melakukan observasi ketika putri Anda bermain video games, dan sekaligus juga bertanya tentang aktifitas yang dilakukan dalam gamenya.

Apa keuntungan dan resiko saya mengikuti penelitian ini?

Penelitian ini berarti penting bagi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan, terutama terkait dengan perkembangan anak-anak Muslim dalam dunia modern. Penelitian ini secara spesifik akan menunjukkan data terkait praktek penggunaan media oleh anak-anak perempuan Muslim di Indonesia. Informasi yang kamu sampaikan dan observasi yang kami lakukan akan diinterpretasi, untuk kemudian disusun menjadi teori baru yang akan berguna bagi ilmu pengetahuan social di dunia. Teori ini akan sangat membantu semua orang memahami arti penting video game sebagai media pembelajaran dan praktek konsumsi bagi anak-anak perempuan Muslim.

Peneliti tidak melihat adanya resiko atau bahaya untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini. Beberapa anak mungkin akan merasa proses wawancara berlangsung lama. Peneliti akan memberikan waktu jeda atau bisa mengatur proses interview untuk dilakukan dalam beberapa tahapan yang tidak memberatkan bagi anak anak.

Apakah informasi yang saya berikan dijaga kerahasiaannya?

Ya, tentu saja. Kami peneliti harus mengikuti aturan etika dan hukum penelitian yang sudah ditentukan. Kami diharuskan menjaga kerahasiaan atas informasi yang kami peroleh.

Dalam proses penelitian, peneliti butuh untuk merekam proses interview dan mengambil beberapa gambar dari proses permainan yang dimainkan untuk kepentingan proses analisa data. Kami membutuhkan ijin dari Anda selaku orang tua/wali. Data yang kami dapatkan dari proses interview

LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN ORANG TUA/WALI

Judul Penelitian	:	Digital Virtual Consumption Practices and Commercial Enculturation among Muslim Children
Peneliti	:	Nurist Surayya Ulfa PhD Media and Communication, Bournemouth University Email. nulfa@bournemouth.ac.uk atau nurist.surayya@undip.ac.id
Pembimbing	:	Dr. Janice Denegri-Knott Head of Promotional and Corporate Communication Culture Research Group Bournemouth University Email. JDKnott@bournemouth.ac.uk

Pernyataan	Centang / Tandai
Saya telah membaca dan memahami lembar informasi partisipan untuk keikutsertaan anak saya dalam penelitian ini	
Saya setuju bahwa saya selalu diberikan kesempatan untuk mengajukan beberapa pertanyaan	
Saya menerima bahwa partisipasi anak saya dalam riset ini bersifat sukarela, tanpa adanya paksaan apapun. .	
Saya mengerti bahwa anak saya bebas untuk mengundurkan diri dari keikutsertaannya dalam penelitian ini meskipun telah sampai pada proses analisis data, begitu juga bahwa partisipasi anak saya bersifat anonim, sehingga identitasnya tetap terjaga.	
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Saya memberi ijin kepada anggota tim penelitian untuk menggunakan data anak saya demi kepentingan penelitian ini.	
Saya setuju dan memberi ijin kepada anak saya untuk direkam dalam bentuk audio maupun foto demi kepentingan penelitian ini.	
Saya setuju dan memberi ijin kepada peneliti untuk melakukan beberapa sesi wawancara dan observasi kepada anak saya.	
Saya setuju dan memberi ijin kepada anak saya, untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini	

_____

Nama Anak

_____ _____ _____

Name Orang Tua/ Wali   Tanggal   Tanda Tangan

_____ _____ _____

Name Peneliti   Tanggal   Tanda Tangan

Bournemouth University
Talbot Campus
Bournemouth
BH12 5BB

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Project Title : Digital Virtual Consumption Practices and Commercial Enculturation
among Jilbab Girls
Researcher : Nurist Surayya Ulfa (nulfa@bournemouth.ac.uk)

In keeping with phenomenological interview techniques, these questions are designed to be a dialogue in an open-ended manner.

First Interview

1. General background information about the participants their hometowns, their schools, peers, hobbies, personal interests.
   a. Tell me about yourself
   b. Tell me about your hobbies and things that interest you
   c. Tell me about your future pursuance
   d. Tell me about your media routines
   e. Tell me about your peers
   f. Tell me about your school
   g. Tell about your family
   h. Tell me about your neighbourhood
   i. Tell me about the city you lived in
   j. Tell me about religious events and practices in your surroundings

2. Understanding, experiences and feelings about Jilbab and Muslim clothing (*busana* Muslim)
   a. Tell me about your Jilbab, how long have you worn it?
   b. How you start wearing Jilbab?
   c. Do your family wear Jilbab?
   d. Do your friends wear Jilbab?
   e. Tell me how do you wear Jilbab everyday?
   f. What about if you're not wearing Jilbab?
   g. Tell me how to wear Jilbab appropriately?
   h. How do you learn to wear Jilbab appropriately?
   i. What about not wearing Jilbab appropriately? Do you have experience about it? Tell me.
   j. Is it possible for you not to wear Jilbab someday? How and why?
   k. Have you learnt anything about Islamic rules in clothing? Can you tell me?
   l. How did you learn those rules?
   m. Tell me your experience about practicing it?
   n. How do you feel about practicing them?

3. Consumption practices, shopping experiences, understanding about clothing, fashion and trends, past and future orientated admiration and wanting.
   a. Have you ever experienced about buying stuffs?

b. What stuffs you usually buy by yourself?
c. How did you learned about buying anything?
d. Do you manage your allowance money? Tell me your experience
e. Can you tell me your experiences to buy things?
f. What about your dress, school bags or shoes, how did you have it?
g. Have you ever experienced about buying your own dress or school attires?
   - If yes, what are your considerations when buying dress or school attires?
   - If no, did you manage to tell your parent your preferences on dress or other things for you?
h. Do you like a particular style or model of clothes for you? How and why?
i. How did you get to know styles of clothes and the trend of fashion?
j. What influence you on the styles you like? How and why?
k. Can you always get the stuffs suits to your preferences/styles? How and why?
l. Do you wish to have a particular fashion style when you're older? How and why?
m. Do you have clothes, shoes or other that you really wanted?
   - If yes, do you often think about it? Tell me your experience.

Second Interview

1. Experiences and emotional reactions playing girl games
   a. Tell me your experience playing girl games? How long have you been engaging with these games? How you usually access and download the games?
   b. What are your favourite girl games?
   c. When and how long you usually play it?
   d. What games you recently play the most?
   e. How do you feel engaging with girl games?
   f. Do your parent and friend know about the game you play? Did you talk to them about it?

2. Perception and how they relate to avatar
   a. How do you choose avatar in or model in your games?
   b. Do you like your avatar? How and why?
   c. How is it similar or different to yourself?
   d. How do you customize your avatar?
   e. Your avatar appearance, is it something suits you or expressing your preference? Tell me about your experience.
   f. Can you give an ugly appearance to your avatar? How and why?
   g. How do you feel about your avatar?

3. Goals and in-game accomplishments
   a. What do you like the most of playing girl games?
   b. What do you think about the score or the number of stars in playing games?
   c. How it influences the way you play?
   d. What do you want to accomplish in playing the game?
   e. How do you feel about your accomplishments in playing it?

4. Literacy of Consumption
   a. In your games, how do you buy something? How and why?
   b. In your games, how do you manage virtual money? How and why?

c. Do you think the games simulate everyday consumption practices? How and why?

d. What about the fashion, how is it similar and difference to your everyday practices? How and why?

e. Do you think the games similar or different with consumption in everyday life? How and why?

f. What buying activities and product in girl games that are not available here in Demak? What do you think about it? Do you learn anything from doing it in girl games?

5. Actualization and stimulation related to DVC practices

a. Are there any activities and model avatar that actualise the things you like in reality? What, how and why?

b. Are there any particular activities that you like as you engage with the games? How and why?

c. Are there any particular models' avatar that you admire as you engage with the games? How and why?

d. Are there any particular fashion styles that you like most as you engage with the games? Do you wish to have it within now or the future? How and why? How do you feel about it?

e. Do playing girl game inspire you about something? What, how and why? How do you feel about it?

f. Do you ever do something in girl game that you wish to do in reality? How do you feel about it? Tell me more.

6. Reflexive Experiences

a. What do you think as a Muslim girl, doing any kind of activities in girl games? How and why?

b. What do you think about wearing these fashion styles in girl game?

c. Do you think it is possible to wear these styles in your everyday practices someday? How and why?

d. Can you wear this kind of model? Why can or why cannot?

e. Do you think your practice in girl games is applicable to your everyday life? How and why?

f. What activities in girl games that you want to do in everyday life? How it influences your admirations and inspirations you derive from girl games?

g. Did playing girl games inspire you about something? What, how and why?

Narrative Methods

(Doing, thinking, and feeling while engaging with DVC in girl games)

a. You put these styles and appearances (in the games) on your avatar model, how and why? (for example: how you choose jeans and jacket, lipstick colour, styles of bags or clutch, etc.)

b. You do these activities (in girl games) with your avatar model, how and why? (for example: how you shop in this store, how you buy discounted items, how you buy expensive dress, how you go to party, etc.)

c. What do you think of having much money and clothes here (in the games)? how do you feel about it?

d. What do you think as you can buy (and do) everything here (in the games)? how do you feel about it?

e. What do you think as you can do shopping a lot here (in the games)? how do you feel about it?

f. Do you wish you can be like this avatar model (in the games) doing these consumption practices in your reality? How and why?

Participant: Haifa (Psedeunym)
Date/Time: 29th August 2018, 8am
Location: Haifa's Living Room
Interview Duration total: hr 5 hours, 20 mins., 7 screenshot design
I = Interviewer, H=Haifa

General Activities and Background

I: What are your daily activities like?

H: In the morning, I leave for school around 6:30; classes start at 7, so there's about 30 minutes to play with friends; morning school ends at 12. Then I go home for lunch, take a short break, and get ready for afternoon school. Afternoon school starts at 1:30 and goes until 4:30. In the morning, we have general subjects, while in the afternoon or in the Arabic school (diniyah), we study Islamic knowledge like theology, jurisprudence, creed, morality, recitation, and others.
       After returning from afternoon school, I play with friends for a while, then get ready to attend the Maghrib prayer at the mosque. After Maghrib prayer, we recite the Quran until Isha prayer. After the congregational Isha prayer at the mosque, I go home, have dinner, take a short rest. After that, I do my homework, and then around 8 pm, I can go to sleep.

I: Is it like that every day?

H: Yes, it's a daily routine like that. It's slightly different on Fridays and Sundays. On Fridays, the school schedule is different. We can leave morning school early because it's a shorter day, and there's no afternoon school. Usually, Fridays are used for working on group assignments. On Sundays, since there's no morning school, we can play with friends in the morning until noon. But we still have to go to afternoon school, so we still have to go to school. But it's okay.

I: Is attending afternoon school mandatory?
H: It is not, but all the children here attend afternoon school. The kids who go to school with me in the morning also attend afternoon school, but they are in different classes. There are many other kids from different elementary schools as well. Some of the students from my elementary school also attend the diniyah school in the neighboring village. But everyone attends afternoon school in addition to morning school.

I: What do you learn in afternoon school?
H: A lot. It's all about Islam. We learn to read and write the Quran, interpretation, laws, hadiths... there's a lot. The diniyah school is similar to the morning school, with classes from one to six. We wear uniforms as well, but the difference is that diniyah has three semesters in a year, and there are exams just like in the morning school, both written and practical exams. Then we can move up to the next grade after the final exams.

I: What about your morning school? Your formal education?
H: It's a public primary school, but all my friends are Muslims. There's no other religion. All the students at the school also wear jilbabs. Even though it's a public school, the teachers and staff also wear Muslim clothing and jilbabs. Before school starts, all the students gather on the field, line up, and recite the Bismillah prayer. Then we go to our classrooms.

Jilbab and Muslim Clothes

I: What about your everyday clothes outside of school?

H: When I'm at home or playing with my neighbors nearby, I don't wear a jilbab, but my clothes are still modest and long. However, when I go to a friend's place to work on school assignments or when I go out with my mother, sister, or other family members, I wear a jilbab.

I: Why do you wear a jilbab and Muslim clothing?

H: At first, I wasn't really fond of wearing a jilbab, but after a while, I got used to it. Since then, I always wear a jilbab when I leave the house. Now, if I don't wear it, it feels like something is missing. I also feel self-conscious when people see me without a jilbab, and I worry about committing sins because my aurat (body parts that should be covered) is exposed. Moreover, now that I'm older and have reached puberty, it is expected of me to wear a jilbab.

I: Does your family at home wear headscarves too?

H: Yes, my mother and older sisters always wear headscarves. My mother wears it all day, except when she sleeps. Titik and Lis started wearing headscarves when they attended a religious boarding school in junior high. They didn't wear headscarves when they were in primary school. Even now, when they are working or studying at university, they never take off their headscarves when they go out or meet guests. So, they always encourage me to wear a jilbab as well.

I: How does it feel for you to wear a jilbab?

H: Initially, when I was younger, it wasn't very comfortable wearing a jilbab. It felt hot and stuffy, and sometimes my hair would come out of the scarf, making it look messy. But over time, I got used to it. Now, I feel comfortable wearing a jilbab, even for the whole day.

I: Throughout the day?

H: Yes, from early morning school, then afternoon school until evening, sometimes while playing with friends, and even during evening religious studies. Although I may change my jilbab, I still wear one throughout the day.

I: What if you wear short clothes when going out?

H: If I'm with my female friends, it's not a problem. But if there are men around, it would make me feel embarrassed, so I would immediately go back home. If I wear short sleeves, I make sure my pants are long and cover below the knees. Those are the clothes I wear at home, including sleepwear. But when going out, I wear long, modest Muslim attire.

I: Do your friends wear jilbabs?

H: Yes, most of my friends of the same age wear jilbabs. Even the younger children are wearing jilbabs now. Sometimes, if someone doesn't wear a jilbab, neighbors might talk about it. That's why, on occasions like birthdays of friends or best friends, I give them a jilbab as a gift.

I: Oh, why is that?

H: Well, I wanted to give something different since birthday gifts are usually books. I wanted to change it up, hehe. Plus, a jilbab is something that can be worn, and besides, my mother can sew one herself, so there's no need to buy, hehehe. There was a time when some friends came over to do homework, and some of them didn't wear jilbabs to come to my

home, because they are just my neighbours here. Suddenly we needed to go a bit far to buy supplies together. So, I told them that I would feel embarrassed to go if someone didn't wear a jilbab. In the end, I lent my jilbabs one by one so that everyone could wear a jilbab.

I: You told your friends to wear a jilbab?
H: Well, it's not right for grown girls to go out and have their aurat exposed. I don't want my friends to be like that. It's embarrassing when they are already grown up. But they themselves also wanted to wear jilbabs. Usually, they already wear jilbabs, so when they asked to borrow mine at that time, it wasn't me telling them.

I: How do you learn about Islamic dress codes?
H: Yes, we've been taught since first grade at schools. At home, my mother, sister, and father often remind me. For example, if something comes up on TV or they discuss someone's attire, we talk about it at home. Basically, as a Muslim, we have to cover our aurat (body parts that should be covered). The *aurat* for men and women are different. For women, it includes the entire body except the hands and face. So, we have to wear Muslim clothing and a long jilbab that covers the chest. We wear long skirts, not pants. That's why in school, girls are not allowed to wear pants, they must wear skirts.

I: Why is that?
H: Well, women shouldn't reveal the shape of their bodies. If they wear pants, their legs are visible. If they wear pants, the top should be long enough to not reveal the curves of their body.

I: Do you normally wear pants?
H: For me, I don't like to wear pants... But I still can wear throusers, as long as the top is long enough to cover the thighs, or I can wear an additional cloth to cover the legs. If I'm going on a long trip, I prefer to wear pants, especially when riding a motorcycle with my sister or mother. It's easier to ride pillion with pants. But not jeans.

I: Why not jeans?
H: Jeans have a certain look and can be seen as immodest. It also resembles men's clothing, which is not considered appropriate.

I: Are there any other dress code rules?
H: We're not allowed to wear nail polish... dye our hair... Even the school is strict about the uniform, they used to check every day... We're not allowed to wear tight shirts or shirts that are transparent, revealing our bras underneath... We're also not allowed to wear short jilbabs... The jilbab should be long enough in the front to properly cover the chest area... The teachers sometimes check our bags as well... students can get punished for carrying lipstick, perfumes, novels, and other items...

I: What if Muslim girls wears tight clothing?
H: many girls do that... they shouldn't neglected the rules.

I: Tell me about Islamic activities in this community?
H: ... the most common activities are attending Maghrib prayers and Quran recitation sessions. Those are the main ones for people my age. As for the mothers and fathers, they have their own study groups. My parents participate in a lot of study sessions. Some are weekly, some are every eighth day, and some are monthly. But there's always some study session

happening every day. There are also separate study groups for young people. Even my sisters, Lis and Titik, participate in study groups, although not as frequently as my mother.

I: Where are these Islamic activities usually held?

H: Well... they can take place in a Mosque or a Musholla. In this neighborhood, there are two Musholla and one mosque in the neighboring village. Besides congregational prayers, there are Quran recitation sessions for children and teenagers in the afternoon and evening. But for me, I study at the house of *Ustadz* (Islamic teacher) because it's closer, right behind our house. And if it's not in the prayer rooms or the mosque, sometimes the study sessions are held at neighbors' houses on a rotating basis. My mother participates in a lot of study sessions, including gatherings, recitations, Yasin readings, commemorations of deaths... many things. So, we have Quran recitation sessions almost every day at different neighbors' houses. Our house also frequently hosts study sessions, hihi.

I: Are these activities regular events here?

H: Yes, especially during Ramadan. The mosque becomes livelier and never empty during the evenings and mornings. From before dawn, the congregation for Fajr prayer, Maghrib, Isha, Taraweeh prayers, and late-night Quran recitation after Taraweeh... wow, the village becomes lively throughout Ramadan, and people are diligent in attending the prayer rooms.

I: Do all the villagers participate in these Islamic activities?

H: I think so. Everyone in this village is Muslim, there are no other religions. Those who don't participate are usually the mothers who are still taking care of babies or teenagers who live in boarding schools or study elsewhere. They have their own busy schedules, so they rarely attend study sessions. As for the men in the village, I'm not sure. But according to my mother, if they don't participate, people will talk about it... hehe.

Clothing consumption

I: How do you usually buy jilbabs?

H: My mother often buys them for me, she chooses the ones that suit me... Actually, my mother usually buys my clothes too... I usually like whatever my mother chooses for me. Besides, I'm not picky or peculiar. So, whatever my mother buys, I'm fine with it.

I: What kind of jilbab style do you like?

H: I prefer practical ones... like the one I'm wearing now, the instant one. I'm a bit afraid to wear the square ones because they might get caught on something.
The most important thing for me is that the jilbab should be long and cover the chest... I don't like wearing short jilbabs. What's the point of wearing a jilbab if your aurat is still visible?

I: Do you buy any other items yourself?

H: Yes... I have bought a few things myself, using the money I saved... Sometimes, my grandfather or grandmother accompanies me to the store, or sometimes I buy together with friends at a clothing store, or I have also bought online.
I have bought long dresses and jilbabs a few times. Using my savings, from setting aside my daily pocket money.

I: Since when do you shop by yourself?

H: Since fifth grade... Usually with friends, sometimes alone. But that's only a few times, most

of the time I shop with my mother. At the clothing store in Demak.

I: Why do you shop by yourself?
H: Well, sometimes it's because I don't want to bother my mother. Sometimes she has already bought something for me, but I want a different style. So I buy it myself.

I: What kind of clothing style do you like?
H: I like shirts... Sometimes I want to wear clothes that make me look a bit more like a teenager. You know, there are so many different styles now... Sometimes I want something a bit different. Different from my friends, that's what I mean.

I: Why do you want to be different?
H: If I wear the same clothes as everyone else, it's like wearing a school uniform, hehehe...

I: How does your mother usually choose clothes for you?
H: My mother usually buys me T-shirts... I like them too. She often buys me dresses as well... But my mother often buys me bright colors... like pink. But I prefer dark colors, like dark blue or gray... My mother says those colors are for older people. But I think dark colors suit me better...

I: In what way?
H: Well, they look better on me. Not too girly, like pink or purple... My mother always says that bright colors are good for girls. She thinks black is a mourning color.

I: How do you usually choose clothes?
H: They must be long enough (indicating below the hips) and not too tight. And the jilbab should match the color. I also prefer dark colors, like dark blue.

I: Have you ever bought tight or short clothes?
H: Yes, I once tried buying a short waist-length shirt myself... but it wasn't comfortable. I ended up not wearing it. It was too short, and my waist was visible... Besides, if it's known that I'm wearing tight clothes, my father would immediately scold me. He would say it's embarrassing.

I: Do your parents not allow you to wear tight clothes?
H: Of course, not... it's indecent and inappropriate. How can you wear a jilbab but have tight clothes? What's the point of wearing a jilbab? If you're committed to covering your modesty, then do it properly, that's what my mother always reminds me.

I: But when it comes to clothing styles, do you buy clothes for kids or teenagers?
H: I buy clothes in teenage styles, like shirts. Or if it's a T-shirt, I avoid ones with cartoon designs. Since I have a bigger body, I already look like a teenager... but I haven't had my period yet, so I'm still considered a child. But I don't like childish things... I prefer styles like my older sister...

I: Does your mother buy you gamis? Do you like wearing gamis?
H: Yes, quite often... for wearing at home, for studying Quran, for family outings... But when I play, I rarely wear gamis.

I: Do you have different costumes when playing with friends?
H: Yes... like that. So, it's like being similar to my friends... but my friends sometimes wear

shirts, T-shirts, and there are thpse who wear jeans too. But I'm not comfortable wearing jeans. So, I wear a shirt with long skirt or culottes.

I: Why aren't you comfortable wearing jeans?
H: It's just not comfortable, I don't like it. I have one pair of jeans, because most my friends have it. So, I beg my mother to buy me one too. But I only wore it once when playing with friends and didn't like how it felt... feeling so tight and uncomfortable. After that, I just kept it in the wardrobe... I don't think it fits me anymore now

Media Routines

I: Since when have you had your own mobile phone?
H: Since third grade of elementary school. It was because most my friends already have one. It was only after fourth grade, that I got a new phone. It had internet access... and my mother allocated me 2GB of data per month. But usually, it would be used up within a week... So I saved up my pocket money to buy data.

I: What do you use 2GB of data for in a week?
H: I don't know... it runs out quickly. Hehe...

I: What happens when the data runs out?
H: Well, that's it. I have to save up to buy it myself because my mother usually doesn't give it to me.

I: So, you save up to buy data?
H: My daily pocket money is usually 10,000 rupiahs. I spend 3,000 rupiahs each day for lunch at school. The rest I save up to buy data. I'm willing to sacrifice snacks to buy data.

I: And what apps do you have on this new phone?
H: Games, YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, WhatsApp, and so on.

I: If you were to rank them?
H: 1. YouTube, 2. Games, 3. Instagram, 4. WhatsApp, and 5. Facebook.

I: Since when you start having social media?
H Yes, I have Instagram and Facebook. I first got Facebook and Instagram in fourth grade. Initially, my friends created ones for me.

I Who do you follow on Instagram? Who do you follow?
H: Just my friends. I also follow some artists. Like K-pop groups... BTS, EXO, Black Pink.

I: How do your parents feel if you're into K-pop?
H: My father doesn't like it when I get into K-pop. He says it's a waste of time. He thinks I should spend my time on things that are useful and positive.

I: So, K-pop isn't considered positive?
H: Well, because of the revealing outfits that Black Pink wears, for example. And my father doesn't think their dancing is good. He's afraid it might have a negative influence on me.

I: What do you watch on TV?

H: Not much, to be honest. It's usually game shows or reality shows. There aren't many interesting programs on TV. My friends rarely talk about TV.

I: What do your friends at school usually talk about?
H: They usually discuss what's viral on Instagram and also games.

I: Are you allowed to bring your phone to school?
H: No, we're not allowed to bring phones to school. Phones are only used at home. Back when I was in third grade, we were allowed to bring phones to school, but there were rules that stated we could only use them during break time, and we had to submit them to the teacher during classes. But now, we're not allowed anymore, and phones must be kept at home.

I: When you're playing games with your friends, what do you usually do?
H: We do various things. If we're using their phones, apart from playing games, we often watch YouTube videos. Usually, we watch songs or movies, like cartoons. For songs, we usually search for popular Indonesian pop songs with lyric videos. Currently, the most popular ones we watch are Islamic songs by Nisa Sabyan.

I: Do you only watch Islamic songs or other genres as well?
H: Not just Islamic songs. We watch whatever songs are popular. Nowadays, Islamic songs are trending, but we also watch videos of other songs on YouTube.

Girl Game

I How about the rules for playing games with your mother?
H Well, my mother says that playing games is just for entertainment, so it's not important. I'm not allowed to play for too long. After an hour, she asks me about it. If I play for too long, she will scold me.

I How long is considered too long?
H More than an hour is already considered too long. But when I'm playing, one hour doesn't feel like much.

I: When did you first start playing games like this?
H It's been a while, maybe since second grade (about three years ago). Hehe, I'm still not bored with it.

I: Besides this game, what other games do you play?
H Well, it's a game for girls. In this game, I can earn various rewards like getting lipstick or a sewing machine. I actually prefer Barbie games, but they can't be installed on this phone because the apps are too large in size and the phone can't handle it. So, if I want to play Barbie games, I use Mbak Lili's laptop. She has some Barbie games installed on her laptop, like JOJO Fashion Show. Unfortunately, I can't play them often because Mbak Lili takes her laptop to college in Semarang. When she's home, I can play for a while, but not for long since she needs her laptop for her studies.

I Who installs the games?
H: On the laptop, my sister installed them. I don't know how to do it on a laptop.

I What's your favorite game now?

H: I like barbie games. I forgot the titles. I can choose the stage, do the styling, and select outfits. I like games that the clothing styles are more for parties, not everyday wear. It's more glamorous.

H: Oh, by the way, what I actually like was The Sims... I don't have it anymore now. I It was in my sister's laptop. I like decorating houses. I work and work to earn money... work long hours, then buy sofas, buy beds, I like it... But in The Sims, the fashion aspect is not that great... but I miss to play the Sims again.

I: How do you used to buy stuffs in The Sims?
H: Well, I buy what I like. I don't mind if it's a bit expensive... as long as I get what I like. Sometimes I have to make my character work for a few days just to buy a new sofa.

I: Do you feel that activities in The Sims is realistic?
H: maybe... like everyday life... working, buying clothes, designing houses... in Minecraft too... But Minecraft's characters are square-shaped, they don't look like alive...

H: It is really a secret, my friend evenplay dating in The Sims... she likes one of the characters in The Sims, he's very handsome... hehe... and they become romantic partners... My friend showed me kissing... Even when there's a kissing scene on TV, I'm told to turn off the TV! But in the game, my friend does the kissing...
I was a bit scared; how can the game be like that...
But even though I was scared, I was still curious about what happens next...

I: How do you feel about doing kissing in The Sims?
H: It's not me... it's my friend. But I'm still scared.

I: What makes you feel scared?
H: ... I shouldn't be watching that. Even though I'm really curious... but, hehe...
Luckily, my family doesn't know what The Sims is like... My sister just knows I'm playing a game. If she knew, she would probably scold me.

I: Do many of your friends play The Sims too?
H: Not many. The Sims isn't that popular here... many friends play games like Hago Games or Minecraft, evennow more people in my class play them, so we often talk about that with friends.

I: Do you talk about The Sims with friends?
H: Never. Also, I never talk about the dating in The Sims with anyone... only to you now

I: Why?
H: I don't really want people to know about it. I'm afraid...

 (Choose barbie fashion closet to Play)

I: How does it feel to play this game?
H: Well, I'm happy because I like the games. Especially with a new game like this. I'm really curious.

immerses in the game... (sound of the call to prayer)

I: Who do you think made this game?

H: I don't know... I think it's not made by Indonesians because the clothing and the models' faces don't look like Indonesians. It must be made by people from other countries.

I: What are you supposed to do in the game?

H: In this game, it was for preparing a model's photoshoot. *First*, they had to go to the spa and take care of their body, then do their makeup, style their hair, choose a costume, pick shoes and other accessories. After that, they had the photoshoot, selecting the photo studio and choosing a good pose. The end result is a photo in a frame.

I: Even though you haven't played it yet, can you just start playing?

H: Yes, you can just give it a try. The process is almost the same as other fashion games like this, so it's easy to follow.

I: In what language is the game installed?

H: I prefer games that are in Indonesian language... I can understand them better. But unfortunately, many games are in English.

I: This game is in English; do you understand what they're saying?

H: Hehe... not really. I actually prefer instructions in Indonesian. But if it's in English, it's okay. I can understand the words in the pictures. But when it comes to the spoken language, I don't really understand. But even if I don't know the language, I can still follow the game, hehe.

I: If you could give a name to your avatar, what would you want to name it?

H: Hmm... I don't know.

I: Why was the hair model made like that?

H: I really like long hair and updos.
This is my favourite part, hair styling. I always like to play with hair... I used to style my friends' hairs (giggles)... I can make buns or plaits. Here I also can colour and learn more about different hairstyles.

I: Do you also style your hair?

H: My older sister used to do that. She is really good... I like it when she does complicated styles that I cannot....

I: Do you style your hair while you wear jilbab?

H: No problem... we still like to style our hair, no matter how we cover it with Jilbab.

I: Do you style your hair inside your Jilbab?

H: No, it used to be when we want to play with hair, not every day (laughing).

I: Don't you want to show your styled hair to other people outside your family?

H: No. I don't want.

I: Do you choose this game because of this hair styling part?

H: No, I didn't know the hair styling part in this game is good

I: You said you like this because you can colour hair?

H: I can choose different hair colour and styles, other games only colour it, I don't like it.

I: Do you like styled coloured hair?
H: Yes, but not weird colours, red or purple. I like dark brown.

I: You said you like this (game) because you can colour hair?
H: yes, I can choose more hairstyles here, and can colour hair too. Because in other games, we can only colour it, no many choices for hairstyling I also don't like weird (hair) colours, like red or purple. How is it possible? I like dark brown.

I: How possible for?
H: For reality! Is there anyone colouring her hair red?

I: What do you mean adding colour?
H: give different colour to the hair colouring
(Haifa does not understand the name of the hair styling techniques—the shading)

I: Are there people around here who style their hair like this?
H: Around here, it's unlikely... but in other places, I'm sure there are. Well, the actual color might not be as blue as this... it might be slightly different shades of blue. Besides, it would look strange if someone really had hair this blue... usually, suitable hair colors in Indonesia are black, brown, dark brown... while in other countries, people can have blonde, brown, or reddish hair. Hair colors like blue are not common.

I: Do you like it if your hair is colored?
H: In reality, no, it's not possible... I don't like coloring my hair. Besides, as a child, we're not allowed to dye our hair. Even when I grow up, I don't want to dye my hair. In Islam, some say it's not allowed to dye hair... they say it's not being grateful for God's gift, my teacher said that changing Allah's creation is not allowed...

I: If you see someone you know with colored hair, what do you think?
H: Personally, I don't like it... around here, people with colored hair are seen in a certain way... like they're considered not good, or, I don't know, too showy... like a 'kemenyek' person.

I: what about hair color here, does it make it look 'kemenyek'?
H: ... this is just in the game. It's different...

H: I bought party clothes.

I: Why did you buy that outfit?
H: I think this one is nice... this model... especially this purple color, it's my favorite color. In this game, you can try mixing this color with other colors, or matching the top with the bottom, to see if this combination or color looks good. I really enjoy playing it. But usually, I mix colors that go well together... light purple, dark purple... because I like harmonious colors.

I: Have you ever bought coins in the game to purchase items?
H: No, I've never bought them with real money. I heard you can buy them at *Indomaret*. Usually, I just collect coins by playing the game. When I complete challenges, I earn coins. So I just keep following the challenges. Eventually, I'll have enough coins to buy clothes or other things.

H: Yay, I got a new outfit! (happy)

I: Why?
H: A reward, a new outfit for free.

I: How long do you usually play this game for?
H: If my sister doesn't force me to stop, I can play it all day. But if I play games for too long,
I'll get scolded. Maybe around two hours at most.
I prefer playing with sound, so calming.

(An ad just appeared)

I: What was it about?
H: It was an ad for another game. It's annoying when there are many ads. Sometimes I don't
know what they're advertising. But most of the time, they're promoting other games.

I: What was the ad about earlier?
H: It was an ad for Lazada... an online store.

I: Do you watch the advertisements?
H: Yeah, sometimes the ads are interesting, about other games... sometimes it makes me
curious about how the advertised game is like. But it's annoying because these ads can't be
skipped. It's frustrating because it consumes my internet data.

I; What if there are many ads like that?
H. Well, if I feel lazy while playing, I stop playing. But if I really want to play the game, I
wait patiently because I'm curious about the game.

I: Have you ever played a game that features characters wearing jilbabs?
H: I prefer games where the characters don't wear jilbabs. That way, I can play with their hair.

I: What do you think of the outfits of these models? The short skirts and tops?
H: I think the models look good... especially the ones wearing pretty party dresses like this. I
like them. It's okay if they're short.

If you had to give the most favorite one a name, what would it be?
Astoria (like a princess from TV)

I: Why not name them Mutia or Fathiya?
H: Haha... well, it just doesn't suit them. Their body looks like that of a foreigner. You won't
find a foreigner named Mutia, hehe...

I: What does Astoria do in the game? What is she up to?
H: She's going to a party... so she takes care of her body at the spa first, then puts on makeup,
does her hair, and selects a dress. Then she heads to the party.
H: Here she's choosing accessories for the party... the fancy ones with lots of gemstones to
make them sparkle... and she carries a party bag. Party bags are special, you know... they're
usually smaller in size and have colorful designs that match the outfit. If the dress is dark, I
like a shiny party bag. It can also serve as an accessory.

I: Do you want to be and do like Astoria?

H: Ehmm.... I don't know. No, I don't. Muslims don't go to parties and they can't wear dresses that expose their shoulders like that.

H;   Oh... I got a five-star rating!

I: What is it?

H: Oh, this model I created received a lot of stars and I also earned around 2,000 coins.

I: When you play again, is it because you want to try all the outfits or because you want to earn high points?

H: create beautiful clothes, then can earn high points.

I: This outfit is nice.
     Do you want to wear outfit like this model?

H: No. Of course, no.
     I'm just playing it in the game... It's not real, after all.
     In this game, even though I like the clothing styles, I don't like it when they're too revealing... like, too short.

I: Who maight clothes like in the game?

H: Those who are not Muslims, maybe celebrities and influencers

I: When playing this game, what can you learn?

H: I have played a lot of dress-up games, I learn about fashion... because I try on various clothes, choose different clothing styles in the game, and learn how to coordinate outfits and match colors.

I: Do you know the names of the clothing styles in the game?

H: No... there's no information provided. Sometimes, it's just the title of the game, like "summer fashion" or "winter fashion," but I don't know the specific names of the clothing styles. I just try them out.

I: Do you feel like you have a lot of clothes in the game?

H: Yes, hehe... I have a lot of clothes, and it's nice because I can create various designs.

I: Does it feel like having a lot of clothes and jilbabs in reality?

H: ... it's kind of similar, I guess. When you have a lot of clothes and jilbabs, you can choose which ones to wear, just like in the game. If you have a large collection of models, you can choose different fashion styles to dress them in. But there are differences too. These clothes can only be worn in the game, whereas I can wear jilbabs in real life. I don't know, it's hard to explain.

I: How would you feel if the clothes in the game were lost?

H: I've experienced something like that before. I had a game like this where I had a lot of clothes because I had been playing for a long time. Then suddenly, I couldn't open the game anymore because it couldn't be updated. I felt really sad, disappointed even. I had spent so much time collecting those clothes.

I: If you had a lot of money in reality and could buy anything, would you like to be able to buy all kinds of things like this model does?

H: In reality, there's no need to buy so much; my mother would take care of that.

I: If your mother allowed you to buy all kinds of things, what would you really want to buy if you were like Rose and could buy anything?

H: Hmm... I would want to buy... I really like shoes.

I: When you grow up, do you want to have a lot of clothing options like this too?

H: Yes... it seems nice to have a lot of clothing, jilbabs, and shoes to choose from.

I: If you're grown up, would you also like to go shopping like in this game?

H: Well, I'm not really into shopping like that in real life... in the game, it doesn't feel like real shopping. It's easy to get the in-game currency, and it's just a matter of clicking. So, it doesn't feel like shopping. When I'm older, I'll buy things when I need them. Over time, I'll have plenty.

I;   But is it suitable to turn it into Muslim clothing?

H: Not all clothes... only specific models, not party dresses. I think it would be suitable.... as long as it's not too strange of a style.

I: How is it strange?

H;   Well, sometimes there are clothes with feathers or skirts that are open up to the thighs.

I: When playing this game, do you think about Muslims women do the same practices like this?

H: …what could it be? The clothes, I guess, maybe... But this is just a game, there are many differences compared to reality.

I: Does playing games make you tired?

H: No, even if I play all day, I don't feel tired. It's strange, right? When I'm asked to study or read a book, I get tired more quickly. Maybe when playing games, my heart is happy and I don't get bored, so I don't feel tired.

GLOSSARY

Dialectic of Global and Local	:	The complex relationship between globalized consumer practices, products, and identities, and the localized expressions, adaptations, and resistances that emerge in different cultural settings.
Digital Virtual Consumption	:	Digital virtual consumption refers to the act of engaging in consumer activities within virtual or digital environments. It involves the acquisition, consumption, and use of virtual goods, services, and experiences that are accessed and consumed through digital platforms or technologies.
Digital Virtual Mediation	:	Digital virtual mediation refers to the process by which digital technologies and virtual platforms mediate or facilitate interactions, experiences, and transactions between individuals or groups in digital virtual spaces.
Dissembedding Mechanism	:	The process by which social practices, behaviors, or phenomena are detached or disentangled from their original or local contexts and integrated into global abstract systems that allowing them to exist and operate across different timeframes and spaces.
Disembeddedness from the local	:	The state or condition of being disembedded. It is the process by which social practices, norms, and behaviors become disconnected or disentangled from their original or traditional contexts and frameworks.
Embedded in the local	:	The state or condition in which social practices, behaviors, or phenomena are deeply rooted and situated within specific local contexts, such as a community, culture, or geographic location. When something is embedded in the local, it means that it is closely intertwined with and influenced by the social structures, traditions, customs, norms, and values of that particular local setting.
External referentiality of modernity	:	The characteristic of societies to define their identity, values, and norms in relation to external reference points. In the context of consumer culture, it pertains to the tendency of individuals and societies to look outside their own cultural, social, and historical context to construct and define their identities, aspirations, and behaviors
Extrinsic Criteria	:	Influences on social relations or social life not governed by the institutional reflexivity of modernity
Formation of consumer subjects	:	The formation of the consumer subject refers to the process through which individuals develop their identities, behaviors, and attitudes in relation to consumption.
Formation of modern consumer subjects	:	The formation of the modern consumer subject involves the negotiation of personal desires and aspirations, social influences, and the pursuit of self-identity through consumption choices and practices
Fragmentation	:	The process or state of breaking apart or dividing the cultural practices, customs, beliefs, and norms within a specific local community or cultural context. It involves the disintegration or loss of a unified cultural identity and the emergence of various subcultures, groups, or divergent practices within the community.
Global	:	The core or mainstream of global consumer culture, which sets the standards for markets, products, and consumption practices. It encompasses elite consumers, transnational brands, and media that shape and influence consumer trends and preferences on a global scale. It represents the dominant cultural and economic forces that dictate what is considered desirable, fashionable, or valuable in the global marketplace.
Global Consumer Culture	:	Global consumer culture reflects the influence of transnational corporations, media, and advertising in shaping consumer desires and aspirations across different cultures and societies. It encompasses the consumption patterns, tastes, and symbolic meanings that are

		influenced by globalized markets, creating a sense of interconnectedness and shared experiences among consumers worldwide.
Institutional Reflexivity	:	The reflexivity of modernity, involving the routine incorporation of new knowledge or information into environments of action that are thereby reconstituted or reorganised
Internal Referentiality	:	The circumstance whereby social relations, or aspects of the natural world, become organised reflexively in terms of internal criteria
Jilbab Girls	:	Young girls whose everyday routines wearing
Local or locale	:	The specific geographical, cultural, and social context of a particular place or community with clear boundaries that facilitate the concentration of social interactions in certain ways
		it represents the unique characteristics, traditions, values, and practices that are rooted in a specific locality.
Materiality	:	Materiality refers to the physical and tangible aspects of objects, substances, or phenomena. It emphasizes the importance of physical properties, textures, forms, and material substances in understanding and interpreting the world around us.
Ontological Security	:	Ontological security refers to an individual's sense of stability, confidence, and continuity in their day-to-day life. It involves the ability to maintain a sense of normalcy and predictability in various social and physical contexts.
- Stable ontological security	:	A state of consistent and enduring feelings of stability, comfort, and confidence in one's sense of self and the world around them. It involves a sense of predictability and reliability in one's everyday experiences, social interactions, and physical environments.
- Unstable ontological security		A state of insecurity or uncertainty in an individual's sense of normalcy and stability in everyday situations
- Restabilizing ontological security		The process of restoring a sense of stability, security, and normalcy in one's everyday life and social interactions
- Reestablishing ontological security		The process of rebuilding and restoring a sense of security, stability, and familiarity in one's existence and social world
Practical Consciousness	:	The knowledge and beliefs that actors have about social conditions, particularly their own actions, but are unable to articulate verbally. Unlike the unconscious, practical consciousness is not repressed and is available to conscious thought. A sense of continuity and order in events, including those not directly within the perceptual environment of the individual
Rationalization of actions	:	To rationalize an action means that competent actors are capable of staying aware of the reasons behind their actions as they perform them, so that they can provide reasons if asked by others
Reembedding Mechanism	:	The re-appropriation or recasting of disembedded social relations so as to pin them down (however partially or transitorily) to local conditions of time and place
Regime	:	Regularised modes of behaviour relevant to the continuance or cultivation of bodily traits.
Regimentation		The strict and rigid organization or control of activities, behaviors, or practices. It involves imposing a systematic and disciplined structure on individuals or groups, often with the aim of achieving efficiency, conformity, or adherence to specific rules or standards

265

Routine	:	A set of regular and repeated actions or activities that individuals engage in as part of their daily lives.
Routinization	:	The customary nature of the majority of daily social activities, where established patterns and manners of behavior are taken for granted and are accompanied by a feeling of ontological security
Sequestration of Experiences	:	The process of isolating or separating certain experiences from the broader context or social environment.
Traditional Society	:	Social and cultural system that is characterized by longstanding customs, beliefs, and practices that have been passed down through generations. It is typically associated with societies that prioritize traditional values, norms, and institutions, and where social life is often structured around community, family, and local customs.
Unification to local culture	:	The process of bringing together various elements, practices, or traditions within a specific local community or cultural context to create a sense of cohesion, shared identity, and collective values.

Local Translation

Aurat	:	Body parts that must be covered for Muslim men and women
Busana Muslim	:	Muslim clothes in general
Eman-Eman	:	The Javanese phrase for the tendency to refrain from buying or spending more
Cah Kemenyek	:	Stigmatization of flirty girl
Cah Nakal	:	Stigmatization of flirty girl
Gamis	:	Long Muslim dress
Halal consumption	:	The allowed/legitimate practices
Haram consumption	:	The forbidden practices
Jilbab	:	Hijab and Kerudung
Kekinian /Kekinian Girls	:	Trendy/fashionable
KW 1/ KW 2	:	Counterfeit grade 1 or 2
Lebaran	:	Ied celebration
Ngaji	:	Learning and Reciting Quran
Pengajian	:	Collective Learning or Reciting Quran
Pesantren	:	Islamic traditional boarding school
Ramadhan	:	The Fasting Month in Islam
Takziyah	:	Condolences
Ustadz / Ustadzah	:	Religious teacher