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How Pakistani Tweens Develop Institutionally

Complex Consumption Practices

by

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This research was guided by a qualitative interpretive paradigm and the author's view that a contextualized study of the Eastern Muslim tweens' consumption culture that systematically studies how young Muslim consumers design their consumption practices in an institutional complex environment, is important. Previous consumption studies exploring the interaction of Market and Religion have been limited in explaining the effect of the interplaying Market and Religious logics on consumption practices. Wilson et. al., (2013) particularly call for unpacking of consumption patterns that are influenced by internalization, globalization and localization.

The study developed its intellectual framework from the literature streams of consumer socialization and an Institutional Logics (IL) perspective. Extant consumer socialization studies have contributed greatly in shaping understanding of different stages of consumer development, socialising agents and influence strategies used by children. Although a great part of consumer socialization literature sheds light on the role of socialising agents, it does not explore the structures that are represented through different socialising agents. This study accounts for the structures that shape consumption practices via socialising agents and the consumption practices of Muslim tweens. Furthermore, the extant literature is based on the social realities of the developed West, where the structural nuances limit the transferability of existing theories of consumption to Eastern, Muslim contexts.

The Eastern Muslim context, specifically Pakistan, was selected as the research site. Arnould and Thompson's framework for Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) tradition is also

used to situate this project within a consumer culture frame, the primary focus being the interrelated and mutually implicative nature of socio-historic patterning of consumption based on Market and Religious orientation and the role of everyday rituals in creating social, Religious and familial solidarity. Literature informs that individuals are socialized into different institutional orders, each prescribing its own set of rules (Thornton et. al., 2012). In other words, each institutional discourse competes to ascribe meaning to different tween consumption practices, creating subjects and objects, restricting some actions and allowing certain others. Hence, a social world of consumption is constituted through discourses.

Twelve informants from upper middle income, urban, Muslim households, participated in this research. The tensions felt and resolution attempted by Muslim tweens to establish their consumption practices, while operating in an inter-institutional system, was the focus of study. A combination of participant produced videographies and a series of extended phenomenological interviews (Thompson et. al., 1989) were used for data generation. Both these investigations were carried out from the Muslim tweens' perspective. It is important to note here that Asian participants are new to research, and are culturally conservative. Pakistani society is research unfriendly and recruiting participants was a particularly challenging task. It was equally challenging to convince participants to share detailed and authentic stories, as giving 'socially appropriate responses' is normal in formal conversation. Possessing first-hand knowledge of the cultural sensitivities helped me in identifying appropriate data generation techniques and in getting participants to open up. In order to check the usability of data generation techniques, a pilot study was first carried out with four participants. Subsequently, the field research strategy was finalized. In order to deal with the inherent research challenges, purposeful recruitment of participants helped in gaining trust and gathering insights. Since the study involved young children, strict ethical protocols were followed.

A multiperspectival framework suggested by Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), based on Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory and Fairclough's (1995) order of discourse, was used to analyse the data that was generated. Research questions were addressed via analysis of different discursive practices within the realm of consumption. Through this, discourses hailing tweens to order their consumption practices and the consumption strategies that tweens use to successfully operate under institutional complexity, were explored. Market and Religious institutions were identified in literature as significant structural forces impacting Muslims' construction of consumption practices. Data

generated in the study confirmed the active role of these institutions in making consumption possible for urban, Muslim tweens in Pakistan and highlighted three different reflective balancing strategies deployed by them in responding to an institutionalized sense of institutional complexity: reflective segregation, reflective integration and reflective rejection. Each of these strategies translated into three unique consumption practices: boundary consumption practices, integrated consumption practices and Islamically appropriate consumption practices. The Muslim tweens' in their pursuit to engage with the Market logic did not change the dominant institutional order of Islam. In fact, they constructed their halal consumption practices using the Market and the Islamic logics as resources.

In addition to making contribution to existing knowledge on Muslim consumption and lived experiences of tween consumers, this study makes contributions to the IL literature. Specifically, it shows how opposing logics co-exist through consumption practices. It also theorizes institutionalized gaze and body parts that produce and are produced by different IL.

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Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I, Saima Husain, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research, under the topic How Pakistani Tweens Develop Institutionally Complex Consumption Practices.

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. None of this work has been published before.

Saima Husain
Date May 1
2018

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Saima Husain

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Chapter 1   Introduction

The speaker at the majlis [a gathering of Muslims where a speaker addresses an audience] *had his young audience intently listening to him. There were children between 8-12 years old, who had come with their mothers to attend this Religious gathering. With a lot of fervour he asked his audience if it remembered a TV commercial that said "dil maange abhi"* [Pepsi's tagline in Pakistan in the local language, emerging from the global positioning along the "now culture" and equivalent to "live for now" tagline] *and another that said "daagh tu achay hotey hein"* [Surf Excel's tagline in Pakistan meaning 'dirt is good.' Unilever's premium detergent brands such as Surf Excel in Pakistan, Omo in Brazil and Persil in UK follow the same brand communication strategy]. *Discussing these advertisements in the Islamic light, he declared that children are being taught values that go against the Islamic principles. Islam values patience, restrain and cleanliness!*

(Aleem, 2014)

Although a practicing Muslim myself, I never used Islamic principles to consciously deliberate over these or other calls to consume. Nonetheless, the speaker's point made sense to me – there was, it seemed, a tension between the Islamic value system and what the Market encouraged consumers to believe. Market and Islam, two important structures highlighted by the speaker, prescribed different behavioural scripts and associated values. On one hand, the market logic transmitted through a soft drink advertisement, suggested living for now while the Islamic logic was based on living for the hereafter; living in this world with patience and restrain. There was a similar tension between the Islamic and the Market logic transmitted through the detergent advertisement. The Market logic invited children to enjoy themselves freely without worrying about stains while the Religious speaker reminded his young audience about the Islamic logic of staying clean at all times. I wondered about this complexity of consumption practices in a Muslim context and in particular how such apparently contradictory messages shaped the consumption practices of young actors, in this case Pakistani Muslim children. On one end, the seemingly harmless global taglines of the marketers socialized children into the role of individualised, identity seeking and pleasure seeking consumers, actively encouraging agentic behaviour through consumer choice and experience. On the other end, the Religious rituals challenged these Marketers' moves and attempted to socialize young minds into understanding Islam's jurisdiction over all aspects of daily life, reminding them about conditional agency where their main goal was to be a true Muslim, one who stands for

modesty, halal living and upholds his or her Muslim identity. Muslim children's consumption practices and associated consumptionscape are therefore unique and authored by the interplay of two institutions: the Religion Islam, and the Market.

This project is an inquiry of Muslim tweens' consumption practices to theorize the consumption strategies they use based on their embedded agency, in order to navigate their way out of the institutional complexity in a non-Western, Muslim consumer culture. Hence, it falls into two out of the four research domains of CCT. It combines the socio-historic patterning of consumption with mass mediated marketplace ideologies, and consumers' interpretive strategies. Within the domain of socio-historic patterning of consumption, CCT facilitates a study of meaning making systems that guide actors' thoughts and actions in a society (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). The mass mediated marketplace ideologies and consumer interpretive strategies domain of CCT, views actors as interpretive agents who use their agency to either accept or reject the popular cultural texts transmitted through media (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). By studying Muslim tweens' consumption practices to not only explore the messages informing their consumption practices but also the Religious ideals guiding them as consumers, as well as their interpretive strategies to reflectively reproduce or change the meanings of existing structures, the thesis contributes to the existing CCT literature by theorizing a complex consumption context.

There is no dearth of literature explaining consumption practices of young consumers. However, many of the universal claims made about young consumers ignore the nuances of local contexts, limiting the transferability of existing theories to specific cultural settings, especially non-Western ones. For example, claims about children possessing extraordinary economic affluence and subsequent access to markets (Shim, et. al., 2011), elementary school children's independent transactions at stores (McNeal, 2007) and 4-12 year old's enhanced spending capability and influencing ability (McNeal, 1998 in John, 1999), give an impression of 'the independent young consumer,' who engages with the Market at his will. Yet while eight-year-old Western children are believed to make more independent consumption choices as compared to their predecessors (Flurry, 2007 in Shim et. al., 2011), the cultural peculiarities of institutionally complex Religious contexts may limit similar consumption practices. Knowledge about young consumers comes from empirical studies on consumer socialization that are indeed from the Western and/or non-Muslim contexts such as US (Carlson and Grossbart, 1988; Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998; Cotte and Wood, 2004; Wisenblit, et. al., 2013), UK (Lawlor and Prothero, 2011; Kerrane

and Hogg, 2013; Boden, 2006a; Boden, 2006b), Australia (Watne et. al., 2014; Elizabeth and Davis, 2014), New Zealand (Marshall, et. al., 2007), India (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012) and China (Chan and McNeal, 2006; McNeal, 2007).

A second limitation of existing literature on young consumers is its inability to explain consumption practices taking place in pluralistic environments. Most consumer studies have focused on theorizing the Market-consumer relationship. Those that do take counter-market narratives into account, as will be discussed in section 2.2, do so in limited ways. The interplay between the Market and other structures, the resulting tension and the coping strategies used by young consumers is not fully captured in existing knowledge. Studies from Western as well as Eastern contexts inform about the development of a young consumer by highlighting the processes of consumer socialization and theorizing the effects of various socialising agents such as parents, peers, media and physical markets on consumption. These studies either explain the effect of Market meanings on consumption or point towards the effects of anti- consumerism (John, 1999; Worldwide, 2005; Gunter and Fumham, 1998; Kapur, 2005; Pugh, 2009; McNeal, 2007; Buckingham, 2011; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Wisenblit et. al., 2013). Western studies recording the anti-consumerist practices of parents (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Wisenblit et. al., 2013) are however, limited in explaining the structures that propel them to work against the agenda of the Market. Western, non- Muslim theories of the consumption practices of young children, therefore adopt a reductive approach in their theorizations.

Consumption takes place in a societal context and a society is an inter- institutional system (Thornton et. al, 2012) where Market is only one of the several institutions. In a Western context, it may be easy to assume the dominance of Market logics leading to theorists downplaying opposing, or contrasting institutional logics or seeing these as diminished or aligned with neo-liberal ideology. The same is not true for Market in the Eastern or the Muslim context for the institutional order is still an emerging one. Established institutions such as Family and Religion, present within the Eastern context challenge the symbols and practices of new institutional orders like the Market, leading to institutionally complex consumption settings.

Recognizing the complexity of Eastern settings, theorists have paid attention to the effects of non-Market institutions on consumptions. For example, McNeal (2007) highlights the effects of local culture on Chinese children's consumption. However, he does not explain the institutions making up the local culture and how local cultural and

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Market meanings complement or compete with each other to shape consumption practices of young consumers. Similarly, consumer studies explaining Muslim consumption acknowledge the role of Religion as well as Market in legitimizing or delegitimizing consumption practices (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010; Wong 2007; Wilson et. al., 2013; Jafari and Suerdem, 2012) but do not fully explain Muslim consumers' discursive projects or their consumption strategies that may be employed to reduce, eliminate, or manage the tensions surrounding consumption. Western scholars like Buckingham (2011) have also recognized the effect of Religion and local traditions on consumption and therefore call for studies adopting a socio- cultural view of consumption.

Muslim consumer culture offers the opportunity to study institutionally complex consumption practices resulting from the interplay of Islam and Market and to theorize how popular global culture mixes with local culture (specifically Religion) to produce hybridized identities (Karim, 2012; Datoo, 2010). No existing study on Muslim consumption explains how Religion and Market interact within the domain of consumption to influence the consumption practices of Muslims, what kind of agency is enabled and what strategies are designed by Muslim consumers to legitimize their consumption practices in a complex consumption environment. This thesis is positioned to fill this gap.

The study is a departure from isolated inquiries into children's agentic consumption practices as it represents a social inquiry where institutions legitimize actions. Thus, it specifically responds to four calls made in literature. Firstly, it responds to the call made by Askegaard and Linnet (2011) to account for structures that make consumption possible recognising that consumption emerges from the institutions that surround it. Secondly, it responds to calls for a theory of Non-Western, Muslim consumer culture based on a specific set of institutions involving both Market and Islamic logics (Jafari and Suerdem, 2012; Jafari et. al., 2012; Karatas and Sandicki, 2013; Wilson et. al., 2013). Thirdly, it responds to calls made by Cody and Lawlor (2011) and Cody (2012) to explicate the liminality around tween consumption by studying their lived experiences. Finally, it responds to the call made by Thornton et. al., (2012) to explain institutional complexity and micro-processes by offering conceptualization of how individuals recognize jurisdictional overlap of institutional orders and use their sense making and problem solving skills to legitimize their practices.

Complex consumption contexts such as Muslim societies are not only unique,they are opportunities to advance existing theory of consumption. Without accounting for

important structures influencing consumption, a complete theory of consumption practices, is not possible. Specifically, this study explains the complex relationship between Islam, Market and consumers by studying institutionally complex consumption practices of Muslim tweens in the Eastern, Muslim context. In order to study consumption practices of children under the influence of Market and Islam, Pakistan represented the ideal research site. Pakistan is recognized as a country with two ideologies: the traditional resting on orthodox Islamic values and the modern drawing inspiration from the West (Qadeer, 2011). Muslims make up 96% of the present Pakistani population (Cia.gov, 2017) and Islam is recognized as a way of life in the country (Ministry of Information, Broadcasting & National Heritage, 2013). Predicted to become the world's fourth largest nation by 2050 (Mussadaq, 2011), the most populous Muslim majority country by 2030 (Dawn, 2011), Pakistan is also a country of significance in the Asia Pacific region with the middle class constituting 55% of all households in Pakistan (Ghani, 2014). Despite the importance of religious life for Pakistanis, there are reports of increased urbanization in the country (Cohen, 2011) accompanied by an increase in the shopping mall culture (Shaikh, 2017).

According to July 2017 estimates, Pakistan's population is more than 200 million with children between 0-14 years making up approximately 31% of the country (Cia.gov, 2017). As in the West, Marketing literature from Pakistan recognizes children as lucrative market segments. There are reports of growing 'pester power,' asserting that the current Pakistani youth is growing up faster and is more informed than previous generations (Mohsin, 2006), including about brands and Western-style consumption. Therefore, Pakistan provided an opportunity to see how Muslim tweens use their 'embedded agency' to adopt or integrate global Market ideas while they stay embedded in the institution of Islam.

This thesis is arranged in seven sections. The first section presents a review of the existing literature on young consumers, a review of studies explaining the interaction of Religion and Market and the theoretical venue of the research. The second section presents the conceptual framework that guided the fieldwork for this study. The third section on methodology presents details of the philosophical underpinnings, ethical issues, participant recruitment, data generation and analytical framework. The fourth section first presents a preamble of the research context explaining to a reader, who may be unfamiliar with Pakistani culture, the core ideas that are evoked and enacted by participants in their stories about consumption and then findings about four different consumption practices of Muslim

tweens that emerged as significant for participants, namely: media; fashionable Western clothing; character printed T-shirts, and; tattoos.

The finding chapter on media consumption highlights the socialising effects of marketplace ideologies in addition to theorizing the Market and Religious logics of media consumption and the subsequent Muslim tweens' justified, scrutinized and boundary consumption practices. The next chapter highlights the complexity around Muslim tweens' consumption of fashionable Western clothing and further theorizes boundary practices in addition to theorizing reconciliatory practices. The third findings chapter on character printed T-shirts explores the tension between the Islamic and Market meanings of the consumption and theorizes Muslim tweens' compromise practices in addition to finding further evidence of their boundary practices. The final findings chapter on tattoo consumption explores a consumption practice that is new to the Pakistani Muslim context and adds to the theory building of Muslim tweens' boundary and reconciliatory consumption practices. The findings chapters are arranged in this fashion for three reasons. Firstly, through this order I move from broader to specific consumption practices – from media to fashionable Western clothing to character T- shirts and then tattoos. Secondly, the order guides the understanding of the reader about the Pakistani consumer culture by first explaining established practices such as media consumption to emerging practices of tattoo consumption. Finally, the arrangement of the findings order guides the readers' understanding of media as an important source of Market knowledge and global consumption trends and its impact on the consumption practices discussed in the in the subsequent chapters.

The fifth section presents an overarching discussion of all findings. In this section, I present the Muslim tweens' reflective balancing strategies based on reflective segregation, reflective integration and reflective rejection. I also present the unique consumption practices of Muslim tweens such as the boundary consumption, integrated consumption and Islamically appropriate consumption practices, in this section. The fifth section also presents diagrammatic representations of Muslim tweens' consumption practices and institutional complexity in Muslim consumption contexts. The discussion section is followed by the sixth section on theoretical contribution. The seventh and the final section presents conclusions and limitation of this study in addition to future research possibilities.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

The objective of this section is to situate the present study within existing body of knowledge and identify the gap that merits a culturally informed study of Muslim tweens' consumption practices in the Eastern culture. Given that consumption is a cultural phenomenon (Buckingham, 2011; McNeal, 2007; Arnould and Thompson, 2005), the literature review is guided by Halonen's (2015) assertion that cultural orientation is a learnt propensity to understand and respond to environmental cues in a consistent manner and is guided by a particular dimension of the society. On dissecting Halonen's (2015) definition, the structure and the agency dimensions become evident: the guiding dimension of the society being the structure and the actors' response to their environment being the agency. Therefore, in order to understand the structure and agency dynamics around Muslim tweens' consumption practices, the review is based on literature on consumer socialization and Muslim consumption. Both these streams of literature are useful in explaining the structures that guide the consumption and enable agency of Muslim tween consumers.

The literature review is arranged in four parts, each of which are briefly explained in the following paragraphs. First, the empirical and conceptual work in the field of consumer socialization with a special focus on contextual and cultural influence, is discussed. This segment of the review begins by discussing what consumer socialization is. Although consumer socialization is not the agenda of this thesis, this section serves the important purpose of highlighting the usefulness of studying children as consumers and explains how children develop into consumers. An understanding of how structures, in this case market, direct young actors and enable their agency, is thus developed. Then I move on to explicitly discuss socialising forces around young consumers, particularly the Market. Here I also compare the Western with the Eastern culture to explain why Western theory of children's consumption is insufficient in explaining the children's consumption taking place in the Eastern settings. I conclude this section by discussing tweenage consumption. The review here explains the usefulness of focusing on tweenagers to study the relationship between structure and agency within the domain of consumption practices in complex consumption contexts.

Since the objective of this project is to present a theory of consumption strategies from complex consumption contexts particularly Muslim, I next review studies of Muslim consumption. Review of the emerging literature on Muslim consumption is useful in

explicating the Religio-cultural dimension, specifically the effect of Religion. Religion is believed to be an important force shaping societal norms (Halonen, 2015) and especially Muslim contexts (McNeal, 2007; Wong, 2007; Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Karim, 2012). This section of the review discusses the interaction between two structures, Market and Religion, and the result of this structural complexity on Muslim consumers' agency. In addition to this, a brief introduction to Pakistan is included as it serves as an ideal research site based on a claim found in literature. Qadeer (2011) asserts that Pakistan is a society driven by both the Market and the Islamic ideology. A more detailed description of the Pakistani culture is presented in section 5.1, as a preamble to the findings section.

After reviewing the essential streams of literature, the theoretical venue of the project is highlighted. I locate the study within the broad category of consumer culture research, recognising that CCT represents a range of approaches and voices with the common goal of studying consumption from a social and cultural standpoint. Specifically, the IL perspective is discussed as the epistemological guide as it enables a study of structure and agency to theorize Muslim tweens' consumption practices.

Lastly, a summarizing discussion, is presented. Here, I reiterate the gaps in existing literature, drawing attention to how Eastern Muslim consumption settings present an opportunity to study complex tensions between structures or institutions, their interplaying effect on consumption practices and the Muslim tweens' agency to finalize their consumption practices.

2.1   Consumer Socialization

Since consumer socialization is aimed at teaching young children to become consumers in a marketplace (Ekström, 2006), consumer socialization processes are understood to be the essential mechanisms that connect market structures to young actors. Cody, (2012) usefully divides the consumer socialization literature into the 'effect studies' that explore young consumers' developing into competent consumers or a specific type of a consumer and 'consumer enculturation studies' that adopt a cultural approach to studying children's relationship with their consumption practices - how their social relationships develop and are developed by their consumption practices. The belief the embedding Market and Religious structures influence Muslim tweens' consumption practices and vice versa is the driving thought behind this study. Hence, it adopts the enculturation view. The literature reviewed in this section, therefore highlights the role played by different socialising agents

in guiding young consumers towards their consumption practices, with a special focus on the cultural contexts within which consumption takes place.

Claims about consumption norms within consumer socialization literature are not in agreement with each other. On one hand, Ekström (2006) claims that blurring geographical boundaries leads to a possibility of similar consumption norms across different countries. On the other hand, scholars highlight the cultural distance between the developed Western and the developing Eastern contexts leading to unique mechanisms of socialization as well as consumption norms (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012; Chan and McNeal, 2006). Although some modern society trends such as dual income households, nuclear families, single parenting, fewer children per household, exposure to global media are evident in the urban centers of developing Eastern contexts like India, China and Pakistan (McNeal, 2007; Qadeer, 2011; Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012), the two contexts are vastly different (Basu and Sondhi, 2014). Specifically, Basu and Sondhi (2014) inform about the active role of urban Indian parents in socialising their children to become consumers. The involvement of parents with their children highlighted by Basu and Sondhi (2014) is in contrast to the fragmented families in the UK identified by Buckingham (2011). Furthermore, Chan and McNeal (2006) suggest that Chinese culture respects authority and therefore the role of parents as socialising agents is stronger than that of television. McNeal (2007) highlights the cultural grounding of the Chinese children by their grandmothers who babysit them while their parents work and compares it to the American culture whereby children are looked after by professional caretakers in the absence of parents. Chaudhary and Gupta (2012) further inform that although good persuaders, children in the East, particularly India are less independent than those in the West. Parents' protective outlook introduces filters to consumption of clothing and movies, whereby they may agree to their child's request for a new dress but "will be skeptical about buying a short mini dress or a low neck top" and restrict consumption of movies with "adult content or vulgar language" (Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012:170). Halonen (2015) has compared the Western and Eastern societies to assert that Eastern contexts are holistic in their outlook and Easterners' decisions are interdependent. On the other hand, Western contexts are more object oriented and self- reliant. According to Halonen (2015), people in the West describe themselves as unique while those in the East describe themselves as part of a larger social system. Conclusively social structures play a bigger role in enabling or disabling consumer agency in Eastern contexts, hence, Western theory cannot adequately explain consumption taking place in complex Eastern settings. There have been calls

within Western literature for a theory that explains the differences in consumer socialization due to personal characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, Religiosity, and acculturation (Shim et. al., 2011).

Even though, Western literature cannot explain the process of consumer socialization in a universal fashion, the work is fundamental in orienting contextualized studies of consumption. The following section begins by providing a necessary understanding of consumer socialization, followed by a discussion of socialising agents through a review of Western and Eastern literature, in order to firstly identify socialising agents peculiar to Eastern settings and secondly explicate their relative importance in guiding children's understanding of consumption norms. Here the focus is on explicating the structural representation of different socialising agents to identify any tensions in the environment. Additionally, personal characteristics of actors that impact the socialization processes in the Eastern context, are discussed. This particular section of the review provides insights about agency that is enabled due to age and gender in Eastern consumption contexts. Young consumers' agency to accept or reject the socialising influence in their environment is also highlighted in this part of the review.

Since Eastern contexts are largely collectivist in nature (Halonen, 2015; Khare, 2011), the term Eastern is used synonymously with collectivist in this thesis. Furthermore, literature referring to teens and adolescents has been included as pre-teens are expected to model older children's behaviour (McNeal, 2007).

2.1.1   What is Consumer Socialization?

According to Ekström (2006), consumer socialization teaches people to be effective consumers in a marketplace. While children were recognized as consumers in the post-World War II consumer society (Angell and Angell, 2013; Kapur, 2005), these young actors drew considerable attention from scholars in the eighties (Kapur, 2005). According to McNeal (2007) children are consumers right from birth, as their parents buy branded clothes and food for them and expose them to television content. Particular interest in studying children's consumption could be a result of a connection found between consumption patterns developed in childhood and those apparent in adulthood (Guest, 1964; Ward, 1974; McNeal, 1999 in McNeal 2007). Over the years, consumer socialization literature has substantially developed.

The earliest definition of consumer socialization, proposed by Ward (1974), as the ''process by which young people acquire skills, knowledge, and attitudes relevant to their effective functioning as consumers in the marketplace'' (p. 2) was modified by Moschis and Churchill (1978) to assert that the consumers' cognitive and behavioural outcomes are a result of socialization processes inclusive of modelling behaviour, following instructions, meeting expectations. They emphasized the importance of daily social interactions between socialising agents and those being socialized. A more recent understanding of consumer socialization is proposed by Shim et. al., (2011), "consumer socialization extends beyond the traditional notion that consumption refers only to the acquiring of consumer skills and knowledge. It includes an understanding of the relation between motives, values, and orientations and the lifestyle choices people make; these relations begin to form when an individual is still a child, within the family" (p. 297).

Moschis and Churchill's (1978) model of consumer socialization based on five variables, socialization agents, learning processes, social structural variables, age/life cycle stage, and learning properties is believed to be the most widely used (Dotson and Hyatt, 2000 in Lawlor and Prothero, 2011). Existing studies have paid attention to socialization agents, specifically the learner-agent relationship in explaining the process of socialization (Kim et. al., 2015; Shim et. al., 2011; McNeal, 2007; Ekström, 2006; Lawlor and Prothero; Kerrane and Hogg, 2013; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Carlson and Grossbart, 1988; Wisenblit, et. al., 2013; Cotte and Wood, 2004; Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998; Moschis, 1985; Arnon et. al., 2008; Mangleburg et. al., 2004), learning processes such as modelling, reinforcement and social interaction (Chan and McNeal, 2006; McNeal, 2007), the effect of age/life cycle stage on the process of consumer socialization (John, 1999; McNeal, 2007; Chaplin and John, 2007; Chaplin and John, 2005; Chaplin and Lowrey, 2009; Valenburg and Cantor; 2001) and learning properties but little attention has been paid to the social structural variables (Waerdahl et. al., 2011; McNeal, 2007).

Given the difference in social structural variables in different consumption settings, the conceptualization of a global consumer is problematic. The conjugated effect of the physical and the social environment on young consumers' socialization depends on the narrative circulating in the environment (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). According to the discourse theory proposed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985), these narratives are brought to light by socialising agents that represent different meaning making systems. Extant consumer socialization studies adopting the sociocultural perspective, have successfully theorized the Market narrative. To some extent, concerns against Market inculcated

consumerism have also been paid attention to (John, 1999; Buckingham, 2011, Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Wisenblit et. al., 2013). The existing consumer socialization literature acknowledges the tension between socialising agents such as that between parents and Market (Buckingham, 2011; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Wisenblit et. al., 2013) but the developed theory is limited to providing an understanding of the Market structure, as socialising agents are generally assumed to represent the voice of the Market. However, there is a lack of sensitivity to pluralistic consumption settings such as Muslim consumption culture, whereby multiple structures simultaneously work through different socialising agents to guide young consumers. Within Muslim contexts, as will be highlighted in the next section of the review, the structures also include Religion which is a dominant force shaping everyday life including consumption. In other words, consumer socialization taking place through socialising agents representing different structures and forwarding their respective meanings in a complex environment, is unaccounted for. Although McNeal (2007) asserts that children are embedded in different complementing or competing environments, he does little to theorize how this complexity influences consumption practices.

Ekström et. al., (1987) quote Moschis and Moore (1979, 1984) to highlight two types of learning that enable consumer socialization. These include, social learning and cognitive development. Initial work on consumer socialization focused on the cognitive aspect of learning (Ward, 1974) while later work took a more holistic approach and recognized the role played by a child's environment (McNeal, 2007). The latter approach is endorsed within CCT by Arnould and Thompson (2005) who propose that sociocultural, experiential, ideological and symbolic facets shape motivation and consumption practices. John (1999) proposes a developmental conceptualization of consumer socialization that integrates the social and the cognitive models of learning across three stages: perceptual between 3-7 years of age, analytical between 7-11 years of age and reflective between 11 and 16 years of age. However, in explaining the development of a sophisticated and efficient young consumer, these theorizations focus on their agentic behaviour assuming that structural embeddedness encourages or facilitates agency. A rich account of structures that make agency possible at different stages of development is largely missing from extant literature. This study illuminates the discursive work of young consumers and offers a culturally informed theory of Muslim consumption.

Furthermore, consumer socialization is believed to guide children along utilitarian and hedonic functions of consumption, whereby utilitarian is concerned with task

accomplishment and general knowledge while hedonic fulfills desire for freedom, fantasy and recreation (Babin et. al., 1994). Western literature also reports about negative outcomes of consumer socialization such as "compulsive shopping, overspending and shoplifting," (Shim et. al., 2011:291). However, it is problematic to assume that the tendency to be motivated by utilitarian and hedonic values of consumption is universal, rather than a specific aspect of culture. Similarly, the negative outcomes of consumer socialization may also be a function of the cultural narrative that either supports or challenges certain outcomes of consumer socialization.

Moschis and Churchill's (1978) model of consumer socialization explains that children learn to become consumers by modelling behaviour of others, by understanding expectations and following explicit instructions and through their daily social interactions with other actors in their environment. The role of socialising agents in all three forms of learning approaches (Moschis & Churchill, 1978) is crucial. The next section reviews studies explaining different types of market socialising agents and their role in the process of consumer socialization.

2.1.2 Market Socialising Agents

The social environment of a child is constitutive of social objects or people (McNeal, 2007). According to McNeal (2007), the physical and the social environment of a child are interconnected such that the physical environment is ubiquitous and grows with the child and the social environment influences children's behaviour both directly and indirectly through mediation of the physical environment. McNeal (2007) explains that the physical environment includes inanimate objects such as home, school, neighbourhood, city and marketplace inclusive of print media, electronic media, outdoor billboards and movies, editorial contents of magazines, programming contents of radio and television, retail environments, shelves, fixtures, point-of-purchase promotion materials, the product in sample form, the cash register receipt, and shopping bags, parking areas, retail building features, window messages and signs (McNeal, 2007). Physical aspects of the marketplace such as print media, electronic media, outdoor billboards and movies, editorial contents of magazines and programming contents of radio and television, identified by McNeal (2007) are collectively referred to as the mass media and marketing communications by scholars and are considered a socialising agent alongside parents and peers (Shim et. al., 2011; Marquis, 2004; Kraak and Pelletier, 1998 in Wisenblit et. al.,2013; Ekström et. al., 1987; John, 1999; Moschis and Churchill, 1978). Moreover, McNeal's identification of the retail

space together with the retailer are recognized by Basu and Sondhi (2014) as another socialising agent in the Eastern context. Hence, family (inclusive of parents and other members), peers, media and physical markets are discussed in this section of the review, as socialising agents surrounding young consumers.

Reviewed studies in this section help to explain the depth and breadth of influence from different socialising agents on young consumers' consumption practices, with a special focus on the Eastern settings and its peculiarities. Additionally, the meaning making systems that different socialising agents represent while educating young consumers, are explicated. In order to organize understanding, the four socialising forces, family, peers, media and physical markets, are grouped into proximate socialising agents and distant socialising agents. Proximate socialising agents are understood as those present in the family unit such as parents, siblings and others, as will be explained in the following section. On the other hand, distant socialising agents include those that are outside the family unit, namely, peers, media and physical markets. Both these types of socialising agents are discussed sequentially in subsequent sections.

The first discussion is about proximate socialising agents. Since family situates the proximate socialising agents, it is discussed as a socialising context.

Proximate Socialising Agent: Family as the socialising context

Family as a socialising context and parents as key socialising agents are recognized in Western and Eastern literature (Buckingham, 2011; Kim et. al., 2015, Basu and Sondhi, 2014; McNeal, 2007). In this section, the objective is to highlight the differences in the Western and the Eastern familial structure embedding tween consumers. The influence of socialising agents present in the immediate environment constituting parents, siblings and grandparents are discussed in detail. Through this section, I seek to challenge the universal applicability of existing knowledge in complex cultural settings.

In Eastern societies such as India and Pakistan, extended family units are a norm (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Qadeer, 2011) whereby three generations, grandparents, parents and children are a part of one family unit. The role of grandparents in the development of a child as a consumer within Eastern societies, is recorded in literature (McNeal, 2007; Beyda 2010 in Basu and Sondhi, 2014). Moreover, children in Eastern households also have paternal uncles and their families living with them (Qadeer, 2011). Overall, a family unit in the East, making up the immediate social environment surrounding a young consumer, is complex and based on multiple interpersonal relationships. Eastern children

are embedded in several social hierarchies within their household. Western families on the other hand, are described by Buckingham (2011) as "longer and thinner" (p. 145) as he claims that there are fewer dependent children and over the past 50 years, more than two third of the children in UK tend to stay in their nuclear family set up for longer. The social environment surrounding Western children is relatively less complex. In a complex social environment, it is problematic to assume that all socialising agents represent the same societal structure and therefore have the same effect on the outcome of consumer socialization. Existing studies do not deconstruct the immediate family environment around a young consumer to explain possible tension that may be resulting from the influence of different structural forces on consumption.

Turning attention towards studies explaining the role of family in the process of consumer socialization, we find that in order to study the process of consumer socialization, studies have focused on demographic factors of the family such as family size (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Ekström et. al., 1987), family type - single, nuclear or extended (Ekström et al., 1987), number of siblings (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Kerrane and Hogg, 2013) and family income (Wisenblit et. al., 2013; Basu and Sondhi, 2014). Single parent families are believed to socialize their children into consumer roles early and involve them in family decision making (Ekström et. al., 1987). Basu and Sondhi (2014) assert that a child is socialized into consumption much earlier in smaller families with less children as compared to bigger families with more children. Economic status also plays a key role in the consumer socialization process (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Cotte and Wood, 2004; Ekström et. al., 1987). Not only children from higher socio-economic households are believed to be socialized into the role of consumers early (Ekström et. al., 1987), they have a greater influencing capability over their parents as compared to children from the lower socio-economic households (Wisenblit et. al., 2013). Moreover, working mothers are believed to encourage independence and effectiveness in their children (Basu and Sondhi, 2014) while dual income nuclear families are time poor and fragmented (Buckingham, 2011) and encourage children to participate in family decision making (Ekström et. al., 1987). In a majority of these studies, the reduction of consumer socialization to issues of family size and structure downplays the cultural structures in which family is formed, including the ways in which family size itself is an outcome of and constructs both the institution of family and the other dominant institutions in which consumption takes place. In effect, these studies only consider one institution (the family) and even then overlook the scripts that family as an institution enable. Buckingham (2011), however, illuminates

the environmental forces that shape consumption. He informs about the "domestication of leisure activities" (p. 148) as families in the UK restrict their children from independently going into public spaces and encourage them to spend more time at home, due to security concerns. The absence of empirical work in Buckingham's (2011) book, however, makes his claim elusive. The tension between specific security situation and the previous leisure activities, the socialising mechanisms that enabled the evolution of the new practice and young consumers' viewpoint, are unreported. However, the role of family in shaping children's consumption is recorded. The next few paragraphs explain the role of specific family members in developing a young consumer.

Within the consumer socialization literature, parents' role is most discussed. For example, McNeal (2007) asserts that within a family unit, parents are the first ones to introduce children to markets by taking them to shopping trips, Wartelia et. al., (1979) informs that parents create purchasing opportunities for children by giving allowances and John (1999) suggests that parents empower children as decision makers by letting them select their treats and toys. Similarly, Buckingham (2011) explains "their [parents'] relationships with their children (their feeling of love and care, as well as their anxieties, hopes and aspirations) inextricably ties up with consumer desires," (p. 144). Although implicitly, the interaction between the structures of Market and family is captured by these studies. However, it is important to note that parents' role in consumer socialization is repeatedly emphasized in literature. Existing studies explain particular parental styles and parenting practices that shape consumption among children. These studies further explain the differences between Western and Eastern parents and clarify their role in propagating the meanings of structures or institutions to order consumption of children.

Specifically, Western literature informs that parents engage in goal oriented parental practices such as parent-child discussions about shopping, advertising and money management that have an immediate effect on children's consumption behaviour (Kim et. al., 2015). Overall, parental socialization is believed to impact key consumer behaviour such as, brand preference and loyalty, information search, reliance on mass media, and price sensitivity (Childers and Rao 1992; Moschis 1987; Ward 1974 in Cotte and Wood, 2004). In light of these assertions, parents can be understood to represent the meaning making system of the Market. However, Western literature also records the restrictive practices of parents to control the effect of Market. For example, parental practices of limiting exposure to Market mechanisms, and of discussing consumption are believed to offset the parent-child conflict, peer-child conflict, early sexualisation, child obesity,

materialism and disappointment caused by advertising (Buckingham, 2011; Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Wisenblit et. al., 2013). While the parenting practices of introducing their children to Market can be inferred as their endorsement of the Market structure, the practice of control can be linked to the sentiments of "traditional conservatives and anti-capitalist activists, feminists and Religious fundamentalists" (Buckingham, 2011: 5). Buckingham (2011), who proposes a cultural approach to studying the consumption of children, identifies Religion, tradition, and anti-capitalist movement as parallel structures that influence consumption. From the Eastern literature, McNeal's (2007) study of Chinese children highlights the role of culture and its interaction with the Market in shaping consumption of young children. McNeal (2007) informs that physical objects such as toys and snacks are culture-specific and parents teach their children 'culturally' appropriate ways of consuming commercial objects such as clothing, toys and food. Furthermore, grandmothers are believed to contribute to a child's awareness of the culture (McNeal, 2007). Conclusively, theorists have recognized the presence of structuring forces other than the Market that legitimize or delegitimize consumption, but have paid limited attention to theorizing the effects of this interaction. A look at the parental styles, next, further explains this point.

Parental style is believed to be a cultural phenomenon (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012; Rose et. al., 2003) with significant differences between the collectivistic and individualistic nations (Rose et. al., 2003). Collectivist nations like Greece, India, Korea and China, typically exhibit Authoritarian and Protective parenting styles with more disciplinary and strict communication environments (see Keranne and Hogg, 2013 and Ekström et. al., 1987 for a detailed discussion on family communication styles). They value conformity with tradition, familial interdependence and harmony, parental authority, emotional and physical attachment with family and respect for elders (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Rose et. al., 2003). Parents from these cultures measure their success through their children and are therefore deeply involved in their upbringing. Authoritarian parenting entails following norms that are either Religious or established by an authority figure and any deviance from these norms merits punishment (Baumrind, 1968 in Carlson and Grossbart, 1988). Religion and tradition emerge as parallel structuring forces that order life in collectivistic settings and parents are the representative of these structures in the immediate social environment embedding a young consumer.

Individualistic nations, in contrast, have Authoritative or Permissive parenting style with more nurturing communication settings. US and Australia being individualistic

cultures, feature relaxed and easy going family environments whereby children are allowed greater autonomy (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Rose et. al., 2003). Authoritative parenting style, characteristic of modern economies, is believed to prepare a child for an individualistic society (Baumrind, 1971 in Rose et. al., 2003). Children in Authoritative families are encouraged to grow into independent thinkers whereby parents engage in discussion over rules and solicit children's opinion. While there is no exercise of power by Authoritative parents, there is firm control over their children's exposure (Carlson and Grossbart, 1988). Authoritative parents are believed to follow a concept-oriented communication style; hence, they co-view television content and discuss marketing messages with their children. Resultantly, there is a greater mediating role that these parents play vis a vis media exposure (Wisenblit et. al., 2013) and this fosters better marketplace knowledge and critical attitudes towards advertising (Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998). Children raised under an Authoritative parental style are expected to be better problem solvers. Permissive parents, on the other hand, view themselves as resources for their children and are relaxed in their parenting style; they provide freedom to their children and exercise no overt control or demand obedience (Baumrind, 1978 in Carlson and Grossbart, 1988). Unlike the Eastern literature that explicitly acknowledges the effect of local culture, Religion and tradition on consumer socialization, the Western literature only implicitly recognizes the effect of structures other than Market, on consumption. Specifically, Muslim consumption studies, especially from Turkey (Karatas & Sandikci, 2013; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010) as will be discussed in section 2.2, have recognized the role of Religion and Market in guiding consumption. However, the complexity felt by actors due to this pluralistic embeddedness and the resulting agency to accept or reject the guidance from different structures remains under theorized.

Buckingham (2011) points towards a need to explore the ongoing negotiation between structure and agency in studies of consumption. From the reviewed literature, it is evident that in a child's environment, the structures making up a society, come into effect through parents. While structures such as culture order life and consumption, they also enable or constrain agency. Specifically, the difference in the Western and Eastern cultures explain the difference in agency possible for young consumers. Parental styles, a cultural phenomenon, have a direct bearing on the agency of young consumers. Western parents may 'allow' greater agency to their children as compared to their Eastern counterparts. Moreover, Eastern parents' typical drive to uphold their traditional value system may translate into limited penetration of modern Market ideas. However, parental styles and

parental practices are not fixed. They evolve. For example, literature reports about changing family set ups from extended to nuclear in the urban locations of the Eastern countries such as India and Pakistan (Khurshid et. al., 2014; Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012; Qadeer, 2011) and there are reports of a trend of growing income patterns and stronger role of children in the East (Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012; Mohsin, 2006). Furthermore, there are reports of changing parental styles and an evolution of socialization practices in the Eastern market (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Rose et. al., 2003). For example, urban Indian families are reported to have evolved in their socialization practices, recognizing children as independent entities capable of making their consumption decisions (Basu and Sondhi, 2014). The changes in the urban culture of the East could be a result of influence from the Market as an institution. And yet it is problematic to assume that these Eastern urban centers now resemble the Western contexts. Literature informs that although the evolution of culture is underway, Indian parents still keep a close watch on what their children consume, saying no to a mini skirt, a low neck top or a movie with adult content (Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012). Evidently, the local cultural norms create challenges for a free uptake of Market ideas. Existing consumer socialization literature suggests a patterning of consumption that emerges as children are socialized by their parents, within both the traditional as well as the Market structure. Actors, other than parents present in the family unit also influence young consumers. The next paragraph reviews literature on sibling influence to extract their institutional representation.

Intergenerational and intra-generational influences in consumer socialization are recorded in literature (Cotte and Wood, 2004). Kerrane and Hogg (2013) focus on the agentic behaviour of young consumers and suggest that children undertake a two stage process of seeking advice; they first refer to their siblings for honest consumption advice on technically complex or visible products and later refer to their peers to safeguard themselves against any social risk. Cotte and Wood (2004) inform that siblings serve as both role models and important peers for modelling and comparing behaviours related to consumption. Furthermore, intra-generational influence is reported to be greater than intergenerational influence in inculcating innovative consumption behaviour. (Cotte and Wood, 2004). Based on reviewed literature, it is evident that children exercise agency in accepting socialising influence from their siblings. However, existing studies once again assume siblings to be the socialising agents of the Market, except for McNeal's (2007) study that asserts that the influence of culture is present in a peer-child interaction.

Chapter 2

So far the review in this section has discussed family members that are common in Eastern and Western cultures. As already iterated, Eastern cultures have extended family units and therefore other family members also influence the process of consumer development. The adult-child domain in Asian households include actors other than parents (McNeal, 2007). However, the literature illuminating the consumer socialization taking place through extended family members is scant. The vast Western literature is limited in accounting for such socialising agents as the Western family structure is nuclear. From the Eastern literature, a brief understanding about the role of grandparents is offered by McNeal (2007) and Basu and Sondhi (2014). Specifically, grandmothers, who babysit kids as their parents work, are believed to greatly contribute towards their cognitive development, especially their consciousness of cultural embeddedness (McNeal, 2007; Beyda 2010 in Basu and Sondhi, 2014). Moreover, Chinese children are believed to make direct requests to their grandparents for treats and toys (McNeal and Yeh, 1997, 2003 in McNeal, 2007). Conclusively, grandparents represent the Market as well as the local culture when they socialize children into the role of a consumer. This study highlights the effects of socialising agents representing logics of multiple institutions. Specific effects on the agency of Muslim tweens in using different logics of legitimize their consumption practices are illuminated.

In summary, Eastern consumption contexts are significantly different from the Western ones, where most theory of consumption is developed. Without accounting for these settings, a complete theory of consumption is impossible. From this extensive and multifaceted discussion of family as a socialization context, some key points emerge. Eastern or collectivist cultures are characteristic of conformity with tradition, familial interdependence and harmony, parental authority, emotional and physical attachment with family and respect for elders (Rose et. al., 2003). "Traditional societies allow their youth less freedom, supervise their free-time activities more, and prefer institutionalized frameworks like schools that promote knowledge and human capital development that benefit both the individual youngster and society at large" (Larson and Verma, 1999 in Arnon et. al., 2008, p. 378). At the same time, literature from Eastern contexts such as India and Pakistan report about an evolution in the urban parts of the country. Parents from higher socio economic class households are believed to foster individuality and allow their children greater freedom of choice (Abideen et al., 2011). Additionally, the role of extended family members cannot be overemphasized in a typical Eastern family set-up. This peculiarity adds new actors to the consumer socialization context. This thesis shows

that while modern parents from the East may be adopting developed countries' trends, presence of older generation in a household may make it difficult to completely adopt the Western trends. As will be discussed in the findings chapter, not all members of the older generation are averse to modern trends. Therefore, in an Eastern child's environment, different socialising agents may represent different structures and cause tension.

Complexity of the traditional Eastern societies mandates a focused study of consumption that explains how multiple institutions simultaneously influence consumption in a complimenting or competing style. McNeal (2007) highlights culture as a force that informs consumption in the Chinese context. Hence, specific institutions within the Eastern Muslim culture are explored to not only identify the origin of complexity that surrounds consumption of children but also advance the theory of young consumers' agentic behaviour. Existing consumer socialization studies focus on agency without linking it to societal structures that make it possible. An explanation of how young consumers understand and use their embedded agency in a complex environment is important to move beyond isolated inquiries of both 'an overdetermined consumer,' and an 'independent, agentic consumer.'

So far the review has focused on explaining the role of socialising agents in the immediate social and physical environment surrounding young consumers. The next section discusses the influence of socialising agents present outside the family unit such as peers, media and physical markets. For the purpose of this thesis, I group these influencers as distant socialising agents. Similar to the previous section, studies explaining the role of distant socialising agents are reviewed in the following section to explicate the structures they represent and the agency they enable.

Distant Socialising Agents

This section of the review begins with studies illuminating the influence of peers on young consumers. Next, research explaining the effect of media is discussed and finally, literature informing the effects of physical markets is examined. Overall, this part of the review builds on to the understanding of the young consumer's embeddedness in their social and physical structures, developed in the previous section while it also establishes the gap that the thesis is positioned to fill.

Literature suggests that for children between 8 and 12 years, peers become an increasingly important resource (Valenburg, 2001) and for teenagers, peer influence is

pronounced (Kerrane and Hogg, 2013) and affects their psychological makeup (Arnon, et. al., 2008). Specifically, peers share a similar sense of dress and style (Shim et. al., 2011). According to Mangleburg et. al., (2004), peers have a normative and informational influence on how teenagers evaluate products, when they shop together. Normative influence is when a subject conforms to the wishes of his relevant others in order to enhance his self-esteem (Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998), or when elders teach children society's norms through explicit instructions (Kerrane and Hogg, 2013). Informational influence, on the other hand, is when a subject accepts and internalizes information from others (Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998). Peer influence affects attitude towards advertising (Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998), brand choices for necessities and the decision making stage of the family buying process (Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012). Moreover, Valenburg (2001) asserts that peer influence may be capable of filtering out the effect of other socialising forces. The consumer socialization literature informing about the peer influence indicates the link between the Market as a structure and young consumers as subjects, that is formed through their peers. Explicit theorization about the social/structural meanings represented by peer groups is however, missing from existing knowledge.

Activities such as 'hanging out' at the mall with their peers (McNeal, 2007) and shopping with peers (Mangleburg et. al., 2004) can be considered as specific mechanisms that enable peers to represent the Market in their interaction with young consumers. However, McNeal (2007) informs that the relationship between young consumers and their peers is also inspired by the culture. Therefore, specific mechanisms that enable peers to perform in the role of Market socialising agents cannot be assumed to be universal. Culture defines how peer-child relationships develop and what mechanisms enable consumer socialization to take place. For example, when Adler and Adler (1984) identify the carpool as another mechanism enabling socialization between a child and his peers, we know that such arrangements are not universal.

The agency of young consumers in the peer-child social world is greater as McNeal (2007) asserts that in the peer-child social world, there is greater equality and cooperation than in the peer-adult social world. Although peer influence is common, the universality of its effects cannot be assumed. According to Arnon et. al., (2008), Israeli adolescents spend a significant portion of their time away from parental supervision and among peers and yet there is no single universal youth culture. Arnon et. al., (2008) quote sociologists to remind that there are in fact multiple youth cultures, each being a result of different ages, gender, race, and place of residence, and mainly of different social classes. In this study, the

immediate social and physical environment, or the embedding culture, is therefore explored as a system of structures that order consumption practices and enable agency. Specifically, social interactions and mechanisms that connect meaning making systems to young consumers such that they influence and are influenced by consumption practices, are paid attention to.

Media is another, more distant socialising agent that informs consumption practices of children. There is no denying that children today are exposed to television, computer, iPod, mobile phone and video game and children's consumption of media content has substantially increased (Wisenblit et. al., 2013). McNeal (2007) declares TV viewing to be a popular activity among children when they are alone or in the company of friends. He further asserts that behaviour learnt from the consumption of commercial objects is stronger than that learnt from parents. There is, however, little agreement in literature over whether to think of children as naive and gullible consumers or as sophisticated and agentic consumers. For example, Lawlor and Prothero, (2008), Moore and Lutz (2000) and Kapur (2005) inform about the impact of commercial advertising on children's behaviour whereas Seiter (1999), Buckingham (1996) Guber and Berry (1993) in Kapur (2005) argue that children possess the capacity to reflect and reject meanings offered by TV content. In this light, Boden's (2006a) work on children's fashionable clothing is useful. Calling them "media savvy" (p. 297), Boden (2006a) explains how children identify with or disassociate from famous sports and music celebrities they see on media. Boden (2006a) suggests "consumption to be an enabling and transformatory force which mutually reinforces both its mentalistic and materialistic dimensions" (p. 295) such that the bond between a celebrity and a child becomes intimate leading to the possibility of "market after market for global consumer capitalism" (p. 297). However, Boden's (2006a) claim about global consumer capitalism is contradictory. In this same article, Boden (2006a) discusses how an 11 years old Muslim girl living in the UK and guided by her Religious logic of 'modesty' and 'respectability,' objects to Jennifer Lopez's skimpy clothes and show of flesh. Two specific inferences drawn from these studies have guided the project. Firstly, agency is a function of structural embeddedness. The Muslim girl exercised agency to reject the dressing style of Jennifer Lopez but her sense of consumption norms was guided by Religion – a different influence shaping her consumption perceptions. Secondly, the notion of a global consumer capitalism is misplaced. Although media propagated popular culture captures the attention of children present across the globe, the adoption of global trends may not be possible due to a child's cultural or Religious embeddedness, as evident in the

Muslim girls case. Reflexivity among young consumers is sparked as they are embedded in multiple structures and compare competing meaning making systems to ascertain their consumption norms. Hence in this study, the negotiation taking place at the intersection of Religion and Market meanings is theorized, in order to explain the complexity of consumption that Boden (2006a) has highlighted.

Studies that view children as naive consumers highlight the additional role of parents as mediators. Advertising, a media content carrying the Market logic, is believed to cause unhappiness, parent child tension and materialism among children (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003). Marketing messages transmitted through advertisements are therefore believed to fuel pester power causing permissive and strict parents to mediate the influence of such messages (Linn, 2004 in Wisenblit et. al., 2013). Boden (2006b) however, views children as agentic and capable of negotiating with their parents for their consumption preferences. He declares commercial life to be an important interacting ground for the parent-child social world and suggests that the confluence of parental and commercial (through mass media and internet) effect on young children make their consumption a complex matter. According to Boden (2006b), Western parents both impede and facilitate the adoption of Market meaning of fashionable clothing that is propagated through media. On one hand, they use their parental authority to overrule any consuming freedom of children as they find fashionable clothing inappropriate in terms of cost and age as well as the label-culture and on the other hand, they facilitate indulgence as they live through their children (Boden, 2006b). Conclusively, the agentic young consumer is a function of the immediate social environment. If parents act as the Market socialising agents, then it results in simpler consumption decisions. However, if parents act as the socialising agents of the traditional society, as highlighted by Boden (2006b), then the consumption practices are a result of the interplay between the Market and the traditional meaning making systems and are hence more complex. A key takeaway from Boden's (2006b) study that was noted for this thesis was the dual structural representation of parents. They can represent the Market as well as the local culture in their consumer socialising efforts.

What Boden (2006b) briefly mentions as the mediating act of parents is explained in detail by Buijzen (2009) and Wisenblit et. al. (2013). Buijzen (2009) focuses on parental communication and Wisenblit et. al., (2013) focus on parental styles to study the effect on children's adoption of consumption norms publicised by food advertisements. Family communication is considered essential for an adolescent child to develop necessary consumer skills (Kerrane and Hogg, 2013). Specifically, setting consumption rules and

developing a critical attitude towards food advertising among children modifies their consumption behaviour (Buijzen, 2009; Wisenblit et. al., 2013). The effect of food advertisements on children's health and diet has been a public policy concern in the West (Wisenblit et. al., 2013) and therefore studies have focused on parents' role as mediators. Although these studies record the interaction of Market and family specifically parents, within the domain of food consumption practices, the perspective of the child consumer experiencing such interactions and negotiations, is under-theorized in existing knowledge.

The room for agency of children and control for parents is also different across TV and the internet. There are reports in extant literature that young consumers, specifically children and adolescents, use the Internet as a principal source of consumer information as well as entertainment (Rose et. al., 2009). Western literature suggests adolescents' engagement with the Internet is unique as they make it a parent-free zone and find opportunities for broader (geographically diverse) self-socialization (Anderson and McCabe, 2012). Anderson and McCabe (2012) explain that "in self-socialization, adolescents gain more independence and control over their own socialization" (p. 243). Clearly, the extent of parental mediation to counter the narrative of the Market, is bound by time. There is greater agentic behaviour as children enter adolescence. However, the level of internet access available to young consumers from the developing Eastern countries may not be the same as that available to their counterparts in the West (Datoo, 2010). Moreover, the peculiarities of the Eastern societies where Religion is a dominant force (Karim, 2012) adds new dimensions to parental concerns against the Market narrative.

A review of literature from Eastern Muslim contexts reveals global media, mostly considered Western, is playing a key role in hybridizing the youth culture in Asian countries such as Malaysia and Pakistan (Karim, 2012, Datoo, 2010). Indeed, the growth of global media in the Asian countries is believed to be the most rapid in the world (Kim, 2008). Literature from Pakistan also reveals that TV as a medium has grown phenomenally in the last decade whereby audiences are able to access local and international content (Abideen et. al., 2011). Liberalization and growth of electronic media in Pakistan, in the decade from 2000 – 2009, is believed to have evolved consumer lifestyles in Pakistan, as international trends penetrate the country (Shaikh, 2017). This evolution in consumer lifestyle, however, cannot be assumed to be a result of shift in the local culture. Karim (2012) informs that the exposure to local and global media content in Muslim contexts like Malaysia leads to hybridized identities that are a result of ethnic and Religious tendencies as well as global individualist outlook, through a daily negotiation and appropriation of the

global into the local culture. Reports from Pakistan explain that situated at the nexus of global and local effects, parents mediate their children's media exposure due to one of the three reasons: they view TV content to be inappropriate, they want their children to spend more time in a physical activity, or there is only one TV set in the house (Abideen et al., 2011). Undoubtedly, the collectivist outlook of Eastern societies guides the media consumption of young children through parents (Karim, 2012). Karim (2012) informs that although for Muslim teens "there are times when the collective life of conforming to rules becomes a source of tension for them" (p. 90), they "do not find Religious duties confining" (p. 92) and quite easily forgo their TV time for Religious practices. In terms of consumption, Wong (2007) informs that Eastern societies exhibit "alternative modernities of consumption" (p. 455) as the "rival value system" (p. 454) creates tensions for the Western ideology of consumption. For Eastern, Muslim contexts, Religion forms a significant rival discourse impacting consumption (Wong, 2007). Within this scheme of things, Karatas and Sandikci (2013) have identified Religious mentors as key consumer socialising agents within Muslim subcultural contexts.

The final socialising source highlighted in literature is physical markets. Extant literature informs that Eastern markets experience the effects of capitalism, different from the West (Wong, 2007). According to Wilson et. al., (2013), Muslim consumers are increasingly demanding market offerings that are aligned with their belief system, as Religion for them is "a way of life and a lifestyle choice" (p. 5). As will be discussed in section 2.2, the interaction between Religion and Market is atypical in Muslim consumption contexts.

Retail outlets and the role of retailers in informing children's shopping decisions is recorded in literature (McNeal, 2007). As already mentioned, the shopping environments also offer themselves as places to hang out with peers (McNeal, 2007) and learn more about consumption, as children shop with their peers (Mangleburg et. al. 2004). Grossbart et. al., (1990) have studied the retail environment to explore how parents use it as a socialising space to develop their children's skills as consumers. Conclusively, physical markets play an important role in propagating the Market meanings of consumption.

In the Eastern context, media's socialising effects has led to the popularity of global brands and fueled the growth of modern markets in the urban centers. According to Euromonitor International, Pakistan is currently the world's fastest-growing retail market (Sameer, 2017) with a shift in consumer shopping preferences from a 'product price focus'

to an 'assortment experience focus,' (Shaikh, 2017). Pakistan's local brands have also substantially capitalized on the local growth opportunity. According to Naqvi (2013), Pakistani shoppers are able to stay on top of the trends by purchasing local and Western wear from modern shopping malls.

There are some key takeaways from the discussion on Eastern, Muslim contexts. First, parents from Eastern, Muslim contexts act as mediators of media consumption. However, their concerns are not recorded in literature and cannot be assumed to resemble the Western parents' concern. This study explores Muslim parents' structural representation to explain the origin of their concerns. Second, global media has triggered an evolution of young consumers in the East; however, this cannot be viewed as a replacement of collectivist outlook with the individualist tendencies. It is an appropriation of Western, global culture within the local culture. Evidently, the structural embeddedness affords Eastern consumers agency that tweens use to construct their fluid, hybrid identity. Third, Religion is a dominant force and has the power to displace other structures surrounding young consumers. For example, Karim (2012) asserts "despite their fascination for foreign fashion, entertainment, lifestyles and values, Religion remained central to young Malaysians' life" (p. 92). Existing literature records the effect of Religion on consumption, as will be discussed section 2.2, but does little to explain the negotiation that occurs due to a difference in meaning making systems of the Market and Religion. Finally, young Muslim consumers feel the tension being embedded in a multi-structural environment but they are not frustrated by the competing demands. A focus on this unique characteristic of consumers embedded in structurally complex societies, is crucial in updating the existing theory of consumption.

Western contexts are therefore distinctive from non-Western contexts of consumption. This study theorizes consumption taking place in Eastern Muslim settings to know more about the co-existence of Market and Islamic structures. Nilan (2008) in Kim (2008) has made a similar assertion in literature where she points towards the limitation of Western theories in explaining the non-Western contexts. Karim's (2012) assertion that the places where global youth culture is appropriated with the local ethnic and Religious culture is fluid, demands attention. This systematic and culturally informed study of the Muslim consumption culture not only explains the interplay of Religion and the Market but also where and how the appropriation takes place.

Chapter 2

The review informs that young Muslim's consumptionscape is influenced by immediate family particularly parents, extended family such as grandparents, peers, media and physical markets. Ekström (2006) asserts that simultaneous socialization taking place through different agents makes the process of consumer socialization complex. Viewing the socialising agents as representatives of specific structures, further indicates the complexity of the development of a consumer. While some agents in the social environment may encourage and enable behaviour, certain others may constrain the same action by emphasizing the importance of society's prescribed value based actions (McNeal, 2007). McNeal's (2007) highlighting of the cultural constraints is especially relevant in the Eastern Muslim contexts where Religion and Market interplay to influence the consumption practices of consumers. Eastern parents are representatives of the Market as well as the traditional society or Religion. Furthermore, they are the primary consumer socialising agents and gatekeepers positioned to mediate the socialising effects of other socialising agents, through their specific parenting and communication styles. Therefore, the parent-child social world was recognized as the ideal location to study the negotiation and appropriation of the global culture alongside the local culture, in order to theorize complex consumption practices.

So far, the review has discussed the influence of socialising agents on the consumption of children. In doing so, I have tried to locate the structures that work through different socialising agents to determine consumption of children. In this respect, this study adopts the consumer enculturation view identified by Cody (2012). Although the reviewed literature, the conceptual framework and the findings may indicate that this study is locating the effects of consumer and religious socialization but the effort is more to see how the interaction between social structures embedding the socialized tweens and the tween actors, guides their consumption practices in an institutionally complex context.

Literature suggests that age also plays a significant role in how a young child develops into a consumer. Therefore, the next section reviews consumer studies to understand how age equips young consumers with strategies to negotiate for their preferred consumption practices, as they operate under structural complexity.

2.1.3 Consumption at tweenage

Tweenage is described as the transitionary period between two commercial roles; specifically, it is explained as the "downaging of the teen and the upaging of the child" by Coulter (2009: 175). It is precisely this transitory period that Cody (2012) equates with liminality and regard as social invisibility of the imperceptible tween population who are stuck between two recognized social identities. Extant research informs that the creation of tweenage as an attractive market segment is a late twentieth century phenomenon that is a result of capitalist forces such as the media, retailers, product designers and advertisers finding logic in segmenting the broader youth segment into more nuanced toddlers, preschoolers, tweenagers and teenagers market segments (Cody and Lawlor, 2011; Coulter, 2009). Coulter (2009) also explains tweenage as a cultural resource that resulted from another twentieth century phenomenon of women joining the workforce.

Coulter (2009) informs that the tween market gained such momentum that by the 2000s, Marketing gurus like Martin Lindstrom advocated that 80% of global brands pursue a tween strategy. Not only were tweens legitimized as a lucrative market segment by "the forces of consumer culture" (Coulter, 2009: 12), they started attracting attention from academics as well (Cody & Lawlor, 2011). With respect to their consumption, literature suggests that tweenage or preadolescence brings a shift in their behaviour. As they get older and specifically by the pre-teen years, children become independent (McNeal, 2007) and influence parents' decision making (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Wisenblit et. al., 2013; Coulter, 2009). Calling them empowered children, Buijzen and Valkenburg (2003) assert that they are able to negotiate more sophistically with parents, avoiding any tensions. This knack may be a result of some important skills that children aged 7-11 years acquire from their social environment: the ability to understand viewpoint of others (John, 1999), ability to use a variety of influence strategies on parents (Kerrane et. al., 2012) and the ability to view advertisements sceptically and understand advertising deception (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Wisenblit et. al., 2013). Mangleburg and Bristol (1998) declare scepticism to be an important consumer skill as it equips a child in making informed purchase decisions. In other words, tweenagers are able to understand the structures that embed them and use their agency to negotiate for their consumption practices. However, these claims about tweenagers need to be accepted with caution especially in light of the point made by Cody (2012). Her assertion that tweens are in a state of flux as they are no longer children and not yet teens needs to be explored in specific consumption contexts to ascertain the nature of their liminality and how that affects their consumption strategies

and practices. In this light, exploring the tweens present in the Eastern, Muslim contexts is an opportunity to see if they are truly bogged down by the liminality around their identity or if they leverage it to pursue their consumption desires in a complex institutional environment. Similar to the Western culture, the attempt to construct the Pakistani Muslim tween may well be from the Market but it's different as it takes place within institutional complexity, specifically a dominant set of religious logics with their own liminal stages and rituals (as will be explained in the findings section).

Eastern tweenagers such as those from Pakistan, between the age of 8-12 years, are reported to be rational and knowledgeable consumers who are able to understand the logic behind TV advertising (Kashif et. al., 2012). Although there is agreement between Western and Eastern literature about children becoming more cognitive and agentic in their behaviour, the extent of their agency is different in the two contexts. For example, McNeal's (2007) view of Chinese tweenagers becoming independent as they carry out retail transactions is not the same as that of a Western tweenager making his or her consumption choices (Boden, 2006a; Boden, 2006b). The role of parents in McNeal's (2007) study is still prominent in the decision making stage of consumption whereas the role of parents in the Boden's (2006a; 2006b) study is less pronounced. In other words, McNeal (2007) highlights greater role of parents as representatives of the Chinese culture whereas Boden (2006a; 2006b) highlights the role of parents as representatives of the Market.

As noted earlier, parents act as gatekeepers to mediate the influence of other socialising agents (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Wisenblit et. al., 2013) however, parental authority in Eastern settings is an important part of the culture (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Rose et. al., 2003) within which consumption takes place. Within the parent-child social world, the extent of independence 'allowed' by parents to young consumers in Eastern consumption context is vastly different from that enjoyed by Western children. At this point it is important to recall the restrictions imposed by Eastern parents on their children's consumption of low neck tops and movies with adult content or vulgar language (Chaudhary and Gupta, 2012). And yet it is problematic to assume that young consumers in the East act in accordance with the embedded structures only. Given that the young consumers from the Eastern contexts are emerging with hybridized identities (Karim, 2012; Datoo, 2010), it is safe to assume that there is negotiation between them and different structural influences for their preferred consumption practices. The findings of

this thesis show the truth in these assumption through illustrative accounts of consumption of Pakistani Muslim tween consumers.

As children enter tweenage, there is also a shift in their 'relevant others (McNeal, 2007). As very young children, they rely more on their parents, as tweenagers and teenagers, they trust their peers better and as young adults, they start placing greater confidence in the marketer's message. An inference that can be drawn from McNeal's (2007) assertions is that different socialising agents represent different thoughts related to consumption. If they all guided a tween's consumption in a uniform way, there would be no shift in confidence. Furthermore, literature suggests that tweenagers from pluralistic consumption contexts use their agency enabled by one structure to reject the meanings of the other. For example, the 11 years old Muslim girl used her Islamic sense and agency to dismiss Jennifer Lopez's dressing style, in Boden's (2006a) study. Therefore, tweenage presents a unique time to explore the relationship between structure and agency. A further discussion of this point will follow in section 4.3 of the Methods chapter.

The previous section concluded with the identification of Eastern Muslim consumption contexts as ideal settings to study complex consumption practices. From the literature on age presented in this section, tweenage emerged as the ideal age to explore the dynamics between embedding structures and young consumers' agency within the domain of consumption practices. Two specific claims in extant literature suggest the tendency of tweens to use agency and to understand embedding structures. Arnon et. al., (2008) assert that "youngsters (aged 10-15) are characterized by their high energy, striving for self-definition, and a need to prove personal competence in a variety of areas" (p. 376). Moreover, John (1999) asserts that children between 7-11 years learn to understand the viewpoint of others. Therefore, the emerging practices of tweens, children between 8-12 years old, were studied, as they were capable of reflecting on, and pursuing their own consumption practices whilst still referring to a range of socialising agents and through them the expectation of the embedding structures. Consumption practices of children younger than tweens may be over-determined by parents and those of adolescents may be more agentic than shaped by embedding structures.

Throughout the review presented so far, Muslim consumption contexts have been highlighted as pluralistic whereby Market and Islamic meanings simultaneously inform tweenagers' consumption practices. The next section specifically reviews studies of Muslim consumption in order to explain the tension between Market and Islam. In the

absence of studies explaining Muslim tweenagers' consumption behaviour, I present a review of studies from Muslim context that have used adults as participants. The insights offered by existing knowledge is useful in developing a sense of the structuring effects of the Market and Islam but cannot be used to understand the agentic behaviour of Muslim tweenagers

2.2 Muslim consumption: the interaction ground for Islam and the Market

The behavioural scripts based on the meaning making structures of Market and Islam engage Muslim actors in negotiations to affirm their consumption ideology. Whether they swing more towards the Market meaning or the Islamic meaning of consumption or design a blend of the two, is explored in various studies of Muslim consumer culture. For example, the 'halal living' phenomenon (Wilson et. al., 2013) results in a Turkish based Gülen Muslim community adopting Islamically 'appropriate' consumption of clothing and movies (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013). Izberk-Bilgin (2012) inform about the Islamic ideology propelling a 'consumer jihad' against global, infidel brands among low income Turkish Muslims. Wong (2007) enlightens about the impact of varying Islamic discourses on urban and affluent Malay Muslims' identity projects. However, the Islamic meanings do not always appropriate the Market meanings of consumption. Sometimes, the Market meanings are weaved into Islamic practices. For example, Turkish female Muslims adopt the Market logic of fashion to make their Islamic practice of veiling modern (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010). Iranian women augment the symbolic value of their hijab (head scarf) with the emblem of Western brands (Balasescu, 2003). Sobh et. al., (2014) explain how a veil creates the 'necessary invisibility' of Western fashion and makes its consumption possible for Middle Eastern women. Evidently, Muslim consumption practices become an interaction ground for Market and Islam. Although there is marketplace tension between Islam and Market (Wilson et. al., 2013), from extant literature, it is evident that the two institutional orders also feed off each other. While the Market survives by providing consuming logic for different subcultures of consumers including Muslims, Religion survives through a careful selection of 'Religiously appropriate' battery of consumption practices that distinguishes its subscribers from the rest. In short, the institutions are formed and reformed as they respond to the embedded agency of those who subscribe to the meanings of either or both governing structures.

McAlexander et. al., (2014) informs that no sphere of individuals' lives is beyond the jurisdiction of the Market, not even the most sacred Religious lives. Marketing literature finds Market and Religion in a symbiotic relationship (McAlexander et. al., 2014; Karatas and Sandikci, 2013). Actors' material consumption and Religious ideals often interact within the field of consumption practices (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010; Wong 2007; Wilson et. al., 2013; Jafari and Suerdem, 2012), in pursuance of their identity goals (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Wong 2007) and Islamic lifestyle (Sandikci and Ger, 2010; Ismail 2013; Fischer, 2009; Navaro-Yashin 2002).

'Neo-spiritualism,' a term offered by Wilson et. al., (2013) to refer to a 21st century phenomenon of rising consumerism and consumption in the Islamic world, attempts to capture the relationship between Market and Islam. Wilson et. al., (2013) claim that Islamic Marketing, a rapidly growing field, is more of a discussed than a manifested phenomenon as there is little effort from mainstream marketers to systematically design solutions for Muslim consumers. However, they provide enough evidence within their article to refute their own claim. For example, they mention that KFC, Subway and Nandos offer halal certified commodities to Muslim consumers, in key UK cities, which are non-Muslim contexts and subject to structural demands that are different from those in Muslim countries. Nike's launch of a hijab for Muslim women athletes (Ahmed, 2017) indicates the growing attention being paid to Muslim consumers who make up a quarter of the world's population (Wilson et. al., 2013). However, this observation is separated from the context of a Muslim culture which might afford or restrict athletics for women in specific ways and hence transform the consumption practices relating to Nike Sports hijabs.

Alternatively, Wong (2007) informs that "In Islamic societies, consumer culture is often portrayed as a threat, harmful to Religion as it privileges hedonism, pleasure, individualism and an expressive lifestyle" (p. 451). Religion has typically been perceived to provide a complete code of conduct including regulations for the consumption of diet, clothing, entertainment and so on (Goffman 1968 in McAlexander et. al., 2014; Varul 2008 in Jafari and Suerdem, 2012). Jafari and Suerdem (2012) acknowledge the paradox and complexity of Muslim consumer culture based on a combination of both profane and sacred practices as they argue that Islamic guidelines are open to interpretations. The guidelines of Quran, the Holy Scripture of Muslims, are interpreted differently in different Muslim subcultural contexts (Jafari and Suerdem, 2012). Karatas and Sandikci's (2013) work substantiates this assertion by demonstrating the fluidity of modesty, a concept central to Muslim identity. Therefore, the appropriateness of consumption practices under

the Islamic structure, judged using the filters of halal and haram, is dynamic and depends on the sociomaterial and temporal construction (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013). From Sandıkcı and Ger's (2010) fashionable veils to Izberk-Bilgin's (2012) conceptualization of 'jihadi consumers' to Karatas and Sandikci's (2013) appropriate clothing style and movies, legitimacy of consumption practices under the Islamic structure is always contextual. It is important to note here that many of the studies of Islamic Marketing have so far been undertaken in the more moderate Islamic countries, such as Turkey and Malaysia. Pakistan, with its ongoing project of Islamization, as will be discussed in section 5.1, represents a context in which Islam's influence on consumption is likely to be even stronger. Therefore, any tension between Islam and the Market is believed to be more pronounced.

An alternative view of the interaction between Market and Religion is presented by McAlexander et. al., (2014). McAlexander et. al., (2014) inform that traditional institutions such as Religion that once provided normative guidance to actors are now losing their legitimizing power to the Market. However, research from Muslim contexts counters this assertion. The institutional order of Islam maintains its structuring influence on Muslim actors through mechanisms of 'weekly meetings' (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013), 'mosque attendance' (Maliepaard and Lubbers, 2013, Wilson et. al., 2013) and daily prayers (Wilson et. al., 2013). Therefore, 'symbolic boundaries' between the Muslim subculture and 'others' that are constructed through consumption practices (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Jafari and Goulding, 2013; Karatas and Sandikci, 2013) are indicative of the Islamic influence. Yet, Wilson et. al., (2013) warn that it is simplistic to assume that Muslim consumers are always detached from the Market logic; they create possibilities of following the Market logic while staying rooted in the Islamic logic, by knowing 'how' and 'where' to consume. There are reports of "'Islamic' fashions, leisure spaces, coffee shops, media, and brands attracting the attention of marketing scholars (Sandikci and Jafari, 2013). The dissimilarity with the Western style of consumption cannot be inferred as a complete detachment from the Market meanings of consumption, within Muslim consumer culture. Using the Western perspective to study consumption in Muslim contexts is problematic as there is a risk of missing the specific consumption practices that emerge from such complex interplay of structures and the resulting embedded agency of actors. Therefore, this study explores specific Islamic consumption practices, rather than the absence of Western consumption.

Muslim consumption studies have explored the relationship between Market and Islam at both the individual (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Jafari and Goulding, 2013) and communal level (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013), using adults as participants. With more than 50% of the Muslim community or 10% of the world population consisting of people under 24 years in age, (Wilson et. al., 2013) this study addresses the need to illuminate the relationship between Market and Islam with the consumption practices of young Muslims. Children who are undergoing the process of consumer socialization, undergo simultaneous Religious socialization in Muslim contexts. For example, Muslim children in Pakistan are reported to start their Religious education very early (Epstein, 2008) A more detailed discussed about this will follow in section 5.1. This study explores the effect of parallel socializations of the Market and Religion on consumption practices of young Muslims in specific contexts and conceptualizes consumption from a socio-cultural-Religious perspective.

Much like the consumer socialization literature, studies of Religious socialization highlight the importance of the social context (Krauss et. al., 2012). Western literature informing about Religious socialization processes recognize family, peer and congregational influences as socialising agents (Martin et. al., 2003). Once again, family is recognized as a significant social context and parents as primary socialising forces. The effect of Religious socialization is believed to be stronger when there is congruence in the Religious socialization perspectives of parents and other actors present in an environment (Armet, 2009; Krauss et al., 2012). Other important contributors to stronger Religious sense include conjugal families, whereby both parents commit to modelling Religious values (Armet, 2009), community engagement (Krauss et. al., 2012) and the nature of parent child relationship (Armet, 2009). Therefore, this study explores the consumption practices of Muslim tweens in an institutionally complex setting by situating the social structures embedding the young consumers.

Pakistan was the ideal research site for this study. It provided an opportunity to study the effect of both Market and Islam on Muslim tweenagers' consumption. A detailed description of the Pakistani society is included as a preamble to the findings section in section 5.1.

In summary, the cultural distance between the West and the East cannot be ignored. Within the global world, the nuances of Eastern cultures make it impossible to assume any semblance between consumption of tweens present in the West and consumption of those

in the East. The structural makeup of the West is vastly different from that of the East. The reviewed literature specifically highlights the important role Eastern parents play in strengthening the structural influences around tweenagers. Literature also informs about the declining importance of the family in Western contexts (Greenwood et. al., 2010). The culturally informed parenting styles of the East value conformity with tradition, familial interdependence and harmony, parental authority, emotional and physical attachment with family and respect for elders (Basu and Sondhi, 2014; Rose et. al., 2003). Furthermore, within Muslim contexts, Islam plays a dominant role in shaping consumption practices of Muslims. All these insights have guided this study of Muslim tweenagers' consumption.

The following section explains the theoretical venue for the study. Specifically, I discuss CCT and IL perspective.

2.3 Theoretical venue

This section explains the theoretical basis of the project. I first outline CCT as the situating paradigm and then IL perspective as the epistemological support for the project.

2.3.1 CCT

CCT is as a polyphonic field of voices, laying emphasis on heterogeneous consumer meanings and actions in a globalized marketplace (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). It motivates a study of the experiential and sociocultural study of consumption and challenges the traditional econometric, cognitive, social and psychological approaches taken in consumption studies (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Arnould and Thompson (2005), in their seminal article, proposed four research domains for theory building within CCT: consumer identity projects, marketplace cultures, socio-historic patterning of consumption and mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies. The authors in a follow up article, clarified that the four research domains are not isolated areas of inquiry and a research interlinking these four domains is possible (Arnould and Thompson, 2007).

A brief description of the four CCT research domains is in order, as it is useful in situating the present study within CCT. The first and the most popular domain, consumer identity projects, explores the usage of market based resources for the construction of self-identity by contemporary, reflexive consumers. We may, therefore, see the adoption of Western-style consumption practices in Eastern, Muslim contexts such as Pakistan, as a

series of identity projects, challenging established Religious identities with new consumer freedoms of expression. However, the limitations of an identify-focus lie in the assumptions of consumer choice and agency that downplays structural affordances and restrictions, and indeed the role of individual consumption practice in maintaining, building, or modifying established structures. It would therefore not be enough to present consumption in the Eastern Muslim setting as an issue of individual identity. The second domain, Marketplace cultures, investigates the construction of cultural communities such as brand communities, through activities linked to the Market. Here the recognition of sociology is more prominent through the recognition of group practice and influences. Indeed, I have already indicated that socialisation involves the interaction with parents, Religious teachers and especially peer groups in Muslim consumer cultures. Yet again, such an approach may under-represent the social contexts in which consumption takes place. The third research domain, socio- historic patterning of consumption involves studying the structural and institutional forces shaping consumption patterns and this is where the complex structural context of Eastern, Muslim societies such as Pakistan provide an opportunity to add to knowledge. The complexity of pluralistic Muslim consumption contexts in addition to a conforming Eastern culture, as highlighted in section 2.1 and 2.2, leads to an ongoing negotiation between Market and Islam, to shape Muslim consumption practices. Studying Muslim consumption practices to theorize the complex structural influence is the agenda of this thesis. The fourth domain, mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies explores the role of commercial imagery on shaping the meanings of consumer culture and consumer ideology. This broader frame of CCT also represents the ambition of this project. The study aims to focus on the 'embedded agency' of Muslim tweenagers to navigate their way out of tensioning structural expectations and affirm their consumption practices. This project therefore, draws on the third and the fourth research domains of CCT, highlighted by Arnould and Thompson (2005).

Askegaard and Linnet (2011) believe that although CCT has brought a sociocultural context to consumer research, the scholarship has still largely adopted an agentic view of consumption and in order to move beyond a limited interpretation of a reflexive consumer, there remains a need to take into account institutions forming a field around a socially embedded consumer. Hence, there is a need to explore post- phenomenological approaches such as actor network theory or practice theory, or the context of context, within CCT scholarship. It can however been argued that the discontent shown by Askegaard and

Linnet (2011) is perhaps misplaced. The context has not been completely missed by the literature they cite. It is though under-theorized with only an implicit, and/or weak manifestation of the contextual influence. Agreeably then, there remains room for rich accounts of the context in which different studies are commissioned and indeed much benefit in expanding beyond the phenomenological frame that became popular in early CCT work.

In pursuing the goal of the study, practice theory, proposed by Bourdieu (1972) explained by Walther (2014) seems like a logical choice, Askegaard and Linnet (2011), stating that the "context of context" is not necessarily discursively expressed also suggest 'practice theory' as the epistemological apparatus, viewing consumption as practice. Bourdieu's theory of practice through the conceptualization of a complex interplay of field, habitus and capital offers a useful reconciliation of the structuralist and the agency perspective (Walther, 2014). However, reducing fields as areas of power relations and practice as a systematic undertaking whereby actors position themselves to gain positions of 'power,' limits the theorization of agency around need for dominance. Literature on Muslim consumption, reviewed in section 2.2, does not indicate any power struggle facing Muslim consumers due to their embeddedness in pluralistic governing system. Similarly, children's consumption literature does not show that young consumers' actions are motivated by a need for power or dominance. The tension recorded in Muslim consumer culture is a result of pluralistic governance of consumption by the orders of Islam and Market, which Muslim consumers aim to reduce by either prioritizing the Islamic meanings over the Market meanings (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Wong, 2007) or blending the two (Sandikci and Ger, 2010).

The Institutional Logics (IL) perspective (Thornton et. al., 2012), on the other hand, proposing a cross level framework to study the relationship between macrostructures, culture and individual agency facilitates the unpacking of reasons behind social actions, without necessarily focusing on power struggles. Comparing Practice Theory to an IL perspective, it seems that Practice Theory assumes need for power to motivate action and so helps in explaining 'what' actors do and 'how' they do it, whereas the IL perspective explains 'why' agents behave the way they do. Hence, the IL perspective affords a wider view of the reasons behind behaviour – one that does not restrict it to only the need for power. More particularly, IL perspective affords a study of the institutionally complex consumption practices, as will be discussed in the next section.

For the reasons mentioned above, I use IL perspective as the epistemological lens for this study. In the following section, I present the dynamics of the IL perspective and its usefulness in providing the empirical support to examine Muslim tweens' consumption practices under the influence of Islam and Market.

2.3.2   Using IL Perspective as the epistemological apparatus

This section explains the IL perspective (Thornton, et. al., 2012) as an enabling theory for the project. First, I explain institutional complexity and the fundamental assumptions upon which the IL perspective is built, are explained. Then, a review of consumer studies that have adopted IL perspective to study fields populated by multiple logics, is presented. Finally, a discussion about the advantages of using IL perspective to study consumption practices of Muslim tweens in an institutionally complex environment, is offered.

IL Perspective:

The Institutional Logics perspective (Thornton et. al., 2012) builds on the strengths of the neo-institutional theory (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and transforms it by providing a cross level framework connecting macrostructures to culture and agency. IL leverages the insights offered by neo-institutional theory regarding macro structures' shaping of organization and addresses its weakness of not situating actors in the social system. It therefore offers a new approach to analyzing the microfoundations of institutions, institutional heterogeneity and change. "The IL perspective is a metatheoretical framework for analyzing the interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organizations in social system" (Thornton et. al., 2012:2). Although popularly used in organization studies, IL perspective has been used for institutional research across social sciences, including marketing (Huang et. al., 2013; Schumann, et. al., 2014; Martinez et. al., 2015; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Humphrey, 2010; Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli, 2015).

Thornton et. al., (2012) describe a society to be an interinstitutional system based on multiple sub-systems, called institutional orders. According to Thornton et. al., (2012), these institutional orders include Family, Religion, State, Market, Professions and Corporations whereby each institutional order provides a behavioural script to actors and guides their sense making choices. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) in Thornton et. al., (2012), call these behavioural scripts, IL and define them as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, assumptions, values and beliefs by

which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their daily activity" (p. 51). Hence, the link between individual actions and institutional structures is formed by IL. Logics ideologically guide practices, allowing the symbolic aspects of institutional orders to become observable actions through their material manifestations (Friedland 2009). In other words, institutional orders make up the governance system that shape actors' sense-making choices, forming a frame of reference that preconditions actors to understand sources of legitimacy.

When actors are embedded in more than one institutional order at the same time, they register jurisdictional overlap and therefore institutional complexity. Greenwood et. al., (2010) were the first to offer an understanding of 'institutional complexity.' It is believed to be a result of opposing logics of two or more institutions, impacting field level actions. Therefore, institutional complexity is felt by field level actors, individuals and organizations, when they are embedded in a pluralistic institutional environment and faced with multiple demands concurrently. Each institution with its own referent audience has the power to legitimize or delegitimize field level actions. Gaining legitimacy of action under one institution is typically at the risk of losing legitimacy under the other (Smets et. al., 2015). Faced with the pressure to conform, actors embedded in pluralistic environments exercise their agency to deal with the tension that surrounds them. Thornton et. al., (2012) therefore identify institutional complexity as a precursor to institutional entrepreneurship. Institutional entrepreneurship, as described by Thornton et. al., (2012), entails creating new institutions or transforming existing institutions from within. Being dissatisfied with existing institutions, being disadvantaged under the established institutional arrangements or being conflicted by opposing demands, motivates actors to take up institutional entrepreneurship. The success of institutional entrepreneurs, however, depends on resources that they can use. Specifically, the ability to mobilize key stakeholders to bring about an institutional change, social capital in Bourdieu's terms, is believed to be an important resource (Humphrey, 2010).

Within the organization studies stream exploring institutional complexity, most scholarship has focused on theorizing the conflict and antagonism leading to institutional entrepreneurship (Smets et. al., 2015). More recent scholarship has however worked on theorizing the co-existence of opposing logics (see for example, Bertels and Lawrence, 2016; Mair et. al., 2015; Smets et. al., 2015) whereby no change in any institutional order is attempted and opposing logics are used as resources to legitimize practices (Mair et. al., 2015; Smets et. al., 2015). Hence, there are currently two theorised views of institutional

complexity: the first that sees institutional pluralism as a breeding ground for institutional entrepreneurship (for example, Thornton et. al., 2012) and the second that sees institutional complexity as an institutionalized phenomenon whereby actors sustain such complexity (for example, Smets et. al., 2015). Irrespective of the view, IL perspective is arguably a useful theory to study the interaction of institutional orders at a field level in complex, pluralistic contexts. In this study, I explore institutional complexity caused by Market and Islam, from the viewpoint of Muslim tween consumers to understand how they deal with it.

The IL perspective (Thornton et. al., 2012) rests on four fundamental meta-theoretical principles. These are briefly explained below:

1. <u>Social structure and action</u>

The IL perspective recognizes an inter-institutional system influenced by multiple institutional orders, each with its unique organizing principles, practices and symbols, guiding sense making, shaping vocabulary, sense of self and identity among individuals and organizations (Thornton et. al., 2012). Guided by Friedland and Alford's (1991) seminal essay, this new approach to institutional analysis focuses on the effects of differentiated IL on the rational behaviour of organizations and individuals and at the same time on the shaping and changing of IL by the actions of organizations and individuals (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). While decisions, choices and behaviour are constrained by the institutional orders and the corresponding logics, they are at the same time enabled by the same logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013). This represents a concept of "embedded agency," that allows actors (both organizations and individuals) to transform IL as the scripts provided by institutions are never total and complete. Hence under the influence of different institutions and their logics, to differing degrees, agency may take different forms. As an institution represents the ongoing performance of its script by actors, such agency also allows changes in institutions. Understanding society to be a system of different institutions allows researchers to theorize about the sources of heterogeneity and agency by identifying the contradictions in the logics of different institutional orders (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008).

The concept of 'embedded agency,' is a central theme in this thesis. I explore Muslim tweens' consumption practices as they are enabled and constrained by the embedding institutional orders of both Islam and the Market. Muslim tween consumers' acting within one, or the other, or both tells us something about their understanding as well as response to institutional complexity.

Chapter 2

2. <u>Institutions as material and symbolic</u>

The IL perspective (Thornton et. al., 2012) asserts that each institutional order has dynamic and inter-constitutive material and symbolic aspects. The material is manifested through structures and practices while the symbolic is manifested through ideation and meaning. For example, the Market as an institution is concretized through shopping, a material practice that symbolizes the market logic of choice and/or indulgence. Similarly, Islam as an institution is concretized through daily prayers, a material practice that symbolises the Islamic logic of submission to Allah (God). The IL perspective recognizing the dynamism in symbols and material practices, present a probabilistic, non-deterministic view of behaviour. According to Zilber (2008) in Thornton et. al., (2012), the symbols are unstable and can be attached to new connotations. For example, the fashionable veiling (material practice) of Turkish women (Sandikci and Ger, 2010) combined the Market logic of fashion and the Islamic logic of covering the body, to offer a new symbolic meaning to the practice of veiling. This highlights another key distinction between IL and neo-institutional theory. The IL perspective recognizes that institutions and their behavioural scripts develop and change as a result of interplay of material and symbolic elements (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008).

This study explores the life-worlds of Muslim tweens to explicate the symbolic and material practices of the dominant Islamic versus the emerging Market institutional orders. It brings to fore the relationship between the symbolic and material aspects of Islam and Market orders, as they interact within the field of consumption practices. For example, the material practice of wearing fashionable Western clothing is symbolically explained by the emerging Market logic as cool and by the established Islamic logic as inappropriate. How the logic of appropriateness driven by institutions and social identities and logic of consequence driven by interests and goals (March and Olsen, 1989 in Thornton et. al., 2012), guide the Muslim tweens' clothing practices, as will be explained in section 5.3 in detail.

3. <u>Institutions as historically contingent</u>

Thornton et. al. (2012) assert that "institutions are historically contingent," with findings valid in one historical time period only (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). They claim that the influence of institutional orders changes over time. This may not necessarily mean that the influence of one institutional order is partially or completely replaced by the other. However, new methods of subscribing to the logics of multiple institutional orders may be

designed. Once again, the fashionable veiling of the Turkish women (Sandikci and Ger, 2010) explains how the Islamic and Market logics were blended in one practice, without an attempt to replace the historical Islamic practice of veiling with modern fashionable practices of clothing. Furthermore, empirical evidence quoted by the authors (Thornton et. al., 2012) suggests that multiple institutional spheres create tension when they concurrently embed participants and it is this potential for tensions between institutions that fuels a change in the inter-institutional system. Specifically, this theory facilitates understanding along the ongoing and never finalised cultural and material shaping of consumer behaviour. It also suggests the impossibility of generalizable theorising of actions that take place within moving institutional priorities. Hence, as with the CCT project more broadly, the role of the researcher is to understand the current patterns of consumption practice given the social-historic contingencies of institutions.

Historical contingency of institutions in shaping actors' behaviour is another focus of this study. By highlighting the emerging institutional order, it sheds light on the salience of the dominant institutional order present within the second decade of the twenty first century as Pakistani culture moves in the apparently opposing directions of ongoing Islamization, and the introduction of Western Market logics, as explained in section 5.1.

4. <u>Institutions at multiple levels of analysis</u>

The final assumption of IL perspective is that institutions operate at multiple level of analysis and are characteristic of cross level influence (Thornton et. al., 2012). The flexibility provided by IL perspective in research and theory development explains its popularity in the scholarly circles (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Thornton et. al. (2012) propose identification of mechanisms that moderate the effect between structure and actors. For example, in this thesis, the three levels are Market, brands/product categories, consumers and Islam, Religious schools/mosques, Muslims. The connection between the structures such as Islam and Market with actors, is mediated through mechanisms (Thornton et. al., 2012). From the review presented in section 2.1.3, the Islamic mechanisms can be understood as the communal gatherings that remind Muslims about the embedding Islamic structure and its logics (see Karatas and Sandikci, 2013). Similarly, peers or media become the carriers of the Market logic or Market mechanisms that connect the structure of the Market to tweenage consumers (see McNeal, 2007).

This study is positioned at the micro level of analysis. By exploring the Muslim tweenagers' perspective to understand the relationship between their consumption

practices and the societal level prevalence of Islamic and Market logic, I take into account the socialising agents as the essential mechanisms that moderate between the cause and effect of structure and agency.

IL Perspective in Consumer Research:

Although IL perspective and institutional theory primarily originate from the organizational studies' domain, both theories have been recently adopted by consumer researchers (see Huang et. al., 2013; Schumann et. al., 2014; Martinez et. al., 2015; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Humphrey, 2010; Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli, 2015). Several articles suggest the usefulness of using institutional theory as well as the IL perspective in forwarding the agenda of consumer research, however, I review specific studies that are directly relevant for my project. Areas of interest from existing consumer studies informed by IL perspective or institutional theory, include the concept of legitimacy, tensioning institutional logics and embedded agency. These three concepts are interlinked, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

The concept of legitimacy has been explored in consumer research from the perspective of Marketers, brands and consumer practices. For example, Humphrey (2010) studied the legitimacy concept in the casino gambling industry to show how a practice that was once associated with crime found acceptability under the business schemas; Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli (2015), in their study showed how multiple logics were combined to gain legitimacy for different yoga brands in the US yoga market and Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) showed how disadvantaged consumer segments gained legitimacy of inclusion in the field of fashion. Together these studies show the importance of achieving legitimacy using institutional logics. Invariably, consumer or organizational action is dependent upon legitimizing institutions and mechanisms. An agentic view of consumption is not only reductive but also incomplete. Agency is enabled by the embedding structures and theorizing agency without accounting for the legitimizing structures is an incomplete conceptualization of behaviour. With respect to this thesis, an explanation of how two legitimizing structures simultaneously guide behaviour and how Muslim tweens deploy their agency to legitimize their consumption provides a holistic view of consumption.

Consumer researchers have also explored the co-existence and the tension between opposing ideals governing a field. For example, Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) use the IL perspective to highlight the coexistence of Market and Art logics while studying the US fashion industry. The authors explain how plus sized fashionistas, a previously ignored

segment, used the Market logic of making higher profits as well as the Art logic of conforming to industry's aesthetic ideals to gain legitimacy and seek inclusion in the mainstream field of fashion. These micro level actors used both logics as resources to bring about a change in the institutional field of fashion. Yet Scaraboto and Fischer's (2013) study does not suggest any antagonism between the Market and the Art logics that populate the field of fashion. Rather, it usefully explains the combining of two logics by the disadvantaged segment of actors to bring about an institutional change.

Humphrey (2010) has also considered institutional complexity by illuminating the business and wealth logic used by managers to legitimize casino gambling practices. Working as institutional entrepreneurs, marketing managers, with the help of journalists, achieved regulatory (legal rules and policies), normative (societal acceptance) and cultural-cognitive (synchronization with cultural and cognitive representations) legitimacy for casino gambling, changed the public discourse and established it as an industry. In her study, Humphrey (2010) highlights the central role of collective action (marketers and journalists) that gained legitimacy for the casino industry. This study captures the evolution of the casino industry as the previous framing of casino as a place of crime is replaced by the new perception of casino as a place of business.

Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) and Humphrey (2010) highlight the importance and centrality of seeking legitimacy in actors' institutional work. In the former study, actors used two logics as resources while in the latter, actors replaced the previous logic with a new one. However, neither of these studies provide a full understanding of an ongoing tension between multiple institutional logics, for example in the way Smets et. al., (2015) note the institutionalization of institutional complexity. Giesler's (2008) study of marketplace drama between producers and consumers within the music industry, in contrast, enables an understanding of tensioning logics creating institutional complexity. Music downloaders, in his study, undermine the dominant logic of possessive individualism (from producers) and favour the logic of social utilitarianism (from consumers) to legitimize their practice of sharing music. Producers, on the other hand, used the possessive individualism logic to delegitimize downloaders' sharing of music. Nonetheless, the temporary consensus between both set of actors was achieved through offers such as Apple iTunes. This change was based on the institutional work of micro-level actors whereby they framed producers as greedy.

Similar to the Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) study, Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli (2015) in the US yoga market study, show how actors use multiple logics to gain legitimacy. Specifically, their study explores the impact of plural market logics (spiritualism, fitness and commercial) on brand strategies.

From these perspectives, Markets can be viewed as a system that contain the influence of several institutions and their logics. Together these studies show how actors embedded in institutional complexity respond to such plurality to bring about an institutional change. It is important to reiterate that the change is not necessarily based on exploiting the tensioning logics, favouring one over the other. It can equally be based on simultaneously using multiple logics as resources. The recognition of multiple logics concurrently legitimizing or delegitimizing consumer actions creates room for actors to exercise their embedded agency that is used to either prioritize one institutional logic over the other or blend two or more logics. This role of consumers as important Market actors and their action as important Market force, is also well recognized in literature. Exercising embedded agency is dependent upon actors' dissatisfaction with the existing logics of legitimacy or illegitimacy. This embedded agency was exercised by plus sized fashionistas (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013) and music downloaders (Giesler, 2008). Literature reviewed in section 2.2 highlighted the role of Islam and the Market in everyday Muslim consumption practices. In order to understand how complex consumption practices are designed, it is important to account for these legitimizing forces by exploring the ongoing negotiation that takes place between Islam and Market logics. Lawrence and Philips (2004) in their study of commercial whale watching in US, have stressed the importance of studying local actions in order to understand the restrain and empowerment authorized by institutions and the transformations attempted by motivated actors. Therefore, a universal assumption about agentic consumption and 'embedded agency' is problematic. Hence, the resulting development of consumption practice are further explored in this study of Muslim tweens.

In the Muslim consumption context, the 'halal living' phenomenon (Wilson et. al., 2013) is guided by the Islamic sense of legitimacy. The term 'halal' is the Islamic equivalent for 'legitimacy.' Studies reviewed in section 2.2 showed the legitimizing power of the Islamic logic over the Market logic. Previous studies show how Market practices are adjusted to gain legitimacy under the Islamic order (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Wong, 2007). There is no existing study that records dissatisfaction of Muslim consumers with the Islamic legitimacy. However, the relevance and the attraction

of Market logic cannot be overlooked in Muslim consumption practices. Sandikci and Ger's (2010) study on Muslim women's veiling practice in Turkey shows how their move to include fashion in their Islamic practice such that the legitimacy under the Islamic logic is unharmed. Therefore, agency in Muslim consumer culture is peculiar and a contextual exploration explains how the Market and Islamic institutional orders' legitimizing powers are accepted or adjusted against each other.

The IL perspective is a useful theoretical lens for a contextualized study of Muslim tweens' consumption practices. The next section specifically explains the suitability of IL perspective for the thesis.

Using IL Perspective to Study Consumption Practices in an Institutionally Complex Environment:

Although the connection between this thesis and the four fundamental assumptions of IL perspective, was outlined in 2.1.2.1, this section elaborates on the usefulness of IL perspective in studying consumption practices in institutionally complex environments. I will first present the rationale for selecting 'consumption practices' as an institutional field and treating 'Market' and 'Religion' as institutional orders. Later, I will substantiate on the peculiarities of IL perspective that are enabling in the theorization of institutionally complex consumption practices.

In order to present the rationale behind treating consumption practices as an institutional field, I will first highlight the meanings of relevant terms from extant literature. Lawrence and Philips (2004) explain 'institutions' to be represented by established practices, understandings, and rules upheld by actors in an organizational field. Moreover, Parmentier and Fischer (2007) explain Bourdieu's meaning of field as "a symbolic space, including a network of social relations, and a structured system of social positions within which there are struggles over resources, stakes, access, and above all power, symbolic as well as economic" (p. 26). In Bourdieu's definition of field, power is a central theme engaging actors in social contexts. On the other hand, Lawrence and Philips (2004) define an institutional field as "a set of organizations that constitute a recognized area of life, are characterized by structured network relations, and share a set of institutions" (p. 691). In this second understanding of field, more specifically, institutional field, the relationship between structure and agency is not confined to the struggle for power. For the purpose of this study, I follow the definition of institutional field proposed by Lawrence and Philips (2004). A detailed discussion about the power perspective in

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Bourdieu's description of field and the reasons to not use it for this study, was presented in section 2.1.1.

Practice, as explained by Bourdieu, is the connection between broader cultural belief systems and individual action (Walther, 2014). Thornton et. al., (2012), explain practice to be a coherent and socially meaningful activity that is informed by wider cultural beliefs. Hence, IL perspective assumes a relationship between material practices and IL whereby logics are manifested through practices and practices fortify or transform logics (Thornton et. al., 2012). Consumer researchers using IL perspective or institutional theory in the past, have selected institutional fields based on their research objectives. For example, Vargo and Lusch (2004) selected 'marketing,' Humphrey (2010) used 'gambling,' Giesler (2008) used 'music downloading,' Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) selected 'fashion' and Lawrence and Philips (2004) used 'whale watching.' Each of these represent a field, that can be studied as a basis for embedded agency, and that can be shaped by tensions as multiple institutions interact though embedded agency.

As noted earlier, Thornton et. al., (2012) recognize Religion and Market as two of the six broad institutional orders making up a society. According to them, these institutional orders are "the means for producing symbols and practices" (p. 61). For the purpose of this study, institutional complexity (Greenwood et. al., 2010) caused by the interplay of Market and Religion, within the field of consumption practices, is explored. Although Thornton et. al., (2012) assert that "the contemporary case of Islamic Religion remains in conflict with Market principles" (p. 63), their statement takes a different view of the Market as an institutional order. The antagonism between Islamic and capitalist economic system is the focus of the point made by Thornton et. al., (2012), rather than the Market as an institution within which everyday exchanges of goods and services take place. In organizational studies, the understanding of Market is linked with commercialization such that profit maximization is the goal of actors and share price is the source of legitimacy (see for example, Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton et. al. 2005; Thornton et. al., 2012; Berman, 2011). This understanding of Market as an institution is also present in consumer studies (see for example, Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Humphrey, 2010; Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli, 2015; Giesler, 2008). In this study, however, the understanding of Market follows the theorization proposed by Mele et. al., (2015). They assert that Market can be understood as a noun as well as a verb. Therefore, the four themes linked to Market include Market entities, Market representation, Market performing and Market sense making (Mele et. al., 2015). Similarly, Fligstein and Dauter

(2007) in Martin and Schouten (2014), define Markets as "networks, institutions or performances" (p. 857). These theorists regard Markets as social settings where actors such as the government, suppliers, customers interact and affect each other's' behaviour. In simple terms, Market as a verb is marketing, an action of value generation. Market as a noun might be referred to as a marketplace, the social system based on shops and consumer goods as well as a broad institution whereby shopping and consumer desires are recognizable elements of the system. For the purpose of this study, all these understandings of Market are taken into consideration to develop a sense of Market as an institution or governing system.

Religion, the second key institutional order for this research, is explained by Thornton et. al., (2012) to be focused on "an explanation for the origin of the world and in converting all issues into expressions of absolute moral principles on the basis of faith" (p. 44). Moreover, Religion is believed to be in a symbiotic relationship with the institutional order of family (Thornton et. al., 2012). It is believed to be based on a system of rituals and symbols that appeal to the emotional side of individuals (Thornton et. al., 2012). This can be considered a simple explanation of institutions as Markets also appeal to the emotional side of actors. With the Religious regulations such as halal living of the Islamic order and the self-interest goals motivated by the Market order, the interaction between the two orders within the field of consumption practices is a worthwhile inquiry.

As mentioned earlier, institutional complexity, legitimacy and embedded agency are specific aspects explored in this thesis using the IL perspective. The impact of Institutional complexity resulting from a jurisdictional overlap between Market and Islam is the focus of this study. Consumer studies reviewed in section 2.2, will highlight the interaction of Religion and Market and the respective behavioural scripts that make the environment institutionally complex. Thornton et. al., (2012) emphasize the prevalence of contradictory institutional orders in modern societies and believe that when institutional orders compete and complement each other over time to gain actors' attention and patronage, they motivate embedded agency. Actors enjoy partial autonomy as a result of enabling (providing opportunities) and disabling (constraining) ILs. The introduction of a new logic allows a reflection on possible agency and creates possibilities for new practices. A more detailed explanation of this phenomenon will be presented in chapter 6 on discussion.

The model of agency proposed by Thornton et. al., (2012) rests on two pillars: individual interests or goals and social identification. Together these goals guide an actor's

intentionality but are bounded by cognitive limits as well as internal tension resulting from multiple goals and identities. Thus the theorists propose the concept of bounded intentionality, whereby actors are embedded in social, cultural and political structures and steered by cognitively bounded identities and goals. Actors' choices are therefore situationally constrained by the embedding institutional orders. A situation's characteristics, comprising of immediate social context, interactions and material aspects, influence human behaviour. Situationism influences the importance of various structural embeddedness as well social identity and goals. It also explains variance in social behaviour. Hence, actors employ decoupling techniques and engage in transposition, entailing migration of symbols and practices from one institutional order to another to resolve tensioning IL. Thornton et. al., (2012) narrate J.C. Penney's case to explain how his unusual specialization in the institutional orders of Religion, family and business enabled him to think innovatively, decouple from family capitalism and transpose or more specifically blend the Religious ethics with corporate business practices to create a successful chain of Golden Rule stores. J.C. Penney's awareness of differential pricing in the early 1900s and public's mistrust of chain stores propelled him to switch from the Family logic of unconditional loyalty and household membership to the Religious logic of honest dealing and Golden Rule in order to gain legitimacy of chain stores in the eyes of customers and ensure fair pricing for all. J.C. Penney's case is one of institutional entrepreneurship, as he not only separated from the Family logic and blended Religious and Corporate logic, he also mobilized managers and customers as solution advocates.

Similarly, in this research Muslim tweens' consumption practices are designed based on their specialized knowledge of Market and especially Islam (see chapter 5 for a detailed discussion). This is another key distinction between neo-institutional theory and IL perspective; the former was a theory of structural effects on actors with limited agency while the latter places an emphasis on the social actors themselves.

IL perspective literature informs that individuals learn various tensioning IL through socialization (Thornton et. al., 2012). Therefore, the mechanisms that connect structures to actors are located within the domain of socialization. Specifically, socialising actors are the mechanisms. When actors are situated in institutional complexity, they are exposed to socialising processes of more than one structure or institutional order. Hence, they have more than one behavioural script available to them. For example, in Giesler's (2008) study, music downloaders had the logics of social utilitarianism as well as possessive individualism available to them. According to the IL perspective (Thornton et. al., 2012),

individual action in such a situation, is a function of availability, accessibility and activation. Availability means an actor may choose from multiple IL, comprising of cultural knowledge, to determine an action. A Muslim tween consumer embedded in the Eastern culture has knowledge of the Islamic as well as the Market meaning making systems. To predict the knowledge structures that are more likely to determine a course of action, an understanding of accessibility and activation, is essential.

Accessibility is the knowledge structure that comes to mind; individuals that are more invested in a particular institutional logic are likely to invoke knowledge from that institutional logic. An Eastern Muslim tween when confused about a consumption activity can invoke ideas from the Market, or ideas from Islam, to ground its legitimacy. As will be explained in chapter 5, they access Islamic logics more often because of their embeddedness in a Muslim culture and Muslim routine such as regular interaction with their Religious teachers, attendance at the Religious schools or reminders from parents and other elders in the family unit. At the same time, Market logics are accessible due to their consumption of media content, shopping trips with parents and peers and travelling abroad.

Activation is a function of accessibility of knowledge and attention. Activation is also dependent upon the suitability of accessed knowledge structures in dealing with salient aspects of a situation and the environment. Inferentially, the availability, accessibility and activation of IL depend upon the strength of socialization processes linked to an institutional order. Depending upon the situational context and the strength of embeddedness in the Market and/or Islamic order, Muslim tween consumers activate the relevant logic. The empirical work of this thesis highlights how the whole process of availability, accessibility and activation of logics plays out for the Muslim tween consumers in the East.

The next section presents summarizing thoughts of this chapter.

2.4   Summary

The structure-agency relationship in an institutionally complex setting is the primary focus of this study. The following section presents concluding thoughts based on all literature reviewed, explaining the context and the defining parameters of the project.

From the reviewed literature, it is evident that in Muslim settings, consumer culture is a function of Market and Islam. While other institutions such as Family and State are

also active institutions, they are not the primary focus of this thesis. From studies on Eastern culture discussed in section 2.1, Family is understood to represent the agenda of the Market and/or Religion. Hence, rather than treating Family as a separate institutional order (Thornton, et. al., 2012), this study views Family as a complementing institution, forwarding the agenda of the Market and/or Religion.

Both institutions, through their socialising mechanisms, prescribe their behavioural scripts to influence and shape the consumption practices of Muslim actors. Within the emerging literature on Muslim consumption, children's consumption at the intersection of Market and Islam, has remained under-theorized, especially in the Eastern Muslim context where the Religious institution may exert greater authority. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), it is through socialization that a child develops a sense of his identity. Informing from the perspective of the Market, McNeal (2007) concurs and claims that social development of children leads them to express their self-image via consumer roles. However, how a young consumer understands his consumer role, exercises embedded agency and pursues potential identity projects in an institutionally pluralistic environment, has remained underexplored. As noted earlier, Muslim youth, under 24 years of age, makes up 10% of the world population (Wilson et. al., 2013). The potential significance of their specific consumption practices demands a study focused on conceptualizing their consumptionscape.

In order to understand the socialising mechanism of the Market, literature on consumer socialization was reviewed. This stream of literature suggests that Market as an institutional order comes into effect via proximate and distant socialising agents around a young consumer, i.e., the institutional logics are carried through socialising agents. These socializers potentially educate young actors about the Market logic of hedonism, pleasure, individualism and an expressive lifestyle (Wong, 2007), or restrict such ways of thinking and being, through the logics of Religion. Within Eastern contexts, parents are believed to be a dominant socialising force potentially carrying the logic of the Market as well as Islam through their own agencies. Parents, through their culturally informed parenting styles and unique familial communication styles, socialize their children, staying within the logics of the institutions they operate in. As the findings in chapter 5 show, much of their Market linked socialization is aimed at avoiding injured self-esteem and social adjustment issues (Shim et. al., 2011) among their children.

In addition to the commonly recognized socialising agents such as peers, family, media and physical Markets, Muslim contexts have Religious mentors (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013) as influencers in the consumer socialization process. These, in particular, forward the Islamic logic of modesty (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013), halal living (Wilson et. al., 2013), and most broadly a Muslim identity (Wong, 2007). These socialising forces of Religion complicate the consumptionscape of Muslims. Specifically, food, music, entertainment, leisure, public spaces, dress code and even more specifically Muslim women's dress, are the "arenas of struggle" (Wong, 2007:465). Therefore, the established Western theories and narratives cannot accurately reflect emerging Muslim consumption practices. Indeed, the absence of nuanced accounts of Eastern, Muslim consumption practice risks a theoretically normative view of consumption that reflects only Western, and especially US patterns, with assumptions that other cultures conform to these norms to a lesser or greater degree rather than orientate to their own institutionally defined consumption practices. We risk asking only how much Muslim tween consumers conform with or diverge from established theory of consumption, with an implied intention of targeting them with Western brands rather than focus on their unique experiences of consumption.

Although Muslim contexts are plural, the two orders – Market and Islam – are not on an equal footing. Muslim consumption studies exploring the interaction of the Market and Islamic logic within the field of consumption practices have already identified Islam as a dominant institutional order (for example, Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Izberk-Biglin, 2012; Wong, 2007). Therefore, Market linked desires and consumptions are potentially judged or adjusted using the Islamic logic. And yet, Muslim consumers are not disconnected from the Market mechanisms (Wilson et. al., 2013). Certainly, Muslim consumptionscape is complex and merits a theory that explains the interplay of the tensioning logics of Market and Islam and the consumption strategies used by Muslim actors to operate under institutional complexity. So far, no research has explored the phenomenon of 'embedded agency' in the institutional complex Muslim context.

Since the study is focused on exploring the structure-agency dynamics within the field of consumption practices, IL perspective, proposed by Thornton et. al. (2012) is relevant as a theoretical lens. Literature suggests that existing institutional fields become observable through the actions of local actors (Lawrence and Phillips, 2004) and an understanding of the institutional orders can be developed by studying social actors (Thornton et. al., 2012). Evidently, the selection of social actors in theorizing the

consumptionscape of Muslims, is critical. Ideal social actors would be those who are located at the nexus of modern Market mechanisms and Religious ideology. Hence, Pakistani Muslim middle income families were selected as a useful research setting as they represented households in the middle of the traditional-modern continuum. Within these parameters, Muslim tweens, aged 8-12 years, were identified as an ideal group to focus on, in addition to the parent-child relationship as the location of negotiations between the logics of the Market and the Islamic Religion. Western literature asserts that tweenage is the age sandwiched between childhood's dependence and teenage independence (Coulter, 2009; Cody, 2012; Meyers et al., 2007) and specific needs drive consumption behaviour among children (McNeal, 1992). Muslim tweens were selected as the ideal social actors for the study as they were undergoing active consumer and Religious socialization, developing their own unique consumption practices and producing a particular institutionally complex Pakistani consumptionscape.

Following Askegaard and Linnet's (2011) claim that institutions consist of Market and social systems that have systemic and structuring influence on consumers, this study examines the relationship between Muslim tweens' consumption practices, day to day acquisitions and use of Market offerings, in the light of their institutional embeddedness in Islam and the Market. Eastern, Muslim tweens' consumption practices provide an excellent setting for analysing the unfolding responses of tweens to multiple logics of consumption. Focusing on the resolution strategies used by Muslim tweens to deal with the institutional tension, the study provides insights about the coexistence of Islam and Market orders.

The preceding section set the context of the study and explained the reasoning behind using IL perspective as a theoretical or intellectual framework. The following section presents conceptual framework based on the reviewed literature.

Chapter 3　　Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework, presented in Fig 3.1 below, is developed from reviewed literature. It conceptualizes Muslim tweens' consumer culture.

Figure 3.1: Muslim Tweens' Consumer Culture

Chapter 3

Key institutional orders playing an instrumental role within the institutional field of Muslim consumption practices are, Islam and Market. Hence, the conceptual framework, illustrated in Figure 3.1, has Islam and Market at its foundation. The consumption logics of Islam and the Market are identified from literature. Modesty (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013), the halal living (Wilson et. al., 2013), the Muslim identity (Wong, 2007) are key Islamic logics behind consumption. On the other hand, hedonism, pleasure, utilitarianism, individualism and a self-expressive lifestyle (Wong, 2007; Shim et. al.,2011) are the consumption logics prescribed by the institutional order of the Market.

Each institutional order relies on socialising forces to carry its respective logic of consumption to actors in the field. Literature informed about the role of peers, Religious teachers and family members such as parents and grandparents in forwarding the agenda of Islam. On the other hand, parents, peers, media (a unified term to represent all media exposing young consumers to marketing messages), retail visits and travelling, are recognized as significant avenues of Market socialization within literature.

Based on the peculiarities of Eastern cultures found in literature, parents are uniquely positioned in this conceptualization of Muslim tweens' consumer culture. On one hand, they are the primary socialising agents for the Market as well as Islam and on the other hand they mediate the influence of other socialising forces.

Given that Pakistani Muslim tweens are simultaneously socialized into the Market and the Religious logic of consumption, they are believed to be embedded in institutional complexity. Specifically, the conceptual framework guided the research agenda along the following specific research questions:

1. How do the Religious and the Market institutions assign meaning to different consumption practices? This question aimed at theorizing institutional complexity. By studying daily routines and locating the influence of socialising mechanisms carrying the logics of the Market and Religion to influence consumption practices, examining the interplay of the Market and the Religious logics and eventually exploring the meanings of specific consumption practices under the Islamic and Market order, institutional complexity was theorized.

2. How do tweens negotiate their way through complementing and competing IL to establish consumption practices? In other words, how do tweens legitimize their consumption practices using Religious and/or consumer logic? After locating the meaning of the Market and the Islamic logics for specific consumption practices,

the study theorized the consumption strategies used by tweens. The embedded agency afforded due to institutional complexity was observed in tweens' strategies of making their material consumption possible. This question was useful in also determining the significance of the two meaning making institutional orders. Hence, the dominant versus the subsidiary or the established versus the emerging institutions were identified.

The framework and the research questions operationalized a micro level investigation with Muslim tweens embedded in the Eastern, Muslim consumer culture. The next section explains the methodology adopted for this study.

Chapter 4   Methods

As noted earlier, Pakistan was selected as a research site where not only the culture is a composite of Islam and Market but the evolution of the market is at a stage where the interplay between Market and Islam is pronounced.

The argument for recruiting Pakistani Muslim tweens to theorize embedded consumers' agency, has already been presented in section 2.5. Pakistani tweens are appropriate actors to study as they are learning to consume under the influence of the Market and Islamic logics, negotiating meanings and associated practices as they do so. The core belief driving the research methodology and analysis was that discourse generated through fieldwork is constitutive of these social practices. Therefore, the focus was on Muslim tweens' discourses about their emerging consumption practices in light of the Islamic and Market influences present in their environment.

The methodology adopted for data generation is explained in four stages in this chapter. First, the philosophical underpinnings that guided data generation and analysis, are discussed. Second, the ethical issues inherent in a study involving children along with the necessary steps taken to deal with the issues, are highlighted. Third, the detailed methods for recruiting participants, is presented. Fourth, data generation methods are described. Fifth, the analytical framework used to interpret the data and arrive at findings, is explained.

4.1   Philosophical Underpinnings

This study of Muslim tweens' consumption practices using IL perspective moved with a reconciliatory view of poststructuralism and existential phenomenology (Stoller, 2009). Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) explains poststructuralism as a paradigm that views structures as only temporarily and partially fixed whereby their understanding is manifested in practices. Thompson et. al., (1989) advocate existential phenomenology to capture 'lived experience' within a context. The reconciliation between these two philosophical approaches is proposed by Stoller (2009), affirming that the two are not in fact in opposition as they both propose a critical re-examination of experience as a focus for theory generation. According to Stoller (2009), "while poststructuralism primarily emphasizes the discursive conditions of experience, phenomenology focuses on an analysis of experience within a discourse of concrete subjects" (p. 729). Guided by Stoller's (2009)

assertion, the institutions of Market and Islam have been treated as discourses in practice and tweens' consumption practices as discursive practices, in this study. For the purpose of this study, "discourse is understood as the fixation of meanings within a particular domain" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 26). Therefore, to explore tension created by the Market and Islamic discourse, in-depth phenomenological interviews based on participant generated videographies, were used to generate stories about discursive consumption practices (experiences). These stories were not treated as the starting point of knowledge; rather they were the subject addressed in the phenomenological interviews with Muslim tweens in Pakistan. Specifically, consumption stories were discussed in detail over multiple interviews with participants to locate the institutional influence, the interplaying effect of the opposing consumption logics of the Market and Islam and the Muslim tweenagers' strategies to design their consumption practices in light of these legitimizing institutions.

For data analysis, this study then used a multi-perspectival approach based on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory and Fairclough's concept of orders of discourse, found in Jorgensen and Phillips's (2002) work. Their advice is to account for structure against which specific practices are analysed. Consequently, Laclau and Mouffe's concept of discourse and articulation synonymous with Fairclough's concept of communicative event and order of discourse tools were deployed to understand the connection between discursive practices and social practices. The institutional field of consumption practices was viewed as a discursive construct impacted by the discourses of Market and Islam. In the context of this research, discourse was understood as a meaning making system that anchored its authenticity in an institutional order such as Islam or Market. Since institutions are culturally specific, discourse was recognized as a culturally contingent structure that both hailed actors into subject position and was deployed by them to achieve intended outcomes. Based on the belief that each discourse prescribes its own set of 'dos' and 'don'ts,' the study was undertaken with the agenda to explore the opposition in the Islamic and the Market discourses in ascribing meanings to tweens' consumption practices and the subsequent strategies used by the hailed tweens in managing pluralistic demands.

The social view of consumption practices and the belief that it is constituted through discourses was informed by Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. Hence, the philosophical belief that discourse encompasses both language and the social phenomenon guided the research agenda. Discourse theory claims that the access to knowing or studying the social and physical, is mediated through a system of meanings or discourses. Taking guidance from Jorgensen and Phillips's (2002) explanation of Laclau and Mouffe's

discourse theory, all social phenomenon, including consumption practices, were therefore understood according to the same logic, as language.

As language is fundamentally unstable, the meanings assigned to signs relating to consumption, were understood to be temporary. This belief was in line with Laclau and Mouffe's explanation that individual discourses are ever evolving and that there are more than one discourses shaping the social (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

A large body of the existing consumer socialization work has adopted the positivist approach; hence, not accounting for the essential dynamism in social discourses (Wisenblit et. al., 2013; Arnon et. al., 2008; Chan and McNeal, 2006; Rose et. al., 2003; Cotte and Wood, 2004; Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998; Carlson and Grossbart, 1988). The dynamism inherent in individual discourses coupled with the plurality of discourses, complicates the assigning of universalistic meanings to signs and practices. Another theoretical assertion of Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) is worthy of attention at this point, "that a society is not controlled by one dominant discourse does not mean that all discourses are equal" (p. 74). Thus discourses influencing tweens' consumption practices in an Eastern Muslim context were recognized to be complex and multi-faceted. Eastern Muslim tweens' consumption practices were regarded as a social field in which meaning was created through interrelated processes and the stories generated represent the range and depth of meanings surrounding the practices that participants described

Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is therefore also an anti-essentialist theory, rejecting totalising views of the social and asserting a contingency of discourses. While contingency is primary to discourse theory, the inflexibility of knowledge and identity in specific situations, is equally acknowledged by it. These important claims guided the analysis of tweens' consumption practices. Specifically, all Muslim tweens' stories of consumption were viewed as unique practices constructed socially and discursively and not as pre-determined by the environment embedding them. However, specific settings placed restrictions on the discourses constructing consumption practices. For example, Muslim tween participants used a variety of strategies to consume character printed T- shirts which is problematic under the Islamic logic. However, during the times of Religious practices such as reading Quran and praying, their consumption was governed by the Islamic discourse as the Muslim identity came to the fore. Character printed T shirt consumption will be discussed in detail in section 5.4.

The perspective of Laclau and Mouffe regarding subjects as determined by discourses, aptly thought of as 'subject positions,' was also adopted in the study. Participants held the subject positions of consumers and Muslims under the governing discourses. Other subject positions such as that of son and daughter with respect to parents and that of a student with respect to Religious schools and teachers, were not considered important, as the study moved with the belief that parents and Religious schools as well as teachers represent the discourse(s) of the Market and/or Islam. Hence, they hail them in the same positions of consumer and/or Muslim, in their interactions with tweenage participants.

At this point, it is important to mention Fitchett and Caruana's (2015) review of epistemological distinctions made by critical marketers - some perceive consumers to be trapped in a discourse while others perceive consumers to possess the ability to contest and reshape a social dominant discourse. Not assuming any one epistemological standpoint to be final and accepting guidance from Thornton et. al., (2012) regarding 'embedded agency,' the objective of the study was to analyse how Muslim tweens' navigate their way through the institutional complexity based on their discursive consumption practices. Hence, consumption itself produced a discourse which could either shape and/or be shaped by either Islam or the Market, or both and in doing so, produced subject positions that also orientate to one or the other or both logics.

4.2   Ethical Issues

Ethics is a core concern in all research projects, especially those with children. Research with children is difficult (Skånfors, 2009) and there are several concerns about children's participation in research. For example, there are debates in literature about children's ability to give informed consent (Danby and Farrell, 2005; Balen et. al., 2006; Backe-Hansen, 2002 in Skånfors, 2009). Scholars are especially sceptical about pre-schoolers' ability to understand research objectives and the meaning of their participation (Johansson, 2003 in Skånfors, 2009; Backe-Hansen, 2002 in Skånfors, 2009). Skånfors (2009) asserts that "informed consent exists only when one is fully informed" (p. 5). In addition to all the reasons outlined in section 2.1 on consumer socialization and in section 2.2 on consumption at tweenage, these insights further built confidence in selecting tweens as the ideal age group for the study. Previous research especially McNeal (2007) suggests that unlike pre-schoolers, tweens are able to make decisions independently and participate in research.

Another concern is about the right to refuse or withdraw participation. Backe-Hansen (2002) in Skånfors, (2009), proposes seeking consent from gatekeepers (parents) as well as the child participants and allowing children to withdraw or refuse participation even if their parents agree. Moreover, Alderson (2004) suggests being attentive to any non-verbal indications from young participants to withdraw from research. These insights from literature particularly guided the fieldwork. There were two tween participants who withdrew from research during the initial phase: the first one opted out during the first meeting when the research was being explained and the second participant withdrew after the initial few days of the videography week. More will be discussed about this in section 4.4. Similar sensitivity towards participants, was maintained during the interview stage as well. There were occasions when scheduled interviews were postponed due to participants' lack of interest, comfort or time.

Additionally, there are concerns about the protection of young participants (Skånfors, 2009). Hurley and Underwood (2002) assert that "school aged children are capable of understanding many of their research rights" (p. 141). Rights to privacy, a fundamental concern of child protection, is well explained by Alderson and Morrow (2011). They emphasize that privacy rights can protect children to the extent of excluding them from research and denying the possibility of accounting their views in policy level matters. Therefore, there is a need to guard against the tendency to over-protect children (Alderson and Morrow, 2011). Keeping these insights in mind, an effort was made to explain research participation to both the participating tweens (see Appendix B) and their parents (see Appendix C). Invariably, mothers became a part of the research recruitment process, as fathers were unavailable. The privacy of participating tweens and their families was assured to both participants as well as their mothers. Moreover, participants and their parents reserved the right to review findings and withdraw any contribution at their will. In some cases, the videography material was reviewed and edited by parents before it was handed over. While I acknowledge that data that might have pointed to some of the most contentious ideas and practices was hence lost, ethical protocols demanded that they are given such rights of participation. Edited data was a trade-off for no participation. By allowing the right to review data especially videos, I was able to retain their participation and account for their consumption practices and consumption strategies. More will be discusses in section 4.4.

Alderson and Morrow (2011) explain that "research ethics is concerned with respecting research participants throughout each project, partly by using agreed standards"

(p. 3). Since the research involved a vulnerable age group, 8-12 year olds, a protocol approved by the University's Research Governance Office was followed. A project file with the required documents (protocols, PIS, consent form, risk assessment and peer review) was sent to the Research Governance Office (RGO) through the Ethics and Research Governance Online (ERGO) system of the University, to seek formal approval along ethical dimension of the study. The fieldwork commenced after securing necessary approvals and after exploring the ethical issues relating to children.

Fieldwork began after seeking approval of parents through a specially designed consent form, detailing the purpose and scope of the study. Once parents' consent was obtained, a Participant Information Sheet (PIS), designed specifically for tweens, was used to share details about research objectives and scope of participation. Informants were encouraged to read the PIS in the presence of the researcher and their parent (usually a mother) and ask questions to seek clarity, if required. Participants were then informed about their right to withdraw participation at any time of the research process. Samples of consent form (see Appendix A), PIS for child participants (see Appendix B) and their parents (see Appendix C), are included in the Appendix section of this document.

In order to further discharge any negative emotions of the participants and their parents, data was treated with sensitivity whereby anonymity was maintained and pseudonyms were used, wherever required. Theory building was around generic themes to further protect research participants' identities.

4.3 Recruiting Participants

Reiterating an earlier point, tweenage has been described in literature as a period when the seeds of future independence germinate (McNeal, 2007). An archetypal upper middle class household in a Muslim and developing country like Pakistan, provided an inimitable context of study where children's 'mosaic life' was filled with activities linked to both Religion and the Market.

Twelve Muslim tween participants, aged 8-12 years were purposefully recruited from upper middle income households in Karachi, the top metropolitan city in Pakistan. All participants belonged to families known to the researcher. More on this will be discussed in section 4.4. Muslim families with children in their tweenage, were approached and on receiving their informal consent, a formal process of recruitment began. Recruiting

informants from familiar families countered the issue of researcher-participant strangeness and encouraged participants to share their stories.

In order to ensure participation from Muslim tweens who were well connected to the Market and the Religious mechanisms, recruitment was done from families with a specific, known lifestyle. Particularly, all participants had an experience of living in an extended family system, had one or more siblings and belonged to religiously active families. They were all actively pursuing Religious education via a madarssa or a private tutor. Moreover, all participants were enrolled in one of the top private English medium schools in Karachi and socialized with friends outside school. They were exposed to local and international media content through the common TV at home as well as their own personal technological gadgets (smartphones, tablets, videogame consoles and laptop computers). Participants belonged to dual income families, travelled abroad for vacations and accompanied their parents/elders for shopping. These participants therefore represented a demographic segment of Pakistani that was well placed to discuss their experiences of both Religion and the Market institutions. Section 5.1 of this thesis will illuminate aspects of Pakistani society, further justifying the reason for the purposeful selection of participants.

All twelve participants were engaged in a two-step data generation phase (details will follow in section 4.4). Specific details about participants and their respective data generation time, are presented in Table 4.1 below:

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Table 4.1: Description of participants

Name*	Gender	Age	Family details**
Osman	Boy	9	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother, paternal uncle and his family; Osman was the older of the two siblings and both his parents are employed professionals
Nida	Girl	9	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother; Nida had an older and a younger sibling; her father is a businessman and her mother is an employed professional
Maria	Girl	12	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother; Maria is the younger of two siblings; both her parents are employed professionals
Ali	Boy	8.5	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother; Ali is the older of two siblings; both his parents are employed professionals
Abid	Boy	11	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother and paternal uncle; Abid is the youngest of three siblings; his father is a businessman and his mother is an employed professional
Noman	Boy	12	Lives in a nuclear family unit after his paternal grandmother passed away a couple of years ago; Noman is the younger of two siblings; both his parents are employed professionals
Aasia	Girl	12	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal uncles and their families who moved out when she was 7 years old; the family unit is now nuclear; Aasia is the older of two siblings; her father is a businessman and mother is a homemaker
Aisha	Girl	10	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother; Aisha is the younger of two siblings; her father is an employed professional while the mother is a homemaker
Sara	Girl	10	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandfather; Sara is the youngest of three siblings; her father is a businessman and her mother is a homemaker
Mohsin	Boy	11	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother; Mohsin is the youngest of three siblings; his father is a businessman and his mother is a homemaker
Basil	Boy	12	Lives in a portioned house where one portion is used by his immediate family and the second belongs to his paternal grandparents; Basil is the younger of two siblings; his father is a businessman and his mother is engaged in voluntary work
Asma	Girl	9	Lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandparents, paternal uncle and his family; Asma is the youngest of three siblings; her father is an employed professional and her mother is a home-based entrepreneur

*pseudonyms have been used in place of the actual names

**when all household members share the kitchen and eat together, it's considered a family unit.

4.4   Data Generation Methodology

As noted already, this study incorporates the views of Pakistani Muslim tweens recruited from familiar families. This choice was based on the belief that they best represent the consumption taking place at the intersection of Market and Islam. Although children are typically perceived as incompetent research participants, research designs that share ownership, encourage participation, show understanding of children's language and share respect are successful in extracting rich insights (Banister and Booth, 2005). Being a native Pakistani and a Muslim, I am an insider to the Pakistani Muslim culture. Additionally, being a mother of two tween boys further equipped me with the knowledge of tween interests and their language. While the knowledge of the native culture equipped me with the necessary skills such as language to approach the participants, I was also conscious of my previous knowledge that could influence fieldwork. Hence, I consciously attempted to bracket out my pre-understanding to explore how institutional complexity is felt and managed by participating Muslim tweens. This is evident in the sample transcript attached in Appendix D of this thesis. Since I knew about video games and YouTubers that interest Pakistani tweens, I was able to generate conversation around these consumptions. However, when Noman spoke about haram, he was asked to explain what it meant ensuring that I consider his understanding rather than relying on my own.

In addition to the challenge of generating data with tweens, a second challenge was the general lack of research familiarity among Pakistanis. Like many other Eastern countries, Pakistan is a collectivistic nation where social appropriateness drives behaviour. In this scenario, recruiting participants for a study of institutional complexity between two institutions, one of which was Islam – a very sensitive domain - was a difficult and complex task. Even though, participants were recruited from familiar families, several families refused participation or dropped out after the initial few days. The two drop out cases were discussed in section 4.2. Their concern was intrusion in their private lives and disclosure of their family dynamics despite reassurances of confidentiality. A specific problem faced in the field pertained to unfamiliarity of potential participants and their families with the needs and process of academic research. Hence, they were naturally suspicious of it. The mothers of tween participants often joined the interview discussion to help their children articulate their responses, correct their response, or confirm their understanding. In some other cases, mothers occasionally sat through the interviews, as silent observers. In one particular case, the mother quietly left her own video camera in the room to record the interview. All these measures were taken by participating tweens'

mothers to ensure the protection of private information. Although these were families known to me, a frequent reassurance was given during the interviews to participants and their parents about maintaining anonymity. As mentioned previously, participants' and their parents' editing of the videos led to the loss of some important data. Moreover, mothers' presence in interviews and sometimes guiding the responses of their participating children also led to some manipulation of insights. However, to follow the ethical code of fieldwork and to ensure that maximum insights about complex consumption are gained without being over-intrusive, such practices of mothers was treated as part of the research process. Nonetheless, knowing the dynamics of a typical Pakistani family, I was able to understand the fears parents' carried and how they were trying to influence their children's natural responses. Being an insider not only guided me in the design of data generation methodology, but I was also able to locate the performed part of the interview and separate it from the authentic data. When the data was an ideal reflection of what parents wanted to communicate through their children, the videos helped in cross checking. The sanitized view of children from the interviews was therefore set aside and instead the video data that depicted a more natural response of the participating child, was included. Hence, videos became important data sources to locate contradictions as well as obtain real consumption stories. Having sufficient data from the videos and interviews made it possible to disregard the manipulated views and still have sizeable data available for theory building.

It is also important to remind that Pakistan being a closed, conservative society makes researching with children in the absence of their parents, quite difficult. Any adjustment to the peculiarities of the research context was possible only because I was an insider to the culture. Discussing the benefits of researchers as 'insiders,' Alderson and Morrow (2011) suggest that access to the research context and targeted participants is quick and easy. Furthermore, based on the insider knowledge, a context appropriate research design is possible (Alderson and Morrow, 2011). Being aware of the fears and reservations of a typical Pakistani Muslim family, I was able to aptly explain the benefits of participating in research. Moreover, the research design based on videography was particularly selected to come close to ethnography, as direct participant observation in a secretive Pakistani household, was difficult. The videography engaged the tween participants in the data generation process while the researcher stayed physically out of their daily routines and private domains. The freedom to edit videos before passing them on to the researcher further enabled Pakistani parents to agree with the research participation of their tweens. Finally, the interview schedules were managed according to

the convenience of the participating tweens and their families. Keeping all interviews at the respective homes of the participants whereby mothers could observe, interrupt or participate, further comforted the families about participation. Since the families were known to me, the fear of a stranger talking to their children was also avoided.

Research took place over a period of eight months, between January and August 2017. The data generation was spread over two phases. In the first phase, participants generated their own videographies (Belk, 2013). In the second phase, a series of phenomenological interviews (Stern et al., 1998; Thompson et al., 1989) were conducted at the participants' homes to know more about their consumption practices through their lived experiences of socialization using the video material and a prompt to help these young participants recall and articulate complex stories about consumption practices. As evident from Table 4.2 below, each participant contributed nearly 5.5 hours of data aggregating to a 66 hours of visual and verbal data across all twelve participants.

Table 4.2: Data generated per participant

Name	Length of videography	Length of interviews
Osman	180 min	112 min
Nida	46 min	65 min
Maria	71 min	124 min
Ali	390 min	120 min
Abid	300 min	148 min
Noman	571 min	138 min
Aasia	46 min	162 min
Aisha	180 min	153 min
Sara	150 min	160 min
Mohsin	77 min	107 min
Basil	65 min	202 min
Asma	271 min	123 min

Based on a combination of videographies, 'naturally occurring material' (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002) and phenomenological interviews, the data generation methodology designed for this project was participant friendly and research as well as context appropriate. This approach enabling the study of Muslim tweens' consumption practices to

explicate the interplay of societal level structures such as Market and Islam and their effect on tween consumers' agency, was hence in line with the CCT's and IL perspective's epistemology.

The merits of using visual data to unveil the mysterious Islamic consumption has already been recorded in literature (Wilson et. al., 2013). From the participants' point of view, the self-directed video making exercise was reported as 'fun' and 'engaging.' The practice of giving cameras to research participants is also not new. Belk (2013) refers to the work of Brown et. al., (2010) and Sunderland and Denny (2007) in informing about the usefulness of this technique; however, there was no evidence in literature to believe that the technique was especially useful, or potentially problematic with young participants. Hence, there was a need to pilot this methodology of data collection with the target research group to finalize its usefulness in data collection. The pilot data generation was hence carried out in early 2016.

Besides getting the researcher close to an ethnographic methodology by enabling naturalistic observation of participants' environment, videography empowered tweens as research participants by giving them a voice that they were in control of. Participants were loaned basic video cameras and asked to make a self-directed video of their daily routine for one week. Prior to the commencement of the videography week, participants were briefed about the videography task and camera usage in individual meetings, in the presence of their respective mothers. A guide for using the video cameras was also developed and shared with participants. Tween informants were encouraged to read the guide, in the presence of the researcher and their parent, alongside testing the use of the video cameras to develop confidence and seek clarity in case of confusion. Discussions about where videos could not be made such as schools and places of religious worship, were also held. The cameras were collected from the participants at the end of their videography week to review the generated data. As the length of the videography was left to the choice of the participants, it varied from 46 min to 571 min.

From the research perspective, the key question driving the data generation methodology was "what are the lived experiences of tweens undergoing simultaneous consumer and Religious socialization, with respect to their consumption practices?" Although the quality of produced videographies varied greatly, they all included images of things such as participants' possessions, people such as family and friends and places such as their bedroom, TV lounge, dining room and other rooms in the house as well as outdoor

areas. Videographies provided ethnographic data that was otherwise very difficult to collect in a closed Pakistani society. Therefore, videographies offered insights about tween participants' physical and social environment as well as consumption practices. Although Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) point to 'no influence of the researcher' as a clear advantage of naturally occurring material, this needed to be accepted with caution. Videos were sometimes abruptly stopped by participants sometimes to avoid recording a Religious activity or private family time and at other times to consciously hide something from the eye of the camera. Participants were therefore mindful of the camera's eye as an alien presence and the recorded activity was therefore a selection of best instances in the week. However, occasional slip ups in 'perfect behaviour' and switching off the camera just at the build-up of an argument as well as other non-verbal expressions were fair indications of something being masked and kept away from the camera's eye. These were taken into account during subsequent phenomenological interviews. Indeed, a key purpose of the video work was to allow reflection in the interviews, aiding participants in recalling and articulating stories. The sample transcript in Appendix D shows how activities recorded on the video such as video gaming and YouTube content consumption, provided material for subsequent interviews.

Phenomenological interviews have been widely used by consumer researchers to study experiential themes in consumer behaviour (Stern et. al., 1998). Researchers have also used in-depth interviews to study the behaviour of young participants (Kerrane et. al., 2012). Gaining confidence from literature, a series of video-recorded phenomenological interviews were conducted at the children's home. Videotaping is endorsed by Belk and Kozinets (2005) as body language and oral language inform researchers about meanings. Moreover, home provided the familiar environment comforting the tweens and encouraging them to share their stories. On the other hand, a series of interviews were carried out. This was useful firstly, in countering a typical child's tendency to get bored in one long sitting and secondly, in covering all possible inquiries based on the videographies. Furthermore, familiarity of the researcher with children countered a language barrier as a research challenge aptly highlighted by Banister and Booth (2005). The interview was conducted in a bilingual style (see Appendix D for a sample interview transcript). Participants comfortably used a mix of English and Urdu to share their consumption stories. The duration of each interview averaged around 45 min, however, the number of interviews per participant varied, ranging from a minimum of two to a

maximum of five interviews per participant. Interviews were conducted until the research agenda was exhausted.

Phenomenological inquiry in the interviews started with a discussion about participants' videography experience and moved towards a discussion of their lives at home to understand 'what they consume' and 'how they legitimize their consumption.' The interview agenda was arranged around the videographies generated by the respondents. Sometimes selected videography clips were viewed with the participants and used as ice breakers and essential prompts in phenomenological interviews to further elicit stories from them. Belk (2013) in his review article identified the usefulness of visual stimuli in interviews with Asian participants. The technique proved useful as it livened up conversations and served as a comforting focal point allowing the researcher and participant to skip the initial awkwardness and start off with discussions. Visual data proved especially useful in eliciting stories from tween participants about their consumption practices. Not only was there a sense of ownership of the interview process, but respondents effortlessly shared their stories of consumption (both those recorded in the videography week and other similar practices in the past) without solely relying on their memory. Typical opening questions included 'how was your video making experience? Can you tell me about your favourite part of the video? What happened before or after the video? What would you have recorded differently if you got a second chance of doing videography? How do you spend the rest of the time that is not recorded in the videography? Can you tell me more about this (reference to the video) consumption practice?'

The interviews provided an opportunity for social interaction between the researcher and the respondent whereby an understanding of tweens' consumption practices was jointly developed. During the interviews, discussion revolved as much around the parts of the daily routine not recorded in the video, as it did around recorded elements of the daily routine. The primary objectives of the phenomenological interview were to firstly understand how tweens understand the symbolic and material practices associated with the institutional orders of Islam and Market and to secondly extract strategies they use to navigate their way through competing and complimenting Islamic and Market logics governing their consumption practices. Interviews progressed in a conversational style whereby themes of interest were explored. Themes included broad consumption domains such as YouTube content, discourses populating the field of different consumption practices and their opposing logics such as the Market meaning and Islamic meaning

attached to the consumption of YouTube content, discursive consumption practices and naturalized understandings such as participants' own consumption style and consideration of certain aspects of YouTube content as haram (see sample transcript in Appendix 8). Participants' responses were followed up with some more open ended and sometimes leading questions. The leading questions were included sometimes when the participants felt inhibited in sharing their stories. In other instances, a leading question was asked to confirm the understanding when participants implied and not explicitly stated a thought. They were used more to reassure participants that whatever they were feeling shy to share, was often a part of common practice. As already mentioned, the collectivist society of Pakistan conditions respondents to give socially appropriate responses. In these situations, the leading questions were useful tools in extracting stories from the participants. In order to prevent any introduction of bias due to leading questions, the respondents were always asked to expand, or give other examples to see if they understood and related to the point and were not merely going along with my suggestions.

Reflecting on the journey of this thesis development, it is worth mentioning that researching Pakistani culture without encountering the Religious institution was impossible. The Religious institution structures the process of reviewing culture and deems a critical account of culture to be problematic. In other words, the Religious logics are not open to debate and hence, even academics may be prone to reproducing Religious logics through their work. In this scenario, it was important for me to be mindful of Religious sensitivities while carrying out fieldwork and extracting consumption stories from Muslim tweens in a manner that data on Religious logics was not lost. Discussion about enabling and disabling aspects of the Religious logics had to be carefully done in order to theorize the institutional tension felt and embedded agency exercised by participants. Reiterating a point made earlier, being a local myself sensitized me to these research issues and guided my style of investigation. Since the participants belonged to familiar families, they often assumed that I would automatically understand the Religious logics and their meanings. Hence, frequent reminders about my need to study their understanding of the Religious meanings, were given.

4.5   Analytical Framework

The analytical approach used in this thesis follows the advice of Phillips et. al., (2004), who propose the use of discourse analysis for a better understanding of the social construction and maintenance of institutional orders. According to Phillips et. al., (2004)

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"From a discourse analytic perspective, an institutional field is not characterized simply by a set of shared institutions but also by a shared set of discourses that constitute these institutions and the related mechanisms that regulate nonadoption. For each institution there must be a discourse that constitutes it and the associated mechanisms of compliance" (p. 647). Phillips et. al., (2004) conceptualize institutions as outcomes of discursive activity that affects social action. The usefulness of integrating institutional analysis with discourse analysis is also identified by Lawrence and Phillips (2004). Lawrence and Phillips's (2004) study how three macro level discourses, namely the regulatory discourse, the anti- whaling discourse, and the popular culture discourse shaped the institutional field of whale-watching.

This study uses Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory discussed in Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), as an analytical lens, agreeing that the social world is constituted in discourse and that discourse encompasses both language and the social phenomenon. This view is in contrast to Fairclough's critical discourse theory's view of a dialectic relationship between the discursive and the non-discursive phenomenon. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) explain that under the discourse theory both social and physical objects exist but the access to knowing or studying them is mediated through a system of meanings or discourses; therefore, all social phenomenon are to be understood according to the same logic as language.

The study moved with an ontological belief that the understanding of consumption practices depends on how it is constructed in meaning or discourse. Hence, consumption practices become meaningful in particular contexts whereby consumption experiences and the context are co-constituted. The objective was to explore how tweens discursively construct their consumption practices so that they appear objective and natural. This ambition translated into an effort to locate consumption practices whereby Muslim tweens experience and so articulate their institutional work of legitimizing their consumption under the Market and/or the Islamic discourse. Overall, the effort was to locate strategies used by Muslim tweens to reduce antagonism between the Islamic and the Market discourse and to strive for hegemonic consumption practices.

Epistemologically, interviews together with videographies were used to know how tweens construct discursive representation of their practices to either reproduce the existing discourses as they have been typically present or to negotiate for a new permutation of co-existence of the plural institutional discourses. Keeping Fitchett and Caruana's (8: 2015)

assertion in mind that 'text is the interpretable operation of a discursive struggle,' the transcribed interviews were treated as interpretable text. Since interviews were treated as a form of social interaction in which the respondent together with the researcher shaped the understanding of tweens' consumption practices, the transcriptions of the interviews included both questions of the researcher and answers of the respondents (see Appendix D for a sample transcript). Consequently, the analysis of transcripts focused on meanings generated by both parties, with the object of empirical analysis being discursive consumption practices.

In the first stage of analysis, specific practices such as worship, meals, study, TV viewing and play were paid attention to. During the analysis, the dichotomous consumption during worship and other routine activities emerged and highlighted the tension in the Market and Islamic meanings or logics of consumption and the need for a solution. Therefore, the analysis specifically focused on consumption practices that were areas of discursive work, treating them as themes. Interview excerpts belonging to different consumption practices or themes, were then sorted into different files and cross analysed with videographies and video recordings of the interviews to include any necessary non-verbal details. Although videographies were initially not treated as data on their own, through an iterative process of analysis, they formed an essential part of the data set and were regularly revisited to make better sense of responses received in the interviews. Consequently, conversations and images captured in videographies were also treated as interpretable text. Visual cues such as specific consumer goods, actions highlighting movement between different institutions, participants' negotiations with actors in their environment and specific instances of abrupt switching off of the camera were especially included in the analysis.

Both interview transcripts and visual data from videography were reviewed multiple times in order to sort them into themes. As per the discourse theory's rejection of the Saussurian's concept of a totalising structure and claim of plurality of discourses, participating Muslim tween consumers were found to be interpellated by the institutional discourses of Market and Islam. To analyse the complex discursive work that participants engaged in, analytical tools for discourse such as 'nodal points,' 'chains of equivalence,' and 'master signifiers' were used. Additionally, tools for tension analysis such as 'floating signifiers,' 'antagonism' and 'hegemony' were used to analyse data. In the following paragraphs, I will first explain the meanings of different tools used for discourse analysis followed by the explanation of tools used for analysis of tension found in the discourse.

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) explain that nodal points and master signifiers are key signifiers that do not have any meaning on their own, until through a chain of equivalence a meaning is assigned to them. Nodal points organize discourses. For example, in this study the nodal point fashion organized the Market discourse through a chain of equivalence based on signs such as 'movies,' 'cool,' 'friends,' 'popular.' All these signs were carriers of meanings that combined with fashion to give meaning to the Market discourse. Similarly, chains of equivalence, master signifiers organize identity. For example, the master signifier, Muslim in this study organized the identity of tween respondents and shaped the Islamic discourse. The chains of equivalence used carriers of meanings such as 'prayer,' 'body,' 'mahram,' 'halal,' 'Allah' and 'Quran' to fill the sign Muslim with meaning.

Following Jorgensen and Phillips's (2002) advice, Laclau and Mouffe's (1990) concept of 'floating signifiers,' empty signs that are assigned meanings by different discourses, was used to locate orders of discourse in this study. Hence, 'consumption practices' was understood as an order of discourse where everyday consumption practices, such as media consumption, fashionable Western clothing consumption, character printed T-shirts consumption and tattoo consumption were floating signifiers and ascribed with different meanings by proponents of the Market and the Islamic discourses (socialising agents) or institutional orders. These floating signifiers were the locations of discursive tension. For example, under the market discourse, fashion provided meanings to floating signifiers such as 'tattoos' and 'Western clothing.' The same floating signifiers were also ascribed with meanings under the Islamic discourse with Muslim being the master signifier. Hence, these signs (tattoos and Western clothing for example) became areas of discursive work for the participants.

Floating signifiers may seem similar to previously discussed nodal points, however the difference is recorded in literature as follows:"floating signifiers are the signs that different discourses struggle to invest with meaning in their own particular way. Nodal points are floating signifiers, but whereas the term 'nodal point' refers to a point of crystallisation within a specific discourse, the term 'floating signifier' belongs to the ongoing struggle between different discourses to fix the meaning of important signs" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 28). As identified by Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) from Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, all social practices can be seen as articulations whereby some discourses are reproduced while others are changed politically. These articulations, 'combination of elements that give them a new identity' (Jorgensen and

Phillips, 2002:140), are similar to Fairclough's intertextuality whereby communicative events draw upon previous words or phrases used by others in the past. In the context of this thesis, the words of parents and Religious teachers representing knowledge of Islamic practice and meaning, and words taken from the media, from marketing communications and from peers representing the Market meanings, were recalled by tween participants in the explanations of their consumption practices. These further explained the discursive work needed to legitimize consumption practices such as wearing tattoos. All contradictions, shifts and negations of respondents were noted and recognized as valid indications of the Market and the Islamic discourses being worked through to reduce antagonism and achieve hegemony. For example, tattoo consumption in one case achieved hegemony when it was articulated as a means of praising God – a practice linked to the Market was legitimized under the Islamic order by using it as a means of praising God. The antagonism, as will be explained in detail in section 5.4 of the findings chapter, between the meanings assigned to tattoo consumption by the Market and the Islamic discourse, was reduced by uniquely integrating the Market meaning of the body as a place of self-expression with the Islamic meaning of the body as a gift from God. The sign 'tattoos,' was therefore an element or a polysemic term that acquired different meanings under the Market and the Islamic discourse.

After this detailed explanation of the methodology adopted for analysis of research data, the next chapter provides details about the findings of the project. In order to guide the reader, a section on Pakistani culture is included as a preamble to the chapter.

Chapter 5   Findings

In this thesis, the insights from micro-practices of Pakistani tweens about Market and Islamic socialising forces carrying their respective discourse, mechanisms strengthening the Market and Islamic following and strategies deployed to manage the expectations of both Market and Islamic institutional orders, are used to theorize Muslim consumption practices and strategies. Institutional complexity caused by plural field-level logics and the resulting embedded agency (*bounded freedom*, explained in chapter 6, section 6.2) experienced by Muslim tweens, are explored through the lived experiences or consumption practices of Muslim tweens.

While discussing their daily routines, tween participants particularly spoke about their Religious activities. Although Religious activities were of particular interest as they excluded the consumption of consumer goods such as music, movies, videogames, Fashionable Western clothes, character T-shirts, food, nail paints, certain wall hangings, toys such as figurines and tattoos, other activities also highlighted the jurisdictional influence of Religion on consumption practices. Even though informants discussed a wide range of consumption practices, I present insights about four in the findings chapter and use these to theorize institutionally complex consumption practices in the next chapter. These specific consumption practices (media, fashionable Western clothes, character T-shirts and tattoos) were consistently captured across all participants' stories as areas of discursive struggle between the Market and the Islamic institutional orders. Muslim tweens understood consumption rules for media, fashionable Western clothes, character T-shirts and tattoos both in terms of Market logics and Islamic logics and developed unique ways of managing their consumption practices to deal with tensions, ambiguities and possible prohibitions. In doing so, they also articulated the specific meaning associated with both logics, and the roles of those meanings in how they managed their Muslim identities. In turn, practices of both institutions were reformed or contaminated, as will be explained, through this embedded agency (although as we shall see, this applied much more to the Market than to Religion).

In order to once again explain why Market and Islam are selected as two institutional orders to study Muslim consumer culture, specifically in Pakistan, I include a preamble section mapping the historical and socio-cultural aspects of this context. This section is useful in situating the findings within the Pakistani cultural context, especially where the reader is unfamiliar with Pakistan and Islam. Sections presenting detailed findings along the four aforementioned consumption practices will follow this preamble.

Chapter 5

5.1   Research context – Pakistani Culture

This section provides a necessary understanding of the Pakistani context, which is not only useful in guiding a non-native readers' understanding of findings in the subsequent chapters but also helpful in explaining the peculiar market development taking place in Islamic countries like Pakistan, in addition to informing about the background and recency of Islamization in the country. Through this chapter, I present specific details of the dynamic nature of institutions that challenge universal theorizations about consumption and agree with the philosophical propositions of CCT that consumption is situated, dynamic and must be theorised as such.

Islamic countries are often assumed to be bound by tradition and averse to modernization and democracy (Qadeer, 2011), However, my study shows that Pakistan is a context where a more complex relationship between the Islamic traditions and modern Markets is playing out. Chapter 7 of this thesis presents a detailed view of this unique cultural evolution. The complexity of the Pakistani context is a function of the diverse political and socio-cultural outlooks of its governments over the 70 years of its existence as an independent state. Qadeer (2011) has explained Pakistan's socio-cultural history as spreading over three periods. According to him, the first period (1947-71) was the formative period when the country started its journey towards a progressive, modern, pluralist and tolerant society. Qadeer (2011) declares the second period (1972-77) to be a time of populist egalitarianism with a focus on social and cultural restructuring. However, both these initial periods were unable to free Pakistan from its internal conflicts and external dependence. Eventually, the third period (1977-present) was a time of reinvented traditions, and the apparent contradictions of Islamization and globalization (Qadeer, 2011). This final era has been a combination of orthodox Islamic jurisprudence and modern economic and social policies that has produced a unique environment in which consumption practices are emerging.

As noted earlier, this section aims to highlight aspects of the Pakistani culture that are important to bear in mind while reviewing the findings. It is organized as follows: it starts off by shedding light on the nature of the Pakistani society followed by a recount of Islamization in the country, followed by a discussion of the developments of Markets in Pakistan and ends with a summary. I have paid special attention to literature that not only informs about the Pakistani cultural dynamics but also illuminates dominant institutions shaping cultural practices.

5.1.1   Pakistani Society

Predicted to become the world's fourth largest nation by 2050 (Mussadaq, 2011), and the most

populous Muslim majority country by 2030 (Dawn, 2011), Pakistan is a country of significance in the Asia pacific region with a large middle class, constituting 55% of all households in Pakistan (Ghani, 2014). According to July 2017 estimates, the country's population is more than 200 million with children between 0-14 years making an approximate 31% of the country (Cia.gov, 2017). As per the World Bank (2016), children between 0-14 years in age, in Pakistan are approximately 67 million whereas those in widely researched contexts such as the UK, are approximately 11.5 million and in the US are approximately 61.4 million. Comparing the size of the young consumers in Pakistan with the research produced to explain their behaviour, it is evident that Pakistan is an under-researched context. Studies on Pakistani consumption and more specifically children's consumption are absent from the top Marketing journals.

With the population unevenly distributed throughout the country, Pakistan has some sparsely populated areas and some very densely populated ones. Qadeer (2011) informs that 56% of the Pakistani population is either settled in areas classified as urban or those resembling urban-level densities and therefore asserts that "Pakistan has become an urban society" (p. 81). Cohen (2011) agrees that the country is becoming increasingly urban. Approximately 40% of the total Pakistani population is found strictly in the urban (Cia.gov, 2017) and roughly one-third of Pakistan's urban population is either found in Karachi or Lahore (Weiss, 2011). Karachi is in fact the most populous city in Pakistan with over 20 million residents (Cia.gov, 2017). Since the Pakistani population is spread across different socio-economic classes and geographies, children belonging to different socio-economic class households are presumed to have peculiar social realities around them. Literature informs that Pakistani children from the middle and affluent socioeconomic class households, are most likely exposed to Western style education in schools that lie in the middle of the traditional-modern continuum (Nelsen and Rizvi, 1984). Found in the urban centre, the medium of communication in these schools is English (Abideen, *et al*., 2011). Furthermore, middle class households are characterised by positivity and confidence regarding the future, a preference for moderation and stability, readiness to pay extra for quality, the ability to concede to indulgence, and an income often derived from skilled work (Ghani, 2014). Conclusively, these households are therefore most impacted by the Market institutions. D'Souza (2013) also informs that urbanization itself has triggered a lifestyle change leading to a higher demand for convenient Market-based solutions. Pakistan is therefore a country with two apparent ideologies: the traditional resting on orthodox Islamic values and the modern drawing inspiration from the West. According to Qadeer (2011), modernization is synonymous with Western practices and institutions; he specifically asserts that modernization of consumption practices and the contrasting traditional practices make it difficult to use linear evolutionary models to study the Pakistani culture. Pakistan is, in effect, developing a unique culture that incorporates both

traditional Islamic values and progressive Western economic, consumer, and policy ideas.

In Pakistan, families play a huge role in enabling children to understand the structuring forces of their culture (Valliani, 2013). Family, occupation and religion are the building blocks of the Pakistani society, influencing individuals' daily routine and behaviour (Qadeer, 2011). While occupation and family is distinctive to different individuals, Religion is a common institution that cuts across ethnic, geographic and class differences. The lowest indivisible unit in Pakistan is the family. Although the typical binding influence of a family or a clan is loosening up in Pakistan, it continues to draw loyalty and individuals are attached to their families and clans for a sense of identity (Qadeer, 2011). Pakistani culture is nevertheless pluralistic with a mix of influence that also still draws from the colonial rule, from Hindu proximity, and from indigenous ethnic groups (Paracha, 2015). Although Islamic principles drive Pakistani life, the country's social fabric is also a result of the mixing of the Indian, English and local ethnic cultures. The country was created as a result of the division of the Indian sub-continent to enable the Muslim population of the sub-continent to freely practice Islamic ideals (Shackle, 1997). Nonetheless, Indian traditions have had a substantial influence on the food, festivities and dress of Pakistanis. Furthermore, colonization specifically influenced the education system of Pakistan with missionaries establishing the first English medium schools in the sub-continent. Resultantly, one of the biggest impacts came in the area of language. English is perceived to be the language of the educated and the elite in Pakistan.

Since this study focuses on the consumption culture of Pakistani Muslim tweens, I discuss specific cultural aspects that are fundamental to understanding the structures embedding Pakistani Muslim tweens and their effect on consumption practices. In the following sections, Religion, dress, family, educational system and language, are discussed.

Religion

Daily prayers and active places of worship - mosques - are an important feature of the Pakistani culture. Although there is a variety in the Pakistani Islamic practice, attributable to the politics post Prophet Mohammad's demise, the prevalent local version is the *Sunni Islam* followed by *Shia Islam* (Shackle, 1997). Approximately 96% of the present Pakistani population is Muslim, out of which nearly 85% are Sunni Muslims (Cia.gov, 2017). Irrespective of the type of Islam, Pakistani Muslims, in general, have a practice of congregational prayers held at large community halls or mosques. Both Shias and Sunnis are led by their respective Religious clerics who are trained in their belief system and guide their sect of believers (Shackle, 1997). However, the popularity of congregational prayers is a post 1978 phenomenon and more will be discussed in the next section on Islamization in Pakistan.

In addition to school education, Pakistani Muslim children start their Religious education early (Epstein, 2008). According to Epstein (2008), they are trained to say *Bismillah* (in the name of Allah) before they start doing anything and are able to read Quran and pray by the time they are seven years old. This early Religious education is after school and is facilitated either through a male or female teacher visiting the child at home or the child attending an Islamic school. As children turn 10 years old, they are obligated to follow the Religious practices of praying, fasting and reading Quran (Epstein, 2008). Islamic ideals translate into local traditions in Pakistan (Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage, 2013). Muslim children in urban Pakistan are raised along the traditional-modern spectrum. Weiss (2011), however, believes that there is a brewing 'culture war' between those who identify with Western practices and so demand empowerment of women and those who demand ongoing Islamization and the suppression of influences that threaten the prescribed role of women under the conservative Islamic tradition.

Traditional Pakistani Muslim women divide their social life into private (household) and public (non-household) spheres and consider any male outsider to be *haram* (forbidden); therefore, the concept of *purdah* (segregation of males and females) is common (Cottam, 1997). However, the manifestation of this tradition is different in villages and cities. According to Qadeer (2011), it is a norm for women in villages to completely avoid interaction with outsider men. However, in cities, women may maintain an "unsmiling and expressionless visage," (Qadeer, 2011, p. 78) when in the company of men. Hence, the need to maintain distance from outsider or *Na-mahram* men is fulfilled in diverse ways - ranging from no interaction to maintaining an expressionless visage to covering oneself with loose clothes. Clothes or dress, therefore becomes an important consumption that is contested between the institutions of Market and Islam.

In the next section, I review literature that informs about the dressing practices of Pakistani Muslims.

Dress

Shalwar Kameez is the national dress of Pakistan and is worn by both males and females. *Shalwar* is an equivalent of a pant or a trouser and is generally baggy. *Kameez* is an equivalent of a tunic that is flowy and covers up to the knee. *Shalwar Kameez* has its adaptations in different ethnicities in Pakistan. A *dupatta,* equivalent of a shawl, is worn with *Shalwar Kameez,* by Pakistani women. This *dupatta* serves two purposes: it can be used to cover the head (an Islamic requirement) as well as the chest (another Islamic requirement).

Although the traditional Pakistani dress is commonly worn, Euromonitor's report on Consumer Lifestyle in Pakistan (2014) informs that due to increasing urbanization and women

joining workforce, the demand for fashionable and non-traditional clothes is on the rise. Not only do women shop in the local malls, but they also increasingly buy their clothes from online shopping avenues. In order to serve this growing segment, various e-commerce websites and cash on delivery mechanisms are now in place in the country (Euromonitor, 2014). Euromonitor's (2014) report highlights clothing consumption among Pakistani teenagers and informs that peers influence the types of T-shirts and shoes Pakistani teenagers prefer to wear. Furthermore, the popularity of Western style of dressing among young girls is increasing in the urban areas.

On one hand, the popularity of Western clothing styles is on the rise and on the other hand, the disapproval of the popularity of the Western dress is a common occurrence in Pakistan. As per a 2017 BBC online video report (BBC News Asia, 2017), a Pakistani university banned its female students from wearing skinny jeans and high heels. Such a move is a clear indication of the reluctant acceptance of Western style of dressing in the local culture. Qadeer (2011) informs that Islamists from middle income families, still believe in and enact *purdah* (segregation of males and females). Clothing choices are one way of avoiding the attention of *Na-Mahram* men or in other words, observe *purdah.* Qadeer (2011) explains that *purdah* is a result of women bearing the burden of their family's *izzat* (honour) in the Pakistani culture. *Purdah* has taken the Muslim women's dress code through multiple phases: from a *burqa* (veil and coverall) in the 1940s and 1950s to 'modest behaviour' in the 1960s and 1970s to *hijab* (head cover) and *niqab* (face cover with only eyes visible) in the 1980s (Qadeer, 2011). Despite these cultural norms, the state does not enforce any dress code for women in Pakistan unlike the stricter Islamic countries found in the Middle East. Pakistani women are legally free to cover themselves from head to toe or wear Western attire (Ansari, 2014). Resultantly, there are two types of women in the country: those who are committed to the indigenous traditions and customs and those who are open to adopting Western norms and practices. However, the coexistence is complicated and this study aims to explain the effects of such complexity. Dress for Muslim females in Pakistan is a sensitive and complex matter. For the fashionable females, it is an expression of their self and for the Islamists, it is a sign of their piety.

The dress code for men in Pakistan is a much less discussed matter. Generally, men are able to wear the local or the Western attire without calling any attention or reprimand. Men are positioned as bread earners or heads of their families and face less restrictions in their social life. However, wearing shorts in public spaces remains problematic and only becomes an available choice in spaces where modern outlook is prevalent. Nonetheless, the length of the shorts for men must remain close to the knee. Conclusively, dress is a site of tension between the Market and the Islamic logics for Muslim consumers in Pakistan. This study explores the tension around clothing

consumption from the Pakistani Muslim tweenage consumers' viewpoint. Section 5.3 and 5.4 specifically present insights about the complexity of clothing consumption in an Eastern, Muslim context.

As noted earlier, family is an important part of the Pakistani culture. It is the context within which Market and Religious socialization takes place. The following section reviews Pakistani literature to bring to fore peculiarities of the Pakistani urban families that are important to bear in mind while reading the findings presented in section 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5.

Family

Nuclear and joint families are the two types of families found in Pakistan (Khurshid *et al.,* 2014). Joint family system is a traditional form and a peculiar characteristic of the subcontinent; it consists of multiple generations living under one roof where family harmony is stressed. The unit operates with one kitchen, shares income and properties and raises children together (Qadeer, 2011). Khurshid *et. al.* (2014) explain that a joint family in Pakistan consists of a married couple, their children, grandparents and the relative of the male-line. In a joint family, traditional authority of the patriarchal, older person over his younger generation prevails. Although joint families are commonplace in Pakistan, Khurshid *et. al*., (2014) report the disintegration of this system and Qadeer (2011) explains that the 'jointness' of the family unit is becoming ceremonial and limited to taking care of the elderly or widowed and Religious worship. He therefore offers 'extended' as a term to replace 'joint' in order to describe a single household shared by multiple families. Offering notable insights, Weiss (2011) informs that urbanization, rise in nuclear families and movement from typical *havelis* (townhouses or mansions) to contained flats has transformed the social character of the country, whereby young children are more likely to develop their value systems through their schools, media and streets, eventually questioning the priorities of their elders. However, this phenomenon is only limited to the metropolitan cities of Pakistan.

Irrespective of the type of family unit, the social life of any Pakistani, including children, revolves around his or her family. Traditionally, Pakistani family is a close-knit unit following Islamic scripture in their social and Religious routines (Nelsen and Rizvi, 1984). However, economic challenges of the cities and disintegration of the extended family system are translating into women joining the workforce in Pakistan (Khurshid, *et al.*, 2014). This development has implications for the family dynamics in Pakistan. With working mothers, children's socialization practices are expected to be different. At the same time, greater disposable income and time compressed lifestyle may be a new reality of the family structure, both of which are impacting Pakistanis' consumption practices. With greater ability to spend, Pakistani consumers are demanding convenient and modern solutions.

Chapter 5

Although family is recognized as a separate institutional order by Thornton *et. al.,* (2012), it is not treated as a distinctive order in this study. In the Pakistani context, family goals are linked with either Religion (Islam) or the Market or both and so family is captured through the two key institutions that are the focus of the study. The only logic distinctive to family is that of 'harmony;' however, this logic is used to socialize children into the role of Muslims (Islamic institutional order) and/or consumers (Market institutional order) or both. The distinctive identity of children as a member of a particular family is outside the scope of this study.

Another important aspect of the Pakistani society is its educational system. After the family, schools heavily influence children's world-view. Literature reviewed in the following section presents details about the educational system of Pakistan.

Educational System

The educational system in Pakistan is pluralistic and the literature informs that different schooling systems fertilize different types of ideologies. Rahman (2002) enlightens about the variety and nature of schooling system prevalent in Pakistan. He informs that English is the medium of instruction in the elitist private and a few of the non-elitist private Pakistani schools; however, it is resented by a portion of the society. Preparing for the British ordinary and advanced level examinations, students of the elitist schools are exposed to Western books, some of which have been reprinted to adapt their contents to the Pakistani culture (Rahman, 2004). (Rahman, 2004) asserts that these schools socialize children into English speaking, secular, successful and liberal mindsets.

Yusuf (2011) offers a summarizing view of the educational system in Pakistan. Calling it the stratified education system, Yusuf (2011) claims antagonism between the graduates of the three parallel education systems, *Madarssas* (Islamic Religious schools)*,* public schools (government run schools) and private schools, is fermented. The contrasting world views of the graduates from each of these schooling systems poses a reconciling challenge for the society, as follows:

a. *Madarssas* are believed to be populated by the poor and are breeding grounds for conservative ideologies. The emergence of the Islamic schools and *Madarssas* is a post 1977 occurrence.

b. Public schools are frequented by lower middle class children and here the students are trained to be slightly more tolerant than the *Madarssas.*

c. Private schools are patronized by the upper middle and the elite class children. Their students are taught to be liberal in their outlook.

The insights presented in this section further explain the reasons for including tweenagers studying at private school, as participants. In schools, they are exposed to Western outlook while the overall Pakistani culture reinforces the Eastern, Muslim style of thinking. Hence, they are the ideal informants to study complex consumption taking place at the nexus of Islamic ideals and modern Western trends. Moreover, how schools' environment affect the Muslim consumption practices of tweens was discussed in interviews. A specific case in point is Aasia's story of school uniform, presented in section 5.3.2.

Language

Urdu is the national language of Pakistan; however, it is yet to be declared the official language of the country (Raj, 2017). According to CIA, World Factbook (2017), *Urdu* is spoken by a mere 8% of the Pakistani population. English, can be considered the official language of Pakistan as all government communication is in English. Although, a government memo issued in 2015 directed all ministries to use *Urdu* in its communication, both at home and abroad, the country's prime minister did not follow the directive in his subsequent foreign visits (Raj, 2017). Effectively, Pakistan's official languages are both *Urdu* and English. Both these languages are used by Pakistan's government and the citizens in their formal and informal interactions. Resultantly, a large portion of the urban Pakistanis, is bilingual.

Several efforts have been made by *Urdu* enthusiasts to implement the language across all sections of the society as they believe that it was a major symbol of the Pakistan Movement and would be a great service to Islam (Raj, 2017). Urban Pakistanis generally converses in *Urdu*. The use of *Urdu* language in government schools and media has enabled Pakistanis to recognize it as the local language. Arguments against using English are based on anti-colonial and national prestige sentiments. Nonetheless, English is recognized as the language of the educated and the elite. Some provincial governments have adopted the language as a medium of instruction in the government schools. Consequently, *Urdu* is losing its salience as a facilitator for high paying jobs.

A third language that demands attention in this section is Arabic. For Pakistani Muslims, it is the Religious language as it is the language of *Quran*. Efforts are being made to include Arabic to the government school curriculum (Dawn, 2014). In everyday life, Pakistani Muslims use several Islamic discursive terms from the Arabic language, such as *halal, haram, mahram, na-mahram, gunah, sawaab* and *Namaz* to assert and reinforce their Muslim identity and pursue Islamic goals.

Conclusively, the urban Pakistani society commonly uses English and *Urdu* in their daily conversation and specific Arabic words in the Islamic domains. These insights from literature implied that the Islamic institution is linked to the Arabic language while the language of the Market is more ambiguous. As pointed out in the concluding remarks of section 2.2 on Muslim

consumption, Islam is more powerful than Market as an institution when it comes to legitimizing Muslim consumption practices. Therefore, in terms of language, Arabic possesses legitimizing power better than *Urdu* or English. As will be explained in the background sections of sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5, Quranic or Islamic traditions' text is often drawn to substantiate the Islamic meanings behind the consumption of media, fashionable Western clothing, character printed T-shirts and tattoos. During interviews with participants, therefore, special attention was paid to the use of language to understand how Muslim tween consumers discuss their consumption practices. The situational use of language was an indicator of the institution they used to legitimize their consumption practices.

5.1.2 Islamization in Pakistan

Qadeer (2011) in his book, Pakistan, social and cultural transformations in a Muslim nation, provides detailed insights about the Islamization that began in the late 1970s. He explains that the military government taking office in 1977, replaced the modernizing and socialist agenda of its predecessors, institutionalized Islam and made it an integral part of the Pakistani society and the state. He further notes that this period coincided with the oil-induced economic development of the Gulf States, where a large number of Pakistanis were employed, leading to a boom in Pakistan's consumer Markets, as remittances made their way home. In effect, Islamization and greater consumer spending power in Pakistan have grown in parallel over the last 40 years. Explaining the urbanism in Pakistan, Qadeer (2011) also notes that, "contrary to Western experiences, Religion has not receded to the private spheres of social life; rather, since the 1980s it has resurged with renewed vigour in the public arena," (p. 110).

Islam has been in the sub-continent since 713 A.D., when an Arab conquest introduced the Religion to areas of the Indian sub-continent that now fall into Pakistan. As noted earlier, Islam became the force behind the creation of Pakistan and so is embedded in national identity and structure. However, the country's mood in its initial years was more secular as the colonial practice of keeping the state and Religion separate was broadly followed (Qadeer, 2011; Maqsood, 2017). Nonetheless, Islamists kept urging that the purpose behind Pakistan's creation was to have a state governed by the Islamic norms. Eventually, in 1978, Islamization of the Pakistani society began. According to Qadeer (2011), several steps to institutionalize Islam were taken. In addition to legal and economic reforms, there were educational and cultural reforms that enabled the Islamization of the country. Some of these reforms included promotion of *Namaz* (Muslim prayer) in schools and offices, inclusion of *Islamiat* (Islamic Religious studies) as a mandatory subject for all Muslim students studying in any type of school and patronization of Islamic symbols and themes in

literature, media, art, and popular culture. During this period, the media was under state control and was strategically used to transform the Pakistani society. Women on TV were seen wearing the necessary *dupatta* over their head, bearded men dominated the TV screens and conservative Islamic scholars were actively used to promote Islamic precepts (Qadeer, 2011). Media played a huge role in replacing the sleeveless attires of the early 1970s with the fully covered versions of the local dress. As per the Pakistani government's narrative, Islam is a way of life and many local customs and traditions are connected with Religion (Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage, 2013). Although the politics of the ruling parties over the years have swayed the country's identity between a secular, multicultural, socialist economy and an Islamized nation that eschews Westernism and secularism (Paracha, 2015), Islam forms the backbone of the Pakistani culture. Yet the effect of emerging Market logics cannot be overlooked.

According to Qadeer (2011), Pakistanis' goal of material well-being has remained unchanged all through its 70 years of history. The Islamization of the country resulted in a dichotomous society with public and private spheres. Public life was characteristic of Islamic piousness in the form of congregational prayers, prioritizing of prayers over any activity such as business meetings, weddings or sports and women's *dars* (sermons), while the private life reflected the goals of material gains and consumerism. Calling it 'compartmentalization,' Qadeer (2011) explains the public life as the imaginary culture while the private life as the lived culture of Pakistan. Qadeer (2011) acknowledges the presence and importance of the two institutions being studied in this thesis. Moreover, his work signals the findings of this study – the temporal and spatial separation of logics in order to maintain both, such that tension between them is reduced. He aptly captures the institutional complexity of the Pakistani society in the following lines:

> *"The Islamic discourse lays claim to its own form of modernity. It locates the origins of human rights, social justice, and even scientific progress in Islam and the civilization it spawned. It espouses these values and ideals in abstract and maintains that they have been appropriated by the West. Yet in translating them into institutions and practices, the Islamic discourse diverges significantly from modernity. It rejects Western individualism, sexual mores, gender relations, personal liberties, and consumerism but accepts individual enterprise and a form of capitalism restrained by "interest free" transactions."* (p. 185)

According to Qadeer (2011), Islamization and modernization are compartmentalized such that they are restricted to their respective legal/cultural and material spheres. However, findings from Pakistani tweens suggest that both Islamization and modernization ideals are not neatly compartmentalized. The boundaries between public and private life often blur and the internalization of any one phenomenon does not necessarily relieve a Pakistani from his obligation

or attraction to the other.

In addition to helping Islamize the Pakistani society, media in Pakistan has played a huge role in propagating the Market logic. Media in Pakistan has become more liberal in the recent years and has recently been used to support advertising and globalized brands. Hence, it now also carries the Market logic. Section 5.1.3 presents detailed insights from literature about the evolution and the role of traditional as well as modern Media in supporting the Market logic.

5.1.3   Media and Market

The relationship between state and media in Pakistan has traditionally been one of control where the state typically used media to project a unified image of the country. However, in 2002, media reforms enabled liberalization of media, fuelling rapid growth in the number of local TV and radio channels and providing a platform for English, *Urdu* and regional language content to be aired (Mir, 2013). As media became more independent, viewers in Pakistan started getting socialized into latest consumption trends. Euromonitor's report on Consumer Lifestyle in Pakistan (2014), for example, informs that media content such as Sunsilk Pakistan Fashion Week, played a big role in shaping the fashion trends in the country.

The popularity of Western fashion in Pakistan due to a liberal media, has received mixed responses from the society (Naqvi, 2013). Naqvi (2013) informs that on one hand, it has provoked the Islamists who believe that women must dress modestly and lead pious lives and on the other hand, it has delighted the urban, modern youth that wants to celebrate womanhood, look good and feel fashionable. According to Naqvi (2013), red carpet events in major metropolitan cities have inculcated a sense of fashion and style among the local youth and there is an uptake of Western fashion alongside the traditional dresses. Even the most conservative women, wearing the *abayas* (a cloak, loose over- garment) have not been able to escape fashion, as their outer wears are made fashionable with embellishments (Naqvi, 2013).

Not only has the traditional media such as TV evolved, digital media in Pakistan has also grown phenomenally. 29 percent of the Pakistani population subscribes to the internet, translating into 56 million users, equivalent to the total population in UK (Masood and Bashir, 2016). It has afforded its consumers access to international Market trends as well as international Markets. Additionally, it has enabled the growth of e- commerce in the country. The total value of e-commerce is expected to cross $10 bn. By 2020 (Shaikh, 2017).

The growth of internet penetration in the urban Pakistan is especially relevant for this study. As will be explained in the findings presented in section 5.2 until section 5.5, internet affords Muslim

tween consumers access to international, modern media such as YouTube and to international markets through e-commerce. The knowledge from this exposure is then combined in unique ways with the Islamic knowledge to legitimize consumption practices.

5.1.4   Summary

The preceding sections presented details about different aspects of the Pakistani culture that illuminate the presence of two institutions influencing everyday life schemes. The institutional complexity arising from an interplay of Islamic and Market logics, is not a result of some ancient ideology in Pakistan. The Islamic and the Market thrust concurrently occurred in Pakistan and relatively recently (in the last 40 years). This is significant because the tensions we witness are also recent and ongoing. The institutional complexity is not a case of some ancient culture, thrust into the modern era by globalisation and Westernisation, but a unique constellation of Institutional logics that have been negotiated and established by living generations, still involved in the active socialisation of Pakistani youth. According to Qadeer (2011), the Islamic revivalism since 1980s, has shaped the imagined culture but the lived culture is increasingly tilting towards modern materialism. Yusuf's (2011) assertion about Pakistan as a country with Islam in the foreground and pluralistic undercurrents in the background, is also in agreement with Qadeer's (2011) claims presented in the previous sections. Important aspects of the Pakistani social system are well captured in Yusuf's (2011) work and are briefly presented below:

1. Religious and national identity are not only interlinked but also strongly held.

2. Islam is central to the lives of Pakistanis

3. The society is traditional and conservative while also modern as per Western standards

    a. Traditional values include closeness to home and parents, arranged marriages, females' aversion to friendship with males and females' primary role as homemakers.

    b. Western values include free media and influence of TV on the opinions of the youth.

4. Urbanization is on the rise and urban dwellers are likely to become a significant social entity.

Literature reviewed so far illuminates the institutional complexity surrounding Muslim consumption practices in Pakistan. Since the Islamic and the modern Market institutional orders prescribe their distinctive behavioural scripts, it leads to complicated embeddedness of the Pakistani tweens. There are reports of growing 'pester power,' as Pakistani youth is more informed and is growing up faster than their predecessors (Mohsin, 2006). Marketers in Pakistan also believe media exposure is shaping children into discerning consumers. Evidently, the undercurrents present

in the Pakistani society emerge from urbanization, media exposure and the modern education system.

Conclusively, urban, upper middle income households, with moderate to high income, smaller family size, modern education, Religious orientation and patronage of modern advancements are unique sites, where children are 'positioned' to consume under a web of expectations. These are the settings where consumer culture interacts with traditional Religious beliefs and practices in the Pakistani society (Alvi, *et al.,* 2014) and provides an opportunity to study the net effects on tween consumers. The evolution reported in the urban centres of Pakistan is indicative of the growing Market mechanisms, modern education, affluence and changing family dynamics. Growth in media (Abideen *et. al.,* 2011), Market structures (Sameer, 2017; Shaikh, 2017) and modern education (Yusuf, 2011; Nelsen and Rizvi, 1984), have enabled Pakistani marketers to identify children as an important market segment (Kashif *et. al.,* 2012). The dichotomy of recognizing children as market segments and as integral part of the cultural system based on intergenerational harmony, is baffling. In a society of 'elders decide,' we might expect there to be little to no room for targeting children. Given the cultural dynamics of Eastern contexts, logic of appropriateness and/or logic of consequence are likely to shape tweens' consumption practices. The collectivist value propagating respect for elders is likely to position parents as the most dominant socialising force in the environment. In other words, the agency that children are equipped by the Market to exercise, may therefore be conditional in Eastern, collectivist contexts, due to the traditional value system. In this scenario, the communication and parental style prevalent in a Pakistani household plays a crucial role in enabling or constraining agency.

Parallel to this Market evolution is the growth in Islamization of lifestyle in Pakistan. The indigenous value system in Pakistan driven by Islamic ideals (Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage, 2013) is another significant structure that governs consumption practices in Pakistan. Islam is central to everyday life in Pakistan. In addition to the popularity of Islamic schools (Rahman, 2002) where children are exposed to a mix of modern and Islamic education, observation highlights active Religious enculturation via parents as they hire Religious teachers to tutor their children at home.

From the next section, the findings of the study along media, fashionable Western clothing, character T-shirts and tattoo consumption are sequentially presented. In order to place each finding in the Pakistani Muslim context, a brief background discussing the relevant main events characterising the Pakistani Muslim thought at the societal level, is included. The background primarily presents the origin of the Islamic logic and/or updates from the Market relevant to the

consumption practice under discussion. This background section aids the participants' stories in presenting a comprehensive view of the Islamic and the Market logics. The need to include such a section was felt when respondents explained their consumption practices in light of a particular logic but were unable to provide a thick description of the logic itself. For example, informants in their stories often referred to the Islamic logic denouncing or restricting a particular consumption practice but were unable to articulate the full meaning and significance of the logic. Moreover, the informants' accounts are used to illustrate their consumption strategies or reference to the logics they use to legitimize their consumption practices. Before each illustrative account, the informants' brief profile is presented in order to explain their immediate embedding environment and family lifestyle. The opening section (5.2) takes a closer look at the pervasiveness of media and technology around Pakistani tweens from upper middle income households and illuminates media consumption as an area of discursive struggle between Market and Islam.

5.2   Media Consumption

This section is the first in the series of four findings' sections. As noted earlier, the purpose of this section is firstly, to map the source of Market knowledge with respect to Pakistani Muslim tweens and secondly, to theorize the institutional complexity surrounding media consumption and the embedded agency exercised by Muslim tween participants to legitimize their consumption practices. Through the life world of Pakistani tweens, media influences introducing Muslim tweens to popular culture and consumption desires and gradually strengthening the institution of the Market, are explicated. Informants' stories also highlight the interaction between the institutions of Religion or Islam and the Market within the field of media consumption practices of tweens.

This section has three parts. The first part is the background presenting the Islamic logic for media consumption. The second part includes participant accounts that highlight the presence of technology around Pakistani tweens, inform about socialising effects of media and illuminate Muslim tweens' *scrutinized* and *boundary* media consumption practices that are a result of their embeddedness in institutional complexity. The final part presents a discussion of the strategies behind Muslim tweens' peculiar media consumption practices.

5.2.1   Background

Acknowledging the institutional complexity surrounding the consumption of media content such as songs, movies, websites and videogames, this section highlights the meaning of media under the Islamic institutional order. As noted in the section 5.1, Islamic institutional order and the related logics predominate the Pakistani culture. It is worth reiterating that Muslim children begin their

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Religious education even before they start school. Hence, the familiarity with the Islamic logic is inculcated from a very early age. Participants' videographies and interviews further confirmed the predominance of Religious practices in their daily lives. Daily practice of reading Quran, attending weekend Islamic schools, having *azaan* (call for prayers) apps on their smartphones, offering daily prayers and being raised in Religiously active households, reinforces their Muslim identity and reminds them of their obligations towards Islam. Without being able to articulate the reason behind Islamic logic for media consumption, participants exhibited a sense of it and used it in a naturalized way to make their media consumption practices possible. In order to present a more detailed explanation of the Islamic logic behind media consumption, I highlight relevant aspects of the Islamic literature in the following paragraphs.

Islamic scholars quote the following verse of the Holy Quran to explain the Islamic logic behind media consumption (Islamqa.info, 2008).

"Verily, the hearing, and the sight, and the heart of each of those ones will be questioned (by Allah)" (Quran, Al-Isra' 17:36).

According to the interpretation of this verse, presented by Islamqa.info (2008), Allah has blessed mankind with physical faculties, including eyes and ears and these physical faculties can ruin the heart (spirituality) if they are used to see and hear any *haram* (forbidden) actions. *Haram* actions, explained by Islamqa.info (1999) include questionable morals, enticing scenes, inappropriate pictures, semi-nakedness, damaging speech, and *Kufr* (disbelief in Allah). These are presented in movies, music and soap operas (Islamqa.info, 1999). Such media content is believed to lead a Muslim viewer towards *zina* (Islamic legal term referring to unlawful sexual intercourse) of the eyes and the ears (Islamqa.info, 2008). Islamic scholars quote the Holy Prophet from the famous and widely accepted books of Sunni Muslims, Sahi-Al-Bukhari and Sahi-Al-Muslim to explain what *zina* of the eyes and ears is. Specifically, narration 6243 from Al-Bukhari and 2657 from Al-Muslim are used to explain. Islamqa.info (2008) notes:

"According to a version narrated by Muslim: "The zina of the eyes is looking, the zina of the ears is listening, the zina of the tongue is speaking, the zina of the hands is touching, and the zina of the foot is walking. The heart longs and wishes, and the private part confirms that or denies it."

The fact that media consumption is equated to *zina* indicates the strength with which Islamic scholars forbid Muslims from consuming media. Although the implication is that media consumption under the Islamic logic is denounced, participants' accounts show that such strict Islamic guidelines regarding media consumption, are rarely followed in their entirety. Muslim tweens find legitimacy for their media consumption practices by subtracting the modern Media

content of its un-Islamic content, selectively subscribing to the Market logic of media consumption and by temporally and spatially resolving the tension between the Market and Islamic logic of media consumption. A detailed explanation of these strategies is the agenda of the next two parts of this section.

5.2.2   Technology and media consumption

Since access to media is afforded through personal and shared gadgets or technology, this section is titled technology and media consumption. The role of media as a socialising agent and the natural intervention of parents in controlling the effects of media and specifically Asian parents' restrictive outlook, is recorded in extant literature. In order to theorize media consumption practices of Pakistani Muslim tweens, I present findings in three parts. Initially, I present findings about the technology that surrounds Pakistani tweens. It is through the access to technology that Muslim tweens get familiarized with modern Media content that informs them about Market logics of consumption. Later, I present the socialising effects of the media and Pakistani Muslim tweens' media consumption practices in separate sub sections.

Technology around Muslim tweens

Informants' accounts highlighted the ubiquity of the technology around urban Muslim tweens in Pakistan. Their use of technology is, in many ways, similar to that of tweens present in the West. Personal gadgets like mobile phones, laptops and tablets were common among tween informants. Videos showed the use of all such technology for entertainment, educational and social reasons. Tween informants watched movies on Netflix, listened to music on their personal phones, played videogames on their PS4s or Xbox Ones and watched entertaining, DIY, cooking, makeup and gaming YouTube content on their phones, PCs or laptops. Additionally, they used their iPads and laptops to access the internet for their school homework and they used social media such as snapchat, Instagram and Facebook to stay connected with their peer groups. Technology such as the personal phone was also used by participants to stay connected to the institution of Islam. For example, Aasia, a 12 years old female tween had Islamic apps on her phone that enabled her to learn Quranic verses and reminded her about the prayer timings. However, the technology was used, Pakistani parents, set rules for use of technology and consumption of media.

Discussions in depth interviews explained the socialization of participants into the use of technology, their journey from basic to more advance technological gadgets, and the purposes it served for them. Basil's account is illustrative in this regard. Basil is 12 years old and lives in a portioned house where one portion is used by his immediate family and the second belongs to his paternal grandparents. Basil is the younger one of two siblings. His father is a businessman and his

mother voluntarily gives Islamic lectures to female Muslim audiences. Basil studies at the top private, English medium school in Karachi. He reads Quran with a Religious teacher who visits his house on weekdays. Additionally, he attends Islamic school once a week. Basil offers all his obligatory prayers on a daily basis. Basil has a personal TV and PS4 in his room. He also has a personal phone and shares a laptop with his sister. His consumption of videogames on the PS4 and use of internet for his school homework, was recorded in the videos he made. In a series of five interview, Basil discussed his media consumption in detail with me. Although Basil has technology of various kind around him, his consumption is monitored and controlled. To explain this, I particularly present Basil's story about his mobile phone:

"In the beginning, I got like a really bad phone so my mom said it's only for communicating with her………then my nana [maternal grandfather] *got it* [a new and better Western-branded smartphone] *for me as a gift. So like my mom didn't know about it (smiles)….he just got it… at first she* [mother] *was like really angry and said 'why did you get him such a good phone.' But then after a while she was fine with it…..I only have Wi-Fi on my phone…no data… at night she* [mother] *takes it because ....because she thinks that I would like… won't go to sleep and I would just like keep on scrolling on my phone. So she just takes it in the night"*

A peculiar relationship across three generations is evident in this account. Two specific aspects of this account merit attention. Firstly, the authority grandparents have over parents in a typical Pakistani society. In this case, it was enacted through the introduction of the latest technology. The values from the Religious institution may be traditional, but they are applied to a very modern consumption practice. Although Basil received his first phone from his mother, his first, 'bad phone' was replaced by his grandfather with a new, 'good phone,' without his mother's knowledge and approval. Secondly, parent's control over the consumption of technology and media.

Although Basil was empowered with his personal phone, he was not free to use it at his will. His use was controlled by his mother. A peculiar relationship between the Market and Religious institution is evident in this case. The grandfather can be expected to be more conservative and sceptical of the latest technology, yet he infact introduced it to his tween grandson, overriding his daughter's wishes. It may because he is old enough to have experienced the more speculate early years of Pakistan. The mother, on the other hand, in an effort to protect her son from inappropriate media content or over consumption of media content, maintained control over the access and use. Clearly, the Pakistani context is a unique mix of empowerment through access to technology and media (a Market logic) and restriction through parental supervision (for the purposes of carrying the Muslim logic and avoiding *zina*) for Muslim tweens. Possessing latest

technology does not necessarily translate into Western-style of freedom of consumption. Basil continued:

> *".....Sometimes I use it* [his phone] *for like Facebook or Instagram, sometimes I watch YouTube videos………….. I don't really play games on my phone... games are not that good on the phone, its better on my PS4"*

Through personal gadgets, informants afforded access to modern media content (YouTube) and social media platforms (Facebook and Instagram). Behaving like savvy, knowledgeable consumers, Pakistani tweens like Basil, optimized their gaming experience (Market logic of hedonism and pleasure) using the right technology. The Market logics of choice, pleasure and novelty are represented in Basil's story. Having a variety of technology available around him, Basil was able to choose the technology that delivered the best consumption experience. The availability of a variety of technological devices around them, shapes Pakistani Muslim tweens into discerning technology and media consumers. Even though Basil is a part of a Religious household where consumption of media is monitored, he possesses latest gadgets like any Western tweenager. Furthermore, Pakistani tweens from affluent families, not only have personal gadgets but they possess gadgets to suit different consumption occasions. Moshin's account was noteworthy in this regard. Mohsin is 11 years old and lives in an extended family unit with his paternal grandmother. He is the youngest of three siblings. Both his older brothers are studying in the US. His father is a businessman who travels outside Pakistan often for work. Mohsin's mother is a homemaker and very involved in his daily routine. Like Basil, Mohsin also goes to a top private, English medium school in Karachi. Mohsin reads Quran with a Religious teacher who visits his house on a daily basis. He also offers his prayers five times a day. Mohsin shared:

> *"My older brother is studying in US. He asked me what I wanted as a present from him….I thought I already have an iPad, I already have an Xbox so let me just take a tiny, carryable thing. I already had a PSP which got busted and I already had a Nintendo which I play so I said, let's just get an iPod. That's how I got my iPod two years ago"*

Family members repeatedly emerged as facilitators of technology for Pakistani tweens, gifting younger family members complex consumer technology and in doing so carrying Market logics and socialising them into the use of latest technology and facilitating the subsequent consumption of media. Mohsin has a gadget to suit every consumption occasion. Hence, he is capable of consuming any modern media content. However, his mother ensures that his day is tightly packed with outdoor activities such as football and golf, tuitions and reading, all of which was recorded in the videos. In one of the videos, Mohsin was filmed watching Good Mythical Mornings (GMM), an American comedy show based on challenges and adventures, available on YouTube. In another

video, he could be seen watching Dude Perfect, another American sports entertainment series available on YouTube. Mohsin used his iPod to watch these shows. During the interview, he explained that his friends in school introduced him to these shows. In addition to these shows, he also watched his friend's personal YouTube channel and sometimes participated in generating content for the friend's channel. However, his media consumption is rationed. His mother maintains a strict schedule for Mohsin leaving him limited time to consume media. Once again we see the role of parents, especially mothers as gatekeepers. In a Pakistani consumption context, Muslim tweenagers have access and knowledge of popular international media content but their consumption is rationed.

Participants did not just have a gadget to suit every consumption occasion, they also had contraptions that were not shared with their siblings. It is common for every tween in an upper middle income Pakistani household, to have his or her own gadgets. The ability of Muslim tweens to consume media without any interruption is further imaginable in such a scenario. Aisha is a 10 years old girl who lives in an extended family unit with her paternal grandmother, is the younger one of two siblings and goes to a private English medium school. Aisha reads the Quran on a daily basis with a Religious teacher who visits her house. Aisha shared:

"*My brother has a mini Apple iPad and I have a Samsung tablet. I play games and if I want to search something important on google for my work then I use it; I search on google. I use it all the time.*"

Personal gadgets are mechanisms that connect Muslim tweens to Market socialising forces (such as media) propagating the Market logics of consumption; however, such socialization takes place through the cultural structures of family, family hierarchy and traditions of gifting. Family members equipping children with their personal gadgets essentially become facilitators of the Market and/or the Islamic logic. If the personal gadgets such as smart phones are used to stay connected with the Islamic teachings and practices through Islamic apps and at the same time to know more about the Market trends through social media apps such as Instagram, Facebook and Snapchat, as Aasia's story (presented in subsequent paragraphs) illuminated, then family members are positioned to forward the agenda of both or one of the two institutional orders.

In this section, I pay close attention to the Market logic that spreads by way of media content. The next section presents insights about media's socialising effects, particularly mapping the source of Market knowledge for Pakistani Muslim tweens.

Media's socialising effects

Pakistani tween informants showed awareness of the global popular culture (Danesi, 2015) through their consumption of various TV programs, movies and YouTube videos. YouTube was especially popular among participating tweens as it empowered users to select content of their liking (the Market logic of individualism). Informants spoke about different YouTube channels that they subscribed to. As mentioned previously, YouTube videos were consumed for their entertainment as well as information value.

Aasia, who is a 12 years old studying at a top private English medium school in Karachi and is the older one of two siblings, belongs to a nuclear family set up. Her father is a business man. Her mother is a homemaker and involved in Aasia's daily routine. The mother is also a very regular attendee at Islamic lectures arranged for women. Aasia reads Quran at home on a daily basis with a Religious teacher in addition to attending Islamic schools once a week. Aasia recently moved to the top private English medium school in Karachi and was rewarded with her own phone and laptop by her father. She travels to cities within Pakistan and to countries outside Pakistan for vacations. Her laptop was bought by her father from the US, when the family was on vacations. While discussing her use of technological gadgets, Aasia spoke about YouTube videos, highlighting the value of YouTube videos to Pakistani Muslim tweenagers, like herself:

"On YouTube, I like to watch gaming videos of Dantdm or I watch DIYs and there is also something called 5 minutes craft, they are really good videos, they are awesome, you should really go check them out. My brother introduced me to Dantdm and Pinksheep; my best friend also introduced me to Dantdm and she showed me other videos and she showed me RCMP101, they are really cool girls, [they] *show DIYs and basic life hacks and makes challenge videos and really cool stuff and I watch all this stuff on YouTube...... I like watching videos of Dantdm or Dan the Diamond Minecard; he plays Minecraft usually and then he plays Roblocks. Sometimes I learn tactics and also Dantdm really expresses his ideas very*
nicely and he shows how to play the game and every single thing he does, he usually is voicing it and it's really nice to hear him; he is really funny and cracks jokes all the time. I learnt how to hide your home from leafers in Minecraft from him. There is also another YouTuber, he is called Pinksheep, he is technically not a real person, there is a person behind the game, it's a sheep in Minecraft, really cool and it has a moustache somehow"

Strangelove (2010) informs that consuming YouTube videos is a popular phenomenon in modern, urban societies. It represents the post-television media culture and has evolved into a cult whereby audiences enjoy amateur videos about extraordinary things (Strangelove, 2010). Aasia's account and that of the other informants fortifies belief in this claim of Strangelove (2010). It is important to

note that the Muslim logic is absent in Aasia's account presented above. It is replaced with talk of things being cool, awesome, and entertaining. Through YouTube videos, Aasia and other tween informants are socialized into various activities linked to the Market. Her ability to consume Minecraft (linked with the Market logic of hedonism), a video game, improved after watching YouTube videos; she learnt to use makeup products effectively (Market logic of self- expressive lifestyle) due to YouTube consumption; she discovered ways of using her art supplies better (Market logic of utilitarianism and hedonism) through her YouTube exposure. Essentially, YouTube emerged as a medium that socialized Pakistani Muslim tweens into the logics of the Market. A second point to note from Aasia's account is the role of peers in socialising her in media consumption. This was similar to Mohsin's account presented earlier. The absence of parental or teachers' influence allows the freedom for groups of Muslim tweens to explore Market offerings more freely.

YouTube videos also educate informants about fashion trends and associated brands. Sara, another tween informant, shared how her sense of dressing was shaped by YouTube videos. Sara lives in an extended family unit with her paternal grandfather. Sara is the youngest of three siblings; her brother is studying in the UK whereas her sister is studying in Karachi. Sara studies at a top private English medium school in Karachi. She takes Quran lessons from a Religious teacher on certain days of the week and offers her prayers regularly without a reminder. Sara is actively pursuing swimming training on a daily basis. Before Sara, her brother was also an active swimmer. She participates in national championships. Her father is a businessman and her mother is a homemaker. Sara's mother is very involved in her daily routine and keeps a very close watch on her behaviour, social circle and consumption. Sara travels abroad for vacation at least one a year. Sara's shared:

"I don't like dark colours coz light ones suit me much better…..... There is this person named Peyton List [a 19 years old American model and actress, famous for her roles in the Disney series, Jessie and Fox's Diary of a Wimpy Kid]*, I really like her, I admire her…..when I was watching some YouTube videos, this person came and it was like 10 celebrities you may want to know about. I was watching my own stuff like DIYs and then it just came across…….. a lot of people are following her on Snapchat but I'm not……once me and my friends were together in a car……one of my friends came across her and was like 'hey do you know who Peyton List is?' and then we all were like yah we know and then she said I'm a really big fan of hers and we were like yah we are also and then we just started…we searched Peyton List and then it came with her wearing white shorts and then I think she wore a black-pink or a light green T-shirt and then..we came across her and we started liking her so much. And then in every picture she was wearing light colours"*

The socialising effect of YouTube was immense among informants. Not only did it prove to be a medium that provided information about latest trends (colours) and several ways of joining the global youth culture (DIY make up videos), it also provided material for discussion among tweenagers. Sara and her friends bonded over the celebrity they collectively admired and picked up cues for their self-expressive needs (Market logic). It is important to mention that the awe for the celebrity may not be acceptable by Religious parents or Religious teachers. Nonetheless, exposure to the consumption of popular agents of the Market (such as celebrities) informs the consumption of Muslim tweens. Once again, through Sara's account we see how technology creates a space away from family, school and Mosque where the Market can be explored and interpreted by tweens freely. It is where the Market logic has most influence.

In addition to providing information to Muslim tweens about latest fashion trends, YouTube aids in the appreciation of music. English is not a native language and hence participants used YouTube to know their preferred English songs better. Nida's consumption story of YouTube is enlightening in this regard. She lives in an extended family unit with her paternal grandmother. Nida has an older and a younger sibling. Her father is a businessman and her mother is an employed professional. Nida travels abroad and inside Pakistan for vacations and has extended family living in Canada and Malaysia. She has access to foreign markets through her relatives. Nida shared:

"On YouTube, I ....also listen to music...... search for lyrics"

Evidently, YouTube videos also amplify the effect of content aired on other media. For example, by finding lyrics for songs, Nida was able to learn the song and enjoy music better. Some other participants spoke about 'behind the scenes' videos of famous TV shows and movies, available on YouTube. Evidently, the Market logic of hedonism legitimized their consumption of YouTube. Informants were able to enjoy their favourite songs and movies better as YouTube facilitated their understanding.

Media content other than YouTube videos also had a significant socialising effect on Muslim tweens in Pakistan. Informant accounts presented in the later sections will highlight the role of movies, football matches and video games in socialising tweens into understanding the Market logic behind consumption of tattoos. Given that media is consumed by Pakistani Muslim tweens using latest technological gadgets, it is important to now turn attention towards specific media consumption practices that become problematic in an institutionally complex context. The next section, therefore, discusses the unique evolution of media consumption practices that are a result of the interplay of the Market and the Religious logics.

Chapter 5

Media consumption of Pakistani tweens

Informants' accounts revealed that their media consumption is rationed by parents out of a common concern about sedentary lifestyle, weak social skills or educational performance. However, parental control of media consumption emerging from their Islamic orientation is the key focus of this section. The objective is to bring to light Muslim tweens' strategies of *subtraction, rejection, selective subscription* leading to *scrutinized consumption practices* and *spatial* and *temporal solutions* leading to *boundary practices.* Such strategized consumption enabled Muslim tweens to manage their media consumption practices in an institutionally complex context and reduce the tension between the Market and the Islamic logics.

Pakistani tweens use their gadgets to consume contemporary global media content and connect with the trends of the developed world. On the face of it, a typical Pakistani tween's media diet may seem to resemble that of their Western counterparts. However, their consumption practices are unique and distinctive from those of a Western tweenagers. Indeed, belonging to the global post-television culture, they are not limited to the traditional living room group television viewing. Aasia, as you may recall, travels with her family. During depth discussion, she spoke about a movie that she first watched on one of her trips. Later she consumed the same movie at home on Netflix. Aasia shared that her father being a movie buff, has a Netflix subscription and has also provided her with her own account. Through her Netflix profile, Aasia is able to access age-appropriate media. However, she is also able to watch movies on her father's Netflix profile, after seeking his permission. Aasia was enthusiastic about her Netflix consumption and shared:

"I don't watch TV anymore, I watch Netflix, and that allows you to choose the movie you want and I don't go for romance! [added promptly to clarify what she chooses to not watch]*... I go for action, family, or thriller or Bollywood….. kid's profile. When a romance movie is coming on TV, I switch* [off] *the program, unless its comedy. Sometimes I am allowed to go on my dad's profile and I log on to it and if I find a good movie which is very clean* [free of explicit content, not based on images of nakedness] *and its very nice acha* [a word from *Urdu* language equivalent of okay in English. Aasia used it to emphasize that she only watches 'clean' movies. The word nice was also used by Aasia to emphasize that the movies she chooses to watch are away from the theme of romance]*, I saw Knight's Tale on it… I first saw it in PC* [Pearl Continental Hotel] *in Gwadar* [city in Pakistan]*….I wanted to watch it again but I could not find it in my profile so I logged in to his* [her father's] *and I found it and watched it all over again…."*

Through Netflix profiles and other personal gadgets, Muslim tween informants are able to privately consume media content of their choice and express the enjoyment of the experience (Market logic

of individualism and hedonism). In the absence of any supervisory body, Aasia's account illuminates key aspects of the consumption culture peculiar to urban Pakistani, upper-middle income, Muslim households. Specifically, two elements of her account merit further interpretation. On one hand, Aasia's need to emphasize her viewing selection, is indicative of her internalized sense of the structural expectation regarding her media consumption. On the other hand, the access that she is able to afford to view movies on an adult profile, is indicative of the freedom she enjoys and her agency. Evidently, she is embedded in an institutionally complex environment that stretches her in opposite directions – allows her complete freedom and yet guides her to filter media content. This is the key point about Eastern, Muslim consumption culture. Her internalized sense of the Religious/Islamic code of conduct made her monitor her own media consumption according to the Religious logic. She emphasized that she knew what was appropriate for her to watch and always consumed media content that was approved by her parents and Islam. She didn't need reminders or supervision to operate within the Islamic boundaries. Discussion in the depth interview revealed that she considered romantic scenes un-Islamic and therefore un-watchable. During her movie consumption, she skipped romantic scenes. Even though her consumption fell outside the domain of Islamic space and time, the internalized sense of her Muslim identity (Islamic logic of consumption) guided her to strip the movie off its un-Islamic content. She *scrutinized* her movie consumption and used the strategy of *subtraction* to legitimize her media consumption under Islam. So long as the media content and its messages were benign towards the Islamic institutional order, the consumption continued and the Market logic prevailed. Aasia's account is indicative of the *contamination* of the Market logic by the Islamic logic. Movie consumption is typically linked with the Market logic of hedonism but in Aasia's case it was also simultaneously influenced by the Islamic logic. The logic of appropriateness ((March and Olsen, 1989 in Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) under the Islamic institution, guided Aasia's movie consumption practice. Similarly, other tween informants' subscription to lessons from YouTube and other digital platforms of media underwent scrutiny. In Strangelove's (2010) words, these tweens were not passive viewers. They actively engaged in appropriating its content and meanings as well as distribution of its content through the technology that was available to them. However, the Islamic logic employed to scrutinize media consumption, reflected a nuanced internalization of the Islamic order's expectations. Noman's account was noteworthy in this regard.

Noman is 12 years old, who now lives in a nuclear family unit after his paternal grandmother passed away. He is the younger one of two siblings and studies at the top private English medium school in Karachi. Noman's parents are employed professionals. Noman used to read Quran with a Religious teacher but the activity has been on a hold for few months due to the teacher's unavailability. During the interview discussion, Noman discussed his consumption of

YouTube videos. Although his reasons for consumption were similar to the previously discussed informant's reasons such as entertainment and information, his reasons for rejecting a particular YouTuber's content was especially interesting:

"I used to follow Doseoffousey's YouTube channel but then I stopped because he was click baiting…..it's like for every 100,000 views you get a $100. The more people click on the video, the more money he gets. This is what people do. And he's been doing this continuous[ly]. *If he wants to do YouTube and if he wants to make a living out of it, then it's fine. But you can't do it* [in] *the wrong way because this basically… Even I can do that; say I met Donald Trump and I get like $100, uh $1000 out of it but it's basically harami* [*haram* is an Islamic discursive term meaning forbidden. *Harami* here refers to wrongfully earned] *money…. Click baiting is basically when they write it in the title and once you click it, it's not gonna happen. Eh…nothing happens related to the title so you are regretting clicking on that video while the person is making bucks….. I found out about Doseoffousey from Roman Atwood's YouTube channel, because they like went on a tour together……. He showed off and he click baited…… He once claimed to get Yeezy for $21...Yeezy cost $1000 dollars…… they are made by a celebrity…….he is telling us the wrong information in the title and ….then later even if he apologizes for it, he is still getting money on the other side…….this is Haram, like drinking alcohol, gambling and tattoos"*

Noman, in this account exhibited a sophisticated awareness of global culture (Yeezy, alcohol, gambling, tattoos), as well as his knowledge of how online vloggers earn money and of the economics of online media content and advertising. However, his naturalized understanding of the Islamic institutional order (sense of what is *haram, or in this case an acceptable and moral way to make money*) made him critically question what he was exposed to. Like Aasia, he too invested himself in the Islamic order, more than the Market order and decided to stop following the YouTuber as the content clashed with the Islamic logic of earning a living. He actually seemed agonized enough to use a swear word in the *Urdu* language – *harami* – as an adjective for the money earned by the YouTuber. *Harami* is equivalent to a bastard in English. However, here the contextual meaning for the word *harami* is illegal means of earning money. He was not annoyed because he considered click baiting as a waste of his time. He was rather disgusted with the thought of unlawfully earning money and therefore rejected the consumption altogether. As a Muslim, he felt responsible to not become an enabler to anyone earning money through unlawful means. Existing literature on YouTube consumption acknowledges the differences in consumer perspective. Strangelove (2010) has written about a heightened sense of local culture and differences among YouTube consumers as they develop a deeper sense of universality of the shared popular culture. The result of this heightened sense of local culture is evident in Noman's

account. Unlike Aasia's case, we don't see any *contamination* of the Market logic by the Islamic logic. Instead, we see a complete *rejection* of Market logic based on the Islamic logic of appropriateness (March and Olsen, 1989 in Thornton *et. al.,* 2012). Further discussions with Noman revealed that he did not always opt to reject consumption of Islamically questionable media content:

"My parents don't really give me any restrictions. I automatically know if there is something wrong with a video or a game then I just shut it down…….whenever I play call of duty, I know that people swear, so I turn off the subtitles and the volume…… Uh, I sometimes turn on the volume during the gunfight and stuff but the subtitles are always off"

Pakistani tweens like Noman devise ways to consume media in a manner that keeps it 'appropriate' (the Islamic logic of *halal* living) and balanced for their local settings. Turning off the subtitles and sometimes the volume, enabled Noman to filter out the unwanted or 'inappropriate' aspects of the game and he did this through his own embedded agency under the Islamic logic, not as a result of parental intervention. This shows the development of his own consumption practice following socialisation. His sense of what could be objectionable (an internalized mechanism) based on the Islamic logic of appropriateness (March and Olsen, 1989 in Thornton *et. al.,* 2012), guided him to *subtract* such elements of the game, in order to legitimize his hedonic consumption of videogames under the Islamic order. Although the Market logic encourages the consumers of video games to use all their senses to optimize their experience, Noman found the language and script questionable under the Islamic logic and restricted his consumption to a visual experience only. His consumption style helped him in maintaining a balance between his consumption desires and his Muslim code of conduct. Once again, the *contamination* of a Market practice by the Islamic logic is apparent in Noman's story.

There are two strategies that Noman's account brings to fore: *rejection* (stopped watching a YouTube channel because of click baiting) and *subtraction* (minus the objectionable elements). In both cases, Islamic logic emerged as the dominant force that guided Noman's media consumption practices. And yet the Market logics of media consumption remained attractive for Muslim tweenagers like Noman to continue their consumption in unique styles. The Market logic's ability to interpellate Muslim tweens into movies and video gaming consumption can be explained with the help of logic of consequence (March and Olsen, 1989 in Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) based on the interests of these young Muslims. These media offerings match with the hedonic interests of the young Muslim consumers and are therefore a part of their consumption routines.

An implication of the peculiarity of the Eastern, collectivist and Religious culture is that it also sets boundaries for the socialising effect of the media. The content and language of popular

culture often becomes questionable in the context of Pakistani Muslims. Aasia's account of music consumption is illustrative. Aasia, a 12 years old informant studying at the top private English medium Karachi school, was introduced earlier in this section:

"I like songs which make you excited like fast and pumping music and the songs which have a very loud music in the background….. and it has to be halal [allowed by Islam]*…. it must not have any bad words. If it has anything like that, I don't usually listen to them. I listen to two types of songs: one that are mixed and second is really nice for girls….and one of them is 'Rock a by baby'. It's about a woman who is up the stage with her child and she tells her to dance and all no one will hurt you, I am there for you. That's a very nice song. Songs by Ed Sheeran such as 'shape of you' does not have nice lyrics – 'I am in love with the shape of you.' A lot of other songs have the 'F' word which I don't use. I heard Ed Sheeran's 'shape of you' when my friend was once singing it; I asked her which song is this and she said it's haram* [forbidden by Islam]. *I don't listen to music often because Allah dislikes these things yet it is halal so I listen to classic music and don't concentrate on the words. During two hours of studying, I listen to music on my headphones. It adjusts me to study; when I am not hearing something, I feel really bored and I start playing with my stationary, it bores me. My father also listens to music occasionally. But the song has no words. The tune is very nice and he likes it.... I hate dancing and don't know how to dance"*

The tension between media consumption desires and Islamic jurisprudence is once again evident in the above story. Her articulation is complex: *I don't listen to music often because Allah dislikes these things yet it is halal so I listen to classic music and don't concentrate on the words.* There seems to be uncertainty about the Islamic logic of music consumption in her mind. She believes that it is disliked by God but not declared forbidden. However, she is clear about the kind of songs that are to be avoided under the Islamic logic. The language and the subject of the song became questionable for Aasia, under the Islamic order. Aasia loves upbeat music but avoids listening to songs with 'inappropriate' language or subject (being guided by the Islamic logic of *halal* living). Her repeated use of Islamic language: *halal* and *haram*, informs about the predominant structuring force in her environment. Although she mentioned her peer as a socialising source to learn about new Western songs, she learnt to consume music from her father in a *halal* fashion. The simultaneous effect of the Market and the Religious socialising agents is evident in Aasia's story. She registers the Market practices of listening to songs for hedonic reasons while she also understands the Islamic logic of avoiding inappropriate media content. Aasia explains her music consumption in functional ways: *During two hours of studying, I listen to music on my headphones. It adjusts me to study; when I am not hearing something, I feel really bored and I start*

playing with my stationary, it bores me. Aasia overcomes the tension between the Market and Islamic logics of music consumption by first *subtracting* questionable songs from her consumption and later *justifying* it as a means to achieve an end i.e. doing Maths better. The logic of consequence is at play in Aasia's account. Her goal is to be able to do Maths effectively, which is achieved when she listens to music. Both her strategies of *subtracting* and *justifying* enable her to legitimize her music consumption under the Islamic logic of appropriate Muslim conduct. Her *justification* is based on pumping music that make her energetic and optimally utilize her time for Maths. She avoids listening to music that cannot be justified (Ed Sheeran's song, *shape of you*) and is more blatantly *haram* in her eyes.

The interplay of the Market and the Islamic logics of media consumption is complex and findings suggest that there is no one way of dealing with this complexity. Informants' consumption strategies presented so far showed their internalized sense of Islamic order. However, when Muslim tweens are surrounded by Market and Islamic socialising agents that are at the same hierarchical level in an Eastern society, their consumption practices are differently strategized. The use of space as a rhetorical device becomes evident. Basil's story depicts this complexity. Basil was introduced as the 12 years old male participant who lives in a portioned house, in close proximity with his paternal grandparents. His story about his maternal grandfather equipping him with a smartphone was mentioned earlier and needs to be kept in mind while reading the following account from Basil:

"That day when me and my sister were in the car with my dada [paternal grandfather] *and the radio came on, …..he* [grandfather] *doesn't like..he doesn't enjoy it or anything...the radio was on and there was some music coming on it and he said like 'yeh kia hai…, isko band karein, yeh kia gandi cheez hai'* [what is this, shut it down, what is this bad thing] *and then we* [Basil and his sister] *just got to know because he was also really angry at that time. So like we closed it, said okay we won't play any music. He goes to the Masjid* [mosque] *like all the time and he doesn't like music……every weekend, we eat dinner with my dada* [paternal grandfather] *and dadi* [paternal grandmother]*…later, we all sit in the lounge with them and watch TV..my dada* [paternal grandfather] *has the remote so he watches the news or Animal Planet….I'm just sitting there, either I'm watching TV which I don't like really want to..I don't really have much of a choice, I can't change the channel so we just have to watch what he is watching but when I like even try to open it* [phone]*, my mom is just like keep it down....she's just like don't open your phone in front of your grandparents, otherwise they'd be like ke 'pooray waqt phone ke andar lagay rehte hain'* [he is on the phone the whole time]*"*

As noted earlier, extended family systems, a common phenomenon in Pakistan, include elders

other than parents who are able to set rules for children in the family. These rules become the institutional mechanisms, connecting actors to institutional logics.

Traditionally, the authority of grandparents is greater than parents. Basil explained how he was socialized by his paternal grandfather to not only understand what is appropriate or inappropriate for a Muslim to consume from media but also what could be consumed in the presence of elders. Therefore, the space around his paternal grandfather was controlled by the logics he favoured i.e. Islamic. The complexity in managing consumption practices differently across different actors is indicative in Basil's story. Basil's account continues:

"I can open up more to my nana [maternal grandfather] *like about my school and everything; he also like helps me in the homework and like we often also go out to eat and I can watch movies with him…..and my dada* [paternal grandfather]*..like we only have dinner once in a week with him, like that video which I made...and we like usually like don't talk a lot with him; we don't really like express everything with him....My dada* [paternal grandfather] *is also nice and everything but he's just like really, really, really Religious… so it's difficult to open yourself with him. He doesn't like me watching movies because of the clothes females wear….like he would say what kind of clothes are they wearing and what are you watching."*

Opening up with the maternal grandfather shows Basil has the room to make a choice. He can express himself rather than necessarily reproduce the Islamic order as expected around his paternal grandfather. Conclusively, there is no one single arrangement across generations in the Pakistani Muslim consumer culture. Consumption practices are adjusted based on what can be seen and by whom. In effect, the socialising agent in this case, Basil's paternal grandfather, educated him about the need to prioritize Islamic logic over any other logic. On the other hand, Basil's maternal grandfather emerged as an agent from the Market, who bought him an iPhone 5, against his mother's wish. Being embedded in an environment with contrasting socialising influences, Basil was able to find time and space for his media consumption desires. The limits to Basil's media exposure were therefore, fluid. He had varying levels of agency around his two grandfathers as he was facilitated by one grandfather and restricted by the other.

Evidence from informants, like Basil, illuminates how the institution of family is often a carrier of both the Islamic logic and the Market logic in Pakistan. For this reason, family is not studied as a third institution. In an Eastern Muslim consumption context, the ways in which family reproduces both Market and Religion is important. Participants viewed their family influences as either representing the Religion or the Market. For example, Basil used Religion as a characterising trait of his paternal grandfather and learnt to manage his media consumption practices to maintain

an acceptable balance around him. He refrained from listening to music and watching movies in the presence of his paternal grandfather, who was Religious. As Basil found his maternal grandfather to be a carrier of the Market logic, he exercised agency by choosing to open up more with his maternal grandfather and striking a different balance between the Market and the Religious logic around him. This particular account is useful in understanding the role of the immediate environment in triggering reflection among consuming Pakistani tweens. The sense of balance is not universal. It adjusts according to the immediate environment in which they are consuming. *Situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) guided Basil who used space as his rhetorical device to split it into the binary of Religious and non- Religious space leading to *boundary practices*. The space occupied by Religious actors in his environment, the paternal grandfather, was declared inappropriate for the consumption of music and media. Basil's strategy is therefore *spatial* in nature. The private space that could be created through the personal phone to indulge with a Market practice is also disallowed by Basil's mother, when he is in the company of his paternal grandfather. This was a unique case where the *space* was universally owned by the agent of the Religious order.

Beyond family, peers emerged as carriers of the Market logic. Previous accounts have shown peers' role in introducing Muslim tweenagers to media content such as YouTube videos and songs. Instagram is another popular consumption among tweenagers in Pakistan. Aasia, the 12 years old informant introduced earlier as a student of the top private English medium school in the city is also a regular attendee at a Religious school on weekends. During depth interviews, she discussed her Instagram consumption. During the interview, she shared that her friend downloaded the Instagram App on her phone when they were once spending time together. Explaining her consumption of Instagram, she shared:

"I watch horoscopes on Instagram but as they are illegal in Islam…haram... so I don't keep them in mind and watch them for entertainment. Fortune telling is not allowed in Islam so it is basically the same. It is fun to know. Some of them are very funny like you will die this Tuesday. Instagram started when I was at my friend's birthday party. My friends downloaded it on my phone for me"

Regularly attending an Islamic school (a mechanism of the Islamic institutional order) equips Aasia to use her knowledge of the Islamic logics to scrutinize her media consumption practices. In the above account, she conveys her clarity about the clash between fortune telling and the Islamic logic, 'only *Allah* is the all-knowing.' However, she continued to consume horoscope on Instagram by subscribing to the Market logic of entertainment (Market logic of consequence based on the hedonic goal) and rejecting the Market logic of fortune telling. The sophistication in Aasia's approach to make room for horoscope consumption while staying true to the Muslim value system

(Islamic logic of appropriateness) is representative of the unique Pakistani tween consumer culture. Her strategy is that of *selective subscription* of the Market logic. Using this strategy, she found a way of legitimizing her consumption of horoscope without going against her Muslim code of conduct.

The supervisory role of parents to ensure the predominance of the Islamic logic around informants is noteworthy. They often communicated rules and timings for media consumption. Tween informants' depth interviews and videos showed a clear understanding of their parents' rules and their need for adherence. In most cases, tweens did not question, negotiate or show any resistance towards rules. Any incidences of tension visible in the videography or mentioned in the interviews, were mild. For example, Basil shared:

> *"My mom would tell me to like pause it* [referring to the game]*, then she would like force* (smiles)*..... force me to pause it then I would have to pause it. Like I know that I won't do it myself if I was playing a game, I won't stop the game myself"*

The account presented above emerged in the discussion about an incident captured on the video. In the video, Basil was filmed playing Basketball in his room when his mother interrupted. He could be seen explaining something to her, followed by him switching off the camera. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, such instances were especially picked up for discussions in the depth interviews. Basil shared that his mother's reminders about prayers are usual and often come when he is playing his video games.

Basil sheepishly shared this consumption story. On probing further about the need to pause an ongoing game, he explained that his mother's intervention was to instil a need to prioritize Religious activities over his media consumption desires. She believed in raising a conforming Muslim. Throughout the discussion, he maintained that he realized the need to pause the video game to offer his prayers *on time*. He believed that the gaming activity engrossed him so much that he often lost his sense of time and hence his mother reminded him about his Religious obligations. The fact the he felt guilty for not remembering to pray on time and not angry at his mother for interrupting the game, is reason to believe that Islamic supremacy over any aspect of life is a universally accepted phenomenon in a Muslim culture. He was once again guided by his sense of *situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012). He employed a *temporal* strategy to separate time meant for Religious obligations and that available for other activities and successfully operated under institutional complexity through his *boundary practices*. Basil struck a balance between his Religious obligations and media consumption desires using time as his rhetorical device.

5.2.3   Discussion

The Pakistani Muslim tweens in this study were socialized into global youth culture through their media consumption and especially media technologies (social media networks, streaming sites and video games). They access media through latest technology and on the face of it, their media exposure resembles tweens in the developed parts of the world. Peers and older siblings often socialize tweens into new forms of media and introduce them to popular media content. The Market logic of consumption of social media, movies, music and YouTube content is based on the logic of consequences as it relates to entertainment or hedonism, information and freedom and expression of emotions. It enables the Muslim tweens to connect with the global youth culture as they are informed about the fashion trends propagated by international celebrities, as will be discussed in the next section and famous brands such as *Yeezy*. It also provides topics for discussion among peers, as was evident in Aasia's story of *Instagram* and *YouTube* consumption. Hence, the Market institution encourages the consumption of media. However, the socialising attempts from the Market order undergo heavy Religious scrutiny. Parents, other elders, Islamic schools and teachers through the mechanisms of reminders and Religious school attendance, ensure that Muslim tweens are aware of their boundaries. The Islamic logic of appropriateness scrutinizes Muslim tweens' media consumption such that the Islamic ideals and Muslim identity are not compromised.

The Islamic logic of media consumption was presented in section 5.2.1 on background. Although informants did not use the word *zina* in their articulations of the Islamic logic, their use of the terms *halal* and *haram* conveyed their understanding of the expected Islamic appropriateness of their media consumption. This creates institutional complexity that is felt by tweens and leads them to consume media in Muslim appropriate ways with Market emotions and expressions of freedom. They employ various strategies to overcome the institutional pluralism embedding them. The strategies used by tween informants include strategies of *subtraction, justification, selective subscription, spatial & temporal solutions* and *rejection*. *Subtracting* bad language from video games, justifying the consumption of music using utilitarian benefits, *selectively subscribing* to the benign entertainment logic of horoscope consumption, *temporally and spatially* consuming movies and music, and finally *rejecting* the consumption of click baiting YouTube videos, all enable Muslim tweenagers in Pakistan to engage with the Market in Islamically appropriate ways. Except for *rejection,* all other strategies of the Pakistani Muslim tweens enable a link with the Market while they stay rooted to their Muslim identity. Overall, the Market practice of media consumption is *contaminated* by the Islamic logic of appropriateness. As we shall see in future sections, these strategies are also used to legitimize other consumption practices.

Figure 5.1 below illustrates the institutional complexity due to the two distinctive meaning making systems that concurrently restrict and/or encourage media consumption.

Religious Logic/ practices	Meaning of the media	Media Consumption	Tween Agency	Media Consumption	Meaning of the media	Market Logics/ practices
'Being a true Muslim' by always staying conscious of the Islamic principles of daily life and consuming *halal* media content	Source of un-Islamic images and sounds	Restricted	**Scrutinized Practices:** *Subtraction* of un-Islamic content from Market practices *Justification* of Market consumption by highlighting its utilitarian value *Selective Subscription* of the Market logic **Boundary Practices:** *Spatially bounded* Religious vs non-Religious space, traditional/ Islamic vs modern space *Temporally bounded* Religious time vs non-Religious time	Encouraged	Means of forming a link with the popular culture. Generates topics for discussion among peers	Consuming social media, watching movies, listening to music, following YouTubers for hedonic, informative and self-expressive benefits
Reject Market logic Consume only Islamically appropriate media content (Single logic solution)						

Figure 5.1: Institutional complexity around media consumption

Muslim tweens exercise their embedded agency to manage the institutional complexity and consume media through *scrutinized* and *boundary practices*. While *scrutinized practices* typically represent multi-faceted consumption, *boundary practices* were more designed by Muslim tweens to separate the Islamic domains from the Market domains. Nonetheless, in both cases, some extent of *contamination* was observable. For example, Aasia's consumption of horoscopes on Instagram was legitimized using the Market logics of entertainment as well as the Islamic logic of not believing in any fortune telling. Here the Islamic logic *contaminated* the Market practice. Separating the Religious and Market space and time of consuming media (songs and videogames respectively), Basil reduced the institutional complexity. Each space was used to design

consumption according to its own logic. However, this separation did not mean the media consumption in the Market or non-Religious time and space was free of the Islamic logic of appropriateness. In cases where the media content was in direct conflict with the Islamic ideals and did not provide room to Muslim tweens to strip it off the un-Islamic elements, the strategy of *rejection* was employed.

As media exposure educates Pakistani Muslim tweens about global trends, their consumption practices reflect this knowledge. Videographies and interviews surfaced a number of consumption practices that found distinctive meanings under the Market and the Islamic institutional order. For example, painting nails, wearing fashionable clothes, celebrating birthdays, hanging pictures in the house, tattooing one's body and wearing T- shirts with character prints. With the objective to explicate the strategies used by tweens to make their consumption possible in an institutionally complex environment, the next section discusses fashionable Western clothing and the Muslim dress code.

5.3   Fashionable Western clothing

In this section, I discuss the consumption of fashionable, Western clothing. Through videographies and phenomenological interviews, this practice was identified as another contested field between the Islamic and the Market discourses. Both institutional orders provided their own meanings to the practice, thereby, creating tension for Muslim tweens.

Clothing forms an integral part of an identity project (Dodd *et. al.,* 2000). From the preamble presented in section 5.1 on Pakistani society and the literature reviewed in section 2.2 on Muslim consumption, the importance of following a dress code to construct a Muslim identity can be recalled. Clothing consumption is an immensely contested field – one that stretches tween consumers to the opposite ends of the identity spectrum. Although this research is not about identity, discussion in depth interviews about consumption of fashionable, Western clothing, provided insights about the importance of upholding Muslim identity while attaching oneself with the Market logic of constructing a fashionable identity using Western outfits. Although the institutional complexity around clothing practices depicts that Muslim tweens are faced with a choice to either become an identifiable Muslim or a fashionable consumer, findings show that they do not make a choice of one goal over the other.

Like all findings section, this section opens with a brief background of the Pakistani fashion industry and the Muslim logic of dressing. The second part presents findings from tween informants about their dressing practices and the final part discusses the strategies used by Pakistani tweens to successfully manage their dressing practices in an institutionally complex environment.

Chapter 5

In addition to *boundary practices* along spatial and temporal solutions, 'scopic solutions' emerged as new ways of separating the Market and the Islamic logics of dressing. Furthermore, *reconciliatory practices* that Islamized the Market trends without losing the fashion element of the Western clothing, emerged as new possibilities of reducing the tension between the Islamic and the Market logics.

5.3.1   Background

Reports on the Pakistani fashion industry suggest that it has come a long way since its first catwalk show in Karachi in the late 1980s (Altaf, 2014). Offering styles that are a fusion of inheritance from the Mughal cum British era and contemporary sensibilities, Pakistani fashion is understood to be driven by the youth and the growing middle-class (Admin, 2017). Not only do local designers but a number of international brands such as Debenhams, Next, Mango and Monsoon, appeal to the Pakistani audiences. The culture of online buying from the local as well as the international Market is also on the rise. Resultantly, the culture of wearing Western (jeans, tops, skirts, gowns) and local outfits (baggy trousers, flowing tunics and wide shawls, locally called *Shalwar Kameez & Dupatta),* is common in the top metropolitan cities of the country. Among females, the discourse of fashion further propagates a 'celebration of womanhood,' while at the same time, the growing popularity of Western styles has triggered criticism from the Islamists favouring 'modest wardrobes' (Naqvi, 2013).

The Islamic logic for clothing is drawn directly from the holy-scripture, *Quran.* The application of this logic to the two genders, is distinctive. A general concept of covering *awrah,* body parts from naval to knees, applies to both men and women. The directions for Muslim women extends further and includes covering all body parts except the face, hands and feet. Any deviance from the prescribed behaviour is considered sinful.

"and not to show off their adornment except only that which is apparent (like both eyes for necessity to see the way, or outer palms of hands or one eye or dress like veil, gloves, headcover, apron), and to draw their veils all over Juyoobihinna (i.e. their bodies, faces, necks and bosoms) and not to reveal their adornment except to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husband's fathers, or their sons, or their husband's sons, or their brothers or their brother's sons, or their sister's sons, or their (Muslim) women" (Quran, An-Noor 24:31).

For both men and women, the mandated covering is required around *Na-mahram. Na- mahram,* the opposite of *Mahram,* are all those people from the opposite gender who one can marry. The definition of *Mahram* is also clarified in *Quran:*

"Forbidden to you (for marriage) are: your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your father's sisters, your mother's sisters, your brother's daughters, your sister's daughters, your foster mothers who gave you suck, your foster milk suckling sisters, your wives' mothers, your stepdaughters under your guardianship, born of your wives to whom you have gone in — but there is no sin on you if you have not gone in them (to marry their daughters), — the wives of your sons who (spring) from your own loins, and two sisters in wedlock at the same time, except for what has already passed; verily, Allah is Oft-Forgiving,

Most Merciful" (Quran, An-Nisa' 4:23).

Conclusively, the specific purpose of covering in Islam is to avoid undue attention from those who one can marry. In a similar sense, the purpose of clothing is to create a barrier between opposite genders of *Na-mahrams.* The Islamic logic of dressing is based on the concept of 'modesty' or simplicity. One objective of modest dressing is to not draw attention of *Na-mahrams* to oneself. A second objective of modesty is to avoid extravagance and to manage equality between the haves and have nots in a society (Jafari and Suerdem, 2012). Both these understandings translate into a dress code for both Muslim men and women. In this thesis, however, I focus on the Islamic logic of avoiding the attention of *Na-mahram.*

It is important to mention here, that there is no prescribed Islamic dress for men or women (Poushter, 2017). Muslims adopt the dress of their culture; however, they wear it according to the Islamic guidelines. Muslim men in urban Pakistan, commonly wear the local dress, *Shalwar Kameez,* (*Dupatta* is not a part of their outfit) or a Western style pant and shirt. Men generally do not wear shorts in public places; however, young boys are often seen wearing shorts outside their homes.

The Islamic logic of modesty (avoiding the attention of *Na-mahram*) is interpreted by Muslim women in different ways. Some cover all body parts except their eyes, others cover all parts of the body except their face and hands and still others cover their hair and/or their chest (Poushter, 2017). The Pakistani interpretation was elaborated in the earlier chapter on Pakistani culture. Nonetheless, it is worth reiterating that finding women with *hijab* is common, but is not mandatory in the country. It is the Quranic guidelines that lead them to cover their head with a scarf and wear a loose cloak over their clothes (like an outer garment). Pakistani women who may not wear a *hijab,* may be commonly seen in *Shalwar Kameez,* the local dress, which is accompanied by a *Dupatta,* a wide shawl that is used by them to cover their breast and/or head. Although this local dress is typically aligned with the Islamic requirements of covering certain body parts and hiding the shape of the body, women have room to make it fashionable and use it to celebrate their womanhood (Naqvi, 2013). The fashion of wearing shorter sleeved or sleeveless *Kameez* or

wearing sleeker pants in place of *Shalwars* or wearing a small stole in place of *dupatta* in addition to going without a *dupatta* are all variations of the local dress that are generally considered modern and fashionable. Moreover, the *Kameez's* length and breadth can be played around with, to make it more fashionable and modern. Hence, agency is exercised.

In the following section, I present the findings from Muslim tween informants about their clothing practices that are influenced by the Market and the Islamic logics.

5.3.2   Pakistani Muslim tweens' dressing practices

As noted earlier, the Muslim dress code is distinctive for girls and boys. In order to present the differences in clothing consumption practices, the findings are arranged in separate sections for girls and boys. The first section pertains to Muslim girls' dressing practices.

Girls dressing practices

I open the discussion in this section with an elaborate account from Aasia. The consumption stories of Aasia also featured in section 5.2. She is a 12 years old girl who studies at the top private English medium school in Karachi and also attends Islamic school. The mother is involved in Aasia's daily routine and is herself a regular attendee of Islamic lectures. The socialising forces embedding Aasia in the Market and the Islamic institutions and the facilitators who enable her to exercise agency to make her desired dressing practice possible, are apparent in her story. Since her account includes the essence of all other female informants' accounts about their general clothing practice, I only use her story to discuss the institutional complexity in detail. Aasia shared:

> *"At my Religious school I am taught to dress decently in front of other people, who are your Mahrams and your Na-mahrams. Na-mahrams* [also called Non-Mahram, the opposite of Mahram] *are people who are not close to you like servants, the grocery store wala* [guy]*, the boys in your school, classmates, even your cousins, some of them are Na- mahram when they grow up* [referring to puberty] *and you are also grown up. You have to start dressing up more decently, nothing can go above your ankles and you try to wear jeans which do not show the shape of your legs,* [not] *like the one I am wearing right now. You try and wear full sleeves, I have full sleeves uniform in my school because of Religious purposes, and some people ask me why do I wear full sleeves and I say Religious purposes, it's Islamic!"*

Although Aasia was able to explain the Islamic logic of dressing clearly, she did not name any Quranic verse to support her understanding. This was also evident in the previous section where informants' stories clarified their knowledge of the Islamic logic of media consumption without

naming any concrete Islamic source. For Muslim informants in this study, their Religious teachers, Religious schools, parents and grandparents served as proxies for the Quranic or other Religious texts. This insight in itself further clarifies why socialization became an integral part of this study. Young Muslims rely on the socialising forces around them to guide them about the Religious requirements and obligations.

The Islamic logic for clothing presented in Aasia's story, is also apparently learnt from the Islamic school she attends. Aasia's Religious school is the mechanism connecting her to the Muslim institutional order and informing her about the dressing requirements. As mentioned in section 5.1 on Pakistani culture, the interactions of tweens with the Islamic school and Religious teachers is regular. In particular, staying conscious of people around her and classifying them using Islamic terms, *Mahram* (anyone who is forbidden to marry due to blood ties or breastfeeding as well as one's spouse), and *Na- mahram,* guides Aasia and other female tweens about their clothing practices. Therefore, in Muslim contexts, people are perceived not through their consumption, but through their relationship to other individuals and to Islam. This translates into what can be seen and by whom. Aasia's account presented so far conveys that the logic of dress in Muslim consumption contexts is highly scopic (about sight) and aligned with Religious prohibitions, rather than linked to Market individualism and desires. At the same time, Aasia's Western clothes for the interview, showed her awareness of the global youth culture. The informant explained that Western clothes for her do not necessarily mean an opposition to the Islamic logic. Discussion in the interview revealed that her understanding of public and private space guides her dressing discretion. Aasia shared:

"You can wear whatever at your home, when there is family, your family is your Mahram, but when you are going out you need to make sure you cover yourself properly, you wear decent clothes, your ankles are covered…..when I am playing cricket with my servant, I should not wear the night suit because it's not decent dressing so I have to take it off and wear normal clothes and later change again. I wear proper jeans. My servant has been with us for 7 years. He knows my brother from birth. So, we know him. He is a bit like family but not family. Although I have gone outside in my night suit because it covers up to my ankles and my wrist and hides my shape. I normally wear Shalwar Kameez [local Pakistani outfit] *when I go out; otherwise, I normally wear what I am wearing right now* [jeans and top]"

Clearly, the sense of public and private space is linked to the presence of *Mahram* and *Na-mahram,* and therefore again it is about who sees what. Public spaces such as school and market are typically recognized as spaces populated by *Na-mahram* and private spaces such as home, by *Mahrams.* Hence, the requirement for female Muslim tweens to follow the Muslim dress code and Islamic

logic of covering the shape of one's body and hiding body parts except for feet, hands and face when they are in public spaces or around *Na- mahrams*. In this respect, the local outfit, *Shalwar Kameez,* becomes an obvious choice.

The sense of *situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) guided the Muslim tween's agency to deploy a *spatial* and *scopic* strategy. Aasia used space as a rhetorical device to divide it into the binary of public and private space. Similarly, she used gaze as a rhetorical devise to divide it into the binary of gaze of *Mahrams* and gaze of *Na- mahrams*. She then managed the institutional tension through *boundary practices.* Religious logic guided her dressing practices in public spaces to avoid the gaze of *Na- mahrams* while Market logic guided her dressing practices in private spaces populated by *Mahrams*. Aasia felt the responsibility of following the '*halal* living' and the 'Muslim identity' logics of Islam when she operated in a public domain. During depth interviews, she explained that her mother keeps talking to her about the importance of the two logics and the same ideas are inculcated in the Islamic classes she attends on weekends. However, studying at the top private English medium school and rubbing shoulders with children from different backgrounds, in addition to actively using social media, equips her with the knowledge of the Market and the fashionable clothing trends. Nonetheless, Aasia wears a full sleeves uniform to school and is able to explain her choice to her peers.

From a Western standpoint, Aasia's context can be read as a tradition bound context that is averse to Market logic of individualism and self-expressive lifestyle. Such a consumer would be typically expected to reject the Market logics in their clothing practices. However, Aasia clarified:

"When I feel like I am very happy and I am excited and stuff, I will wear this [jeans] *sometimes, but most of the time I will wear my Shalwar Kameez because it's easy, it looks nice and it has really comfortable fabric, my mom makes them"*

Aasia's use of the adjectives 'exciting' and 'easy' to differentiate between the dressing practices, was careful. She did not use opposite adjectives initially but her true feelings towards *Shalwar Kameez* surfaced in the conversation later, and will be discussed. Moreover, her use of the adjective such as 'nice' to describe the Pakistani dress unfolded a second network of meaning in addition to the Islamic connotation, whereas the adjectives 'comfortable' and 'easy' may also refer to the Islamic logics directly. It was easy because there was no tension in terms of managing the clothing practices according to the gaze of *Mahram* and *Na-mahrams* around her. It was comfortable because Aasia saved herself from thinking about whether or not her dress was appropriate and *halal* or not. Aasia continued:

"My decision about what I am going to wear depends on where I am going. My shoes must match

what I am wearing and not stand out and not something that's repeated too often. If I am going to my cousin's house then I wear something that's neat, comfortable, looks nice and not that fashionable. It's like don't look so fashionable like jeans, shirt, heavy jewellery and makeup; just wear Shalwar Kameez and look desi.. I love desi...it's so nice. If it's a friend's house, then something that's fashionable so you can brag about it. Once I wore shoes from Turkey and pants from America, shirt from London and jewellery from America and then I said to my friends, 'hey! look I am not wearing anything from Pakistan. This (jeans) *is from America, cherish it, it's from America!' It was a joke of course and they laughed with me and not at me. But not too fashionable like party clothes"*

Dressing up with a sense of *situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) is a universal conduct, for example dressing up for shopping is different from dressing up for a party in any context. What is unique in the Muslim context is the consciousness of *Mahram*, *Islamists* and *Fashionistas* in different situations and this is how Aasia explained her dress in the story she shared. She discussed a complex consumption of dress that moved between the Islamic codes influenced by the presence of *Mahram* where being modest and comfortable (both physical and in terms of the gaze of others) is important, and the contrasting Market codes of desire, fantasy and exhibition influenced by the presence of her female friends.

From Aasia's account, it is evident that the possibility to be fashionable, trendy, up-to-date and full of variety was present around friends who also understood and followed the Market logic themselves. On the other hand, it was important to be conservative and comfortable around extended family, where the Islamic logic was understood and upheld. Overall, Aasia's need to belong to these opposite group propelled her to operate with *boundary practices*. There was a sense of an 'imagined gaze of people' that guided her to choose the right outfit to mingle with the right group. Female Muslim tweens, like Aasia, were motivated to avoid criticism from any group - '*laughed with me and not at me'* - and hence the group's character oriented them to their clothing practices. This savviness was also learnt from the immediate environment. Aasia explained:

"My mother's opinion has taught me to figure out what to wear and when. If it's a group hangout like going to a cinema or a school outing, then I wear something really really fashionable; although I don't wear makeup but I wear heavy jewellery such as my necklace, ring, bracelet, my silver sparkling watch. I want to wear my dream outfit that I saw in the fashion magazine and I have asked my mom to make it for me. It was a blue and white striped T shirt with a denim jacket with a belt over there, black pants and high boots.......... I don't usually wear Shalwar Kameez at outings; at home sometimes, I wear them or when I go out to buy something from the grocery store. Whenever I go for outing in Shalwar Kameez, I feel like, I feel very much left out of the other girls,

you know like they always like to wear jeans like this, look really fashionable and really nice, so I also wanna be like them"

Aasia's true feeling about the local outfit emerged in the above account. While she maintained that it was easy, nice and comfortable, she did not describe it as fashionable or appropriate for an outing with friends. Operating in an institutionally complex environment, her 'dream outfit' was Western, suitable for happy, exciting times with friends (Market logic of self-expressive lifestyle). Conclusively, a third sense of *situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) emerged from Aasia's account. She once again used gaze as her rhetorical device and this time divided it into the binary of Islamists' gaze and that of the fashionistas. Her strategy to overcome the environmental tension followed a *scopic* solution. When she interacted with her family (Islamists), it was important to be 'seen' wearing the local dress and when she interacted with her friends (fashionistas), it was important to be 'seen' wearing fashionable, Western outfit.

Market logic made its way into the lives of Pakistani female tweens through media, in this case, fashion magazine. Her access to international Market enabled her to buy everything that was authentically Western in addition to her asking her mother to make her outfits. Fashionable was an adjective reserved for the Western outfits by her. We, therefore see the Islamic institution receding into the background and Market taking a front seat in providing meaning to fashionable clothing practices of female Muslim tweens present in the urban centres. This rare dominance of the Market logic over the Islamic logic is nonetheless spatial as well as temporal. It changes as the child grows. Aasia shared:

"These fitted pants, I will probably wear till grade 9, then probably go to a little loose stuff, that's a requirement in Islam, they really look good. Shalwar Kameez really really look good…"

Situationism (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) along time is evident in the above account. Reaching puberty is effectively the time when female Muslim tweens are expected to prioritize the Islamic logic over the Market logic. So far, all accounts have indicated supremacy of one logic over the other (Islamic or Market) in determining the appropriate dressing for female Muslim tweens in Pakistan. Therefore, the strategies to manage the tension around fashionable, Western clothing consumption practice, were based on a separation of the Islamic and the Market logic along time, space, occasion and gaze. These strategies become redundant after tweenage Muslim girls reach teenage. The Market logic therefore, is more easily accessed and expressed in younger Muslim children.

To a Western reader, Muslim tweenagers' stories of clothing consumption may indicate that fashion is childish in a Pakistani society. However, the drive to be fashionable stays with consumers as they move from their tweenage into adulthood. It changes its form as an adult script

awaits them. Children are expected to shift from Western fashion to Muslim fashion. The fashionable *abayas* (Naqvi, 2013) were mentioned earlier. The traditions of adult dress in Muslim contexts like Pakistan pressurize female Muslim consumers to adopt the Islamic logic more concretely than the Market logic of Western fashion. However, the agentic behaviour may continue and Western fashion may be a part of their wardrobe as they enter adulthood. Sobh *et. al.,* (2014), as will be discussed, have explained the consumption of Western outfits by adult Muslim women under their *abayas.* Nonetheless, the ability of the Market to engage consumers beyond tweenage is limited. The free uptake of Western clothing consumption is more available to a young consumer in an Eastern, Muslim society like Pakistan.

For Muslim tweens nearing the teenage, who have been exposed to the Islamic and Market logics, adopt boundary practices through a strategy of *reconciliation*. These practices, usual at the onset of puberty or late tweenage years, integrate the two logics in one dressing practice. This integration is motivated by a need to gradually move from the Market logic towards the Islamic logic. Such reconciliatory practices are facilitated by family members:

"My parents don't restrict me from anything. I bought a sleeveless shirt from America and told my mother to make a full sleeves inner with it. My mother agreed"

Aasia's mother was a facilitator (mechanism) who helped her reconcile the Islamic with the Market logic of dressing up. However, in the above account Aasia clearly mentioned that the idea of reconciliation was her own. Along with her mother, she chose to merge the Market and the Islamic logic in one practice. A sleeveless Western shirt from US was Islamized with a full sleeves inner. Sleeveless clothes for females are considered un- Islamic. Conclusively, the guiding disposition for female Muslim tweens after a certain age, is Islamic whereby any consumption practice is judged using the Islamic logic and so integrated into Islamic practices.

The institutional complexity around clothing consumption, felt and managed by female Muslim tweens was also felt by male Muslim tween informants. The next section presents accounts of boys who were managing their clothing consumption under institutional complexity.

Boys dressing practices

Interview discussion with the male tween participants also surfaced peculiarities of the environment that are distinctively experienced by them being Muslims and members of the global youth culture, simultaneously. I present Basil's story below. Basil who is 12 years old participant was introduced in section 5.2. He studies at the top private English medium school, attends Islamic school on weekends and takes kickboxing classes twice a week. Basil is surrounded by immediate and extended family members. You may recall Basil's story of iPhone 5 and music consumption

from the technology and media section. Basil shared:

"I don't really wear shorts or anything, I just wear full pants and normal shirt…………..it would not feel good that I am doing something and disobeying so it won't feel right to do that….disobeying Allah….I read somewhere that you should not wear shorts if they are like really above the knees....at my Islamic class….when I go to meet my dada [paternal grandfather]*, I wear normal, presentable clothes that don't really like offend him or look shabby…..like I just wear like normal pant or jeans and I wear like half sleeves collar shirts….my dada is like a little Religious so he wouldn't really like me wearing shorts. He would be offended a little bit.....once my cousin was wearing shorts and then he like told my cousin that this doesn't look good, don't wear this so I got like, I won't wear it in front of him....my dada told him that satar* [also called awrah, includes body parts from the naval to the knee] *should not be shown"*

Once again, the role of Islamic schools in socialising Pakistani tweens into Islamic logic of dressing up, was apparent. Additionally, the role of extended family members, in this case, paternal grandfather, who endorsed the Islamic logic and ensured its implementation around him, is also highlighted in this account. Unlike Aasia who was keen to point out that it was her decision and not her mother's to follow the Islamic logic of clothing, Basil mentioned his grandfather to be the reason for the modification of his clothing practice. As noted in section 2.1, respect for elders is a fundamental characteristic of Eastern societies.

Basil used the Islamic discursive term, *satar* (also called *awrah;* it was mentioned in the background of this section) to convey the Islamic logic of clothing and the reason behind his grandfather's admonishment. Evidently, Islamic embeddedness not only constrained a carefree uptake of Market logic, it also oriented the Muslim tweens towards Market based clothing practices that were Islamically appropriate. In effect, the embeddedness demanded a careful scrutiny of the Market logic that could be adopted by Muslim tweens. Similar scrutiny was evident in media consumption and discussed in detail in section 5.2.2. Although in the above quote, Basil seemed to adopt the strategy of *rejection* of the Market logic, his practice really followed a *spatial* strategy. In some peculiar instances such as sports (Basil takes kickboxing classes), he wore shorts. Basil explained:

"I love my fitness clothes the most because they are the most comfortable, like I can wear shorts and nobody will tell me or say anything to me and over there nobody also says anything because everyone themselves are wearing shorts or like comfortable shirts"

Once again the effect of *situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) was apparent. The immediate

environment and those in it, guided clothing practices. Basil used *situationism* along space to follow the Market logic and his consumption desire of wearing shorts. He found shorts 'comfortable' but chose to wear it in spaces where he was sure to avoid the gaze of the Islamists (in his case, his grandfather's) and the subsequent criticism. Moreover, not all male tween informants restrained from wearing shorts. They were embedded in families that 'allowed' shorts to be worn in everyday routine. However, shorts became problematic at the time of prayers, irrespective of the type of families. Another participant, Mohsin explained this phenomenon through his account. Mohsin was introduced in section 5.2 as 11 years old, youngest of three siblings, studying at the top private English medium school in Karachi and being raised by a very involved mother. Mohsin shared:

> *"One day, my cousin was over at my house. He wore shorts and he didn't have any change of clothes so his sister wrapped a towel around his knees so that he could pray and he was really embarrassed. So I was like why don't I do it. No one is going to see me praying apart for like my mom....so if I am wearing my shorts, then I wrap a towel around my shorts...cover my knees then I can pray. But that was three years ago. I wear pants a lot now. Last summer, I just changed into my pants from my shorts before praying. Sometimes, I wear a lower over my shorts so that I can just take it off afterwards. I wear shorts especially when I am playing football"*

Situationism along time was equally evident in the stories of male tweens, as the one presented above. At the time of Religious practice such as prayers, Muslim male tweens were expected to have their legs covered, up to the ankles. They temporarily covered their legs and soon after, reverted to their original dressing. Mohsin learnt to use the *temporal* strategy from actors in his environment and pursued *boundary practices* to separate the Market practices and logics from the Religious practices and logics. Specifically, the Market logic bookended the Islamic logic. It prevailed just before and right after the prayer time.

5.3.3   Discussion

From all the informants' accounts presented in the previous section, it is evident that Muslim tweens embedded in institutional complexity do not adopt the dominant Islamic logic against the emerging Market logic, in a very strict sense. Although Market logic was rejected, in case of media consumption when the content was found un-Islamic, there was no similar instance of explicit rejection of the Market logic within the field of clothing consumption. An implied rejection of the idea of wearing sleeveless Western top was however apparent in Aasia's account when she *Islamised* the top by including a full sleeves inner with it. Once again the theme of *contamination* of the Market practice by the Islamic logic is perceivable.

Chapter 5

As already indicated in the background of this section, clothing practices are closely linked to identity projects. Therefore, detaching oneself from the Market logic may cost the tweenagers their fashionable identity. Similarly detaching oneself from the Islamic logic may cost them their Muslim identity in Pakistan. Since both these identities are important to maintain in the different social worlds that embed Muslim tweens, they maintain their connection with both institutional orders. Rejecting to consume YouTube content based on click baiting, discussed in the previous section, did not cost the tweenage informant his connection with the Market but continuing to consume it, could have weighed down his Muslim identity. Hence, the strategy of *rejection* of the click baiting YouTube content was useful in dealing with institutional complexity.

Within the field of clothing consumption, logics of the Islamic and the Market order provide meaning to the practice. However, male and female Muslim tweens vary in their attraction towards the Market logic. Female informants were significantly attracted by the Market logic of dressing and discovered opportunities of making their fashionable and Western clothing consumption possible. Their consumption was driven by the Market logic of looking attractive and stylish when they were in their peer-child social world. Following a different logic, in this case the Islamic logic would have made them misfits in the company of their peers. Thus the imagined gaze of friends made them subscribe to the Market logic of clothing. The *contamination* of the Islamic logic of dressing by the Market logic of looking attractive and stylish through Western clothes, was evident in the stories of Muslim tween informants. Such opportunities were available in situations when the Islamic jurisdiction was relatively relaxed such as the non- Religious time and space. However, their adoption of the Market logic of fashionable and Western clothing remained Islamically appropriate. For example, female tween participants covered their legs up to the ankles. Even though they admired the dressing style of international celebrities such as Peyton list (see section 5.2.2) who wore shorts, they did not anguish over making room for any such clothing consumption, as it was clearly disallowed by the Islamic logic. Therefore, a careful selection of Market encouraged trends was made. The *contamination* of the Market practice was hence *contaminated* by the Religious logic of covering body parts. Even after a careful selection, the clothing consumption was managed with a sense of *situationism* (Thornton *et. al.*, 2012) and in some instances only the local *Shalwar Kameez* was the suitable option. Hence *boundary practices* based on spatial, temporal and scopic solutions, were common. However, as female tweenagers neared the teenage, the possibility of pursuing their fashionable or Western clothing practices gradually reduced. For older female tweens, the *reconciliatory practices* started replacing *boundary practices*. Instead of separately following the Market or the Islamic logic of clothing in separate domains, they began to prioritize Islamic logic over the Market logic, in all situations. On the other

hand, male Muslim tweens' clothing practices did not face the same level of institutional complexity as the females'. Wearing shorts was the only contested practice that was forbidden under the Islamic logic and encouraged by the Market logic. Muslim male tweens managed wearing their shorts using a similar sense of *situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) as the females. *Boundary practices* around temporal and spatial solutions provided opportunities to male Muslim tweens to follow the Market logic.

Figure 5.2 presents an illustration of the institutional complexity surrounding consumption of clothing:

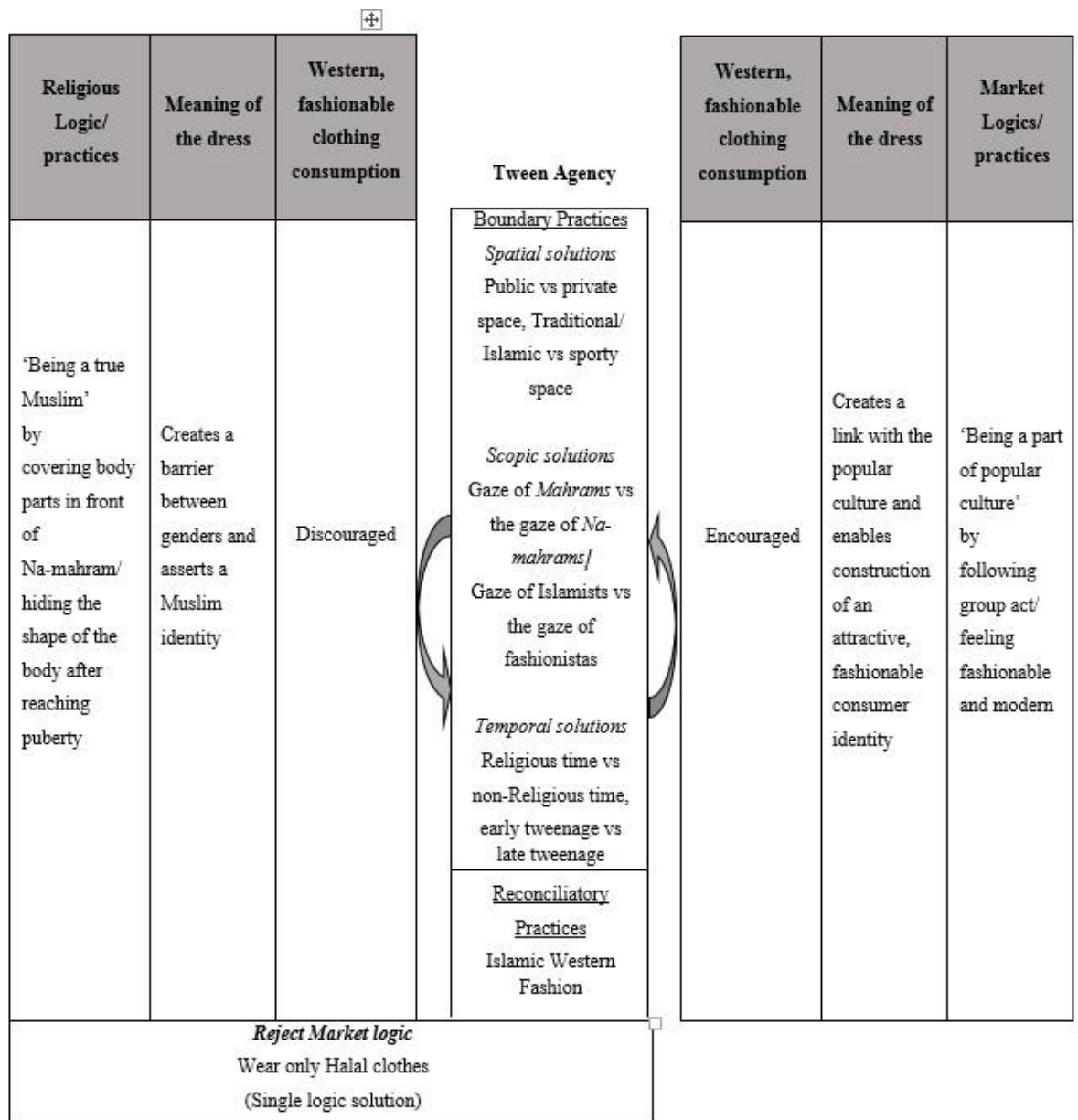| Religious Logic/ practices	Meaning of the dress	Western, fashionable clothing consumption	Tween Agency	Western, fashionable clothing consumption	Meaning of the dress	Market Logics/ practices
'Being a true Muslim' by covering body parts in front of Na-mahram/ hiding the shape of the body after reaching puberty	Creates a barrier between genders and asserts a Muslim identity	Discouraged	Boundary Practices / *Spatial solutions* / Public vs private space, Traditional/ Islamic vs sporty space / *Scopic solutions* / Gaze of *Mahrams* vs the gaze of *Na-mahrams*/ Gaze of Islamists vs the gaze of fashionistas / *Temporal solutions* / Religious time vs non-Religious time, early tweenage vs late tweenage / Reconciliatory Practices / Islamic Western Fashion	Encouraged	Creates a link with the popular culture and enables construction of an attractive, fashionable consumer identity	'Being a part of popular culture' by following group act/ feeling fashionable and modern
Reject Market logic Wear only Halal clothes (Single logic solution)						

Figure 5.2: Institutional complexity around fashionable Western clothing consumption

Once again, the logic of appropriateness shapes Islamic practices while the logic of consequence shapes the Market practices of dressing. Under the Islamic logic, the purpose of clothing is to create a barrier between two *Na-mahrams*. Hence, any clothing consumption that attracts attention from a

Na-Mahram is inappropriate and hence sinful. The Market logic, on the other hand, is based on enabling Muslim tweens to construct a fashionable image of themselves, essentially being attractive. It propagates adopting the Western styles of international celebrities and of those association with the global youth culture. What is legitimate under the Market logic is prohibited under the Islamic logic and what is propagated by the Islamic order is considered unfashionable and unattractive under the Market order. The informants' stories show that the potential for guilt from sin under the Islamic logic is greater than the apparent pleasures that fashion offers. In this consumption domain, the two logics operate through emotions. The attraction within the Market logic is reasonable enough to engage Muslim tweens to reflect on their embedding institutional complexity and making room for Market practices within the overall Islamic culture.

With a clear difference between the two logics governing clothing practices, *spatial, temporal* and *scopic* solutions emerged as the immediate choice and enabled the Muslim tween informants to navigate between the Islamic and the Market logic. *Spatial solutions* were constructed along two binaries: public versus private and traditional or Islamic versus fashionable. By separating the spaces, both male and female tweens were able to uphold their Muslim identity and desire to be modern and fashionable.Moreover, the *scopic or visual solutions* facilitated female tweens' management of expectations of Islamists and fashionistas and the management of the gaze of *Mahrams* and *Na-mahrams*. They were able to separately maintain their membership in Islamists' and Fashionistas' group by staying true to the group's dress code. They followed the Muslim dress code and wore *Shalwar Kameez,* when they were being examined by 'the imagined gaze' of the Islamists or *Na-Mahrams*. They wore the Fashionable Western outfits when they were being examined by 'the imagined gaze' of the fashionistas or *Mahrams*. Cody (2012) has also discussed the role of an 'imagined audience' in guiding the development of self among tweens. Tweens in their study avoided using stationary that could be viewed as childish by 'people' around them. Furthermore, *temporal solutions*, devised along the binary of Religious and non- Religious times, empowered Muslim male tweens to manage their desire of or need for wearing shorts while they managed their Religious obligations in the Muslim appropriate dress code. At the time of prayers, male informants followed the Islamic logic of dressing and covered their legs while they still wore shorts, both before and after their prayers. In effect, the Market logic bookended the Islamic logic adding to the practice of payer. Each prayer session started with the physical change that accompanied a move from Market to Muslim logic, and at the end of the prayer the practice was reversed.

The *spatial, temporal* and *scopic* solution, however became ineffective for female tween participants, at the onset of puberty. Once tweenagers neared their teenage, they adopted

reconciliatory practices – wearing Islamized Western outfits, in response to their structural embeddedness. Participants' clothing consumption moved closer to the Islamic logic and further away from the Market logic. Their embedded agency took a new turn as they wore more loose (Islamic logic) but attractive and fashionable (Market logic) clothes.

The institutional complexity has been discussed in detail with respect to media and fashionable, Western clothing consumption. Findings from media and clothing represented broad consumption practices. In the next section, I explain the institutional complexity surrounding a specific consumption practice - character printed T-shirts. During fieldwork, this consumption emerged as another site of institutional complexity.

5.4 Character printed T-shirts

During the videographies and phenomenological interviews, the consumption of character printed T-shirts emerged as a contested practice that needed legitimization work from Muslim tweens embedded in an institutionally complex context such as Pakistan. Character printed T-shirts can be, more particularly, understood as T-shirts carrying images of famous sportsmen, characters from TV shows or movies, characters from video games or simply faces of animals and were popular with tweens at the time of the research.

Findings in this section represent a more detailed case of the complexity of specific consumption practices, i.e. beyond broad categories. This shows that logics also operate at the level of individual products (specific games, films platforms, T-shirt designs, etc.). Discussions with participants once again highlighted *temporal, spatial* and *scopic boundary practices* as popular means of dealing with institutional complexity. Additionally, *compromise practices* emerged as new solutions. A complete *rejection of character T-shirts* also emerged as a way of dealing with pluralistic expectations, similar to the previous two consumptions discussed in section 5.2 and 5.3. Most Muslim tween informants consciously pursued their dual connection with the Market and the Islamic institutional orders. Informants' consumption practices of character T-shirts were a result of their understanding of the jurisdiction of the dominant Islamic institutional order and the attraction of the Market logics.

The discussion in this section follows the style of the earlier ones. It opens with a brief background about the Islamic and the Market meaning of images on clothing. I then proceed to discuss the Market and the Islamic logic behind this consumption practice, through the lived experiences of Pakistani tweens. In the final part, I discuss the strategies used by Muslim tween participants to resolve the tension caused by competing IL.

Chapter 5

5.4.1   Background

In recognition of the swirling mix of ILs issue in the consumption of character printed T- shirts, I will first present arguments from Islamic and academic literature and then the logics of the Market to highlight the institutional complexity surrounding this consumption practice. It is the case where 'character printed T-shirts' stand for two different connotations, each in opposition to the other.

In Islam, the images of animals, birds or humans are not allowed on clothing of Muslims. According to Aisha (the wife of Prophet Mohammad), the Prophet said, "The makers of these images will be punished and it will be said to them, 'Bring to life that which you have created'" (Elias, 2012). A 13th century Sunni Muslim jurist and Hadith scholar, An-Nawawi declared making images a sinful act, as these images are thought to be competing with the creations of God. Later scholars declared use of such images to decorate clothing, walls, or any other item, as *haram.* Without any doubt, clothes with images of animate beings is considered unacceptable under the Islamic logic. Reports from two of the most widely accepted books of hadith Al-Bukhari and Al-Muslim, followed by Sunni Muslims - a majority in Pakistan, are quoted by Muslim scholars to discourage the community from wearing any clothing with an image of an animal or person (Elias, 2012).

Tweens' embeddedness in social and generational structures and their exercise of agency to use clothing consumption to construct a unique sense of self is recorded in literature (Pilcher, 2011). However, Pakistani context presents structural complexities that go beyond the Western structures of family and economic affluence. Nonetheless, being linked to the global youth culture through media, Pakistani tweens are aware of the Market assigned meaning of clothing. Within this domain, the demand and supply of T- shirts printed with images of famous sports personalities, fictional characters from TV shows and movies and animals, points towards a sub-segment of clothing that enables fans to show their love and respect for celebrities and association with cartoon characters. Extant literature informs that watching superhero cartoons, reading comic books and playing with superhero action figures are popular with boys (Parsons & Howe, 2006) Extrapolating from this information, it would be safe to assume that the impersonal engagement becomes personal when young fans wear T-shirts with superhero images. In this respect, "for children, clothes contain a fantasy element and can be used by them to imagine and rehearse the kind of person they might want to be, both in the here and now, and in the future" as Guy & Banim said in their 2000 study (Pilcher, 2011:135). Hence, consumption of character T-shirts is a part of an identity project and one that competes directly with Religious teaching that also aims to direct what the future self should be. In Pakistan, the popularity of character printed T-shirts among young

children is very high. Such shirts are available in a range of prices to serve the desires of different socioeconomic classes.

The following section explicates the nuances of the Pakistani context with specific focus on the institutions of Islam and Market, their corresponding logics and their implications on the consumption of character printed T-shirts, through the lived experiences of Muslim tweens.

5.4.2   Muslim Tweens' consumption of character printed T-shirts

In this section, informants' accounts that are useful in situating the consumption of character printed T-shirts in a complex institutional environment, are presented. These accounts will, on one hand, highlight the embeddedness of Pakistani tweens in the Islamic institution that denounces the character T shirt consumption and on the other hand, inform about unique ways of subscribing to the Market logic of wearing character printed T-shirts. As noted in the beginning, the word 'character' in this discussion, includes an image of a popular personality (real or fictional) or an animal. In other words, the consumption of any T shirt that has a *face* printed on its front, will be discussed. I open this discussion with Asma's account. Asma is 9 years old who lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandparents, paternal uncle and his family. Asma is the youngest of three siblings. Her father is an employed professional and her mother is a home-based entrepreneur. Asma reads Quran with a Religious teacher who comes over to her house on a daily basis. The Religious teacher also discusses various Islamic principles with her and guides her about her Muslim identity. Asma prays five times a day and according to her mother, does not need a reminder for prayers. Asma shared:

"I was wearing a bunny shirt in one of my videos. I bought it with my parents two or three years ago but it was my choice. It was cute and I liked the colour and its quality...it wasn't rough….. Just after the video, I had to say my Maghreb prayers [evening prayers, offered immediately after the sunset]*, so I inverted the shirt and wore it inside out to pray…....Once I saw my brother doing it. And my parents told me that if there is some kind of animal or creature made then you can*

wear the shirt inside out and pray……If there is something made and it has been covered…still God can see….if I cover it with my scarf, still He can see it…..we are praying for God, something Holy... so we have to..not wear something with eyes or animals….If God sees it then...uhmm…He might not give us much…more Sawaab [an Islamic term meaning spiritual reward, that grows as a Muslim continues to follow the Islamic teachings]. *Once my Namaz* [Muslim prayer] *is over then I wear it the right way"*

Several aspects of this account demand attention. Firstly, the subtle reference to Market logic. Asma explained her consumption motivation by using Market expressions like 'cute,' 'colour' and 'quality.' These words explained the product attributes that were important to her - a typical consumer attitude. By choosing (consumer choice is a Market idea) and wearing a T shirt that was cute, she constructed her preferred self-image (Market logic of self-expression).

Secondly, the Islamic rituals that were a part of her daily routine. Asma, like other Muslim tweens in Pakistan, prayed regularly and this practice served as a reminder of her Muslim identity. Throughout her videos, there were several instances where she either allowed the camera to record her praying routine or took a break from videography to pray. Consequently, she was aware of the dress code requirements when 'one stood in front of God' and offered prayers. Her embeddedness made her conscious of the 'gaze of God.' She explained how her bunny T shirt became problematic - the *face* on the T shirt was explained as unacceptable under the Islamic logic. She didn't think covering the face with her scarf, a strategy used by other participating female tweens, was a solution, as God (*Allah)* could still see it. Her solution was to blur out the face by inverting the T shirt. Asma's expression *'we are praying for God, something Holy….so we have to…not wear something with eyes'* can be interpreted as a need to dress appropriately when addressing God and so under His gaze. Her expression also suggests the presence or absence of God in the logic she used to legitimize her practice of wearing the bunny T shirt. There is an assumption that God's gaze only matters when prayers are offered, although God in Islam and other Religions, is omnipresent. Hence, Asma's expression can be taken as a need to please God especially during prayer, by fading away the image on her shirt.

Thirdly, the motivation to prioritize Islamic logic at the time of rituals such as prayers. Need to earn *Sawaab* (reward from *Allah*) transported Asma from a Market embedding reality to her Islamic embedding reality. Her Muslim identity took over, throwing the consumer identity in the background. *Sawaab,* therefore proved to be a mechanism that maintained the dominance of Islamic institution over the Market institution, but only for the time of her prayers. In other words, time for prayers was a unique situation where the Islamic jurisdiction exclusively prevailed.

Asma and other informant tweens not only registered the institutional complexity but knew how to successfully navigate their way out of such tension. They behaved as sophisticated problem solvers who balanced their consumption desires (to choose, to identify with the attributes for example 'cute', or alternatively to identify with celebrities or super heroes and so also with their stories of heroic endeavours) with the Islamic requirements to pray and ultimately earn *sawaab* (to achieve not the recognition of others as the hero, but the recognition from God and Islamists as a good Muslim). Her strategy to resolve the tension was based on a *temporal* and *scopic* separation

of the Market and the Islamic logics and was learnt from her immediate environment. It was both a result of her observation and direct discussions with parents. Although she was aware of the Islamic logic of abstaining from the consumption of clothing with character prints, Asma was not averse to the idea of adopting the Market logic of constructing self through a 'cute, bunny T shirt,' neither was she frustrated by the complexity of her embeddedness. Asma's *temporal* strategy was based on the rhetorical use of time to differentiate between the time for Religious activity and therefore consumption of Islamically appropriate clothing. Her strategy was *scopic* as she made her shirt appropriate when being seen by *Allah.*

Although tensions felt by Asma were commonly felt by other participating tweens, their motivations to prioritize the Islamic logic, were sometimes different. Abid's account is particularly relevant here. Abid is 11 years old and lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother and paternal uncle. He is the youngest of three siblings. He is studying at a private English medium school in Karachi and like other participants, is also taking Quran lessons from a Religious teacher at home on a daily basis. He shared that he tries to pray five times a day but is mostly able to offer his prayers three times only. Abid is also involved in sports like football and swimming. His father is a businessman and his mother is an employed professional. Abid shared:

"My father says if there's anything with a face on it, you can't read your Namaz [Muslim prayers]*……if I ever read Namaz like that, my father tells me not to do it next time or else I will be in hot water… meaning no iPad, less TV, no chocolates… .my father told me that you wear anything with eyes on it then that will be really, you know bad, like it won't be good because my father says that Allah said that if you read Namaz with something with eyes on it, your Namaz won't probably be qabool* [an Urdu word meaning acceptable in English] *or something so that's why my father said you'd be in a lot of hot water if I do it again ….. I have a Minion T-shirt. I really love Minions… I love that T shirt, it's really comfortable…I can't say my Namaz in my Minion shirt…I change into another shirt for Namaz"*

On one hand, Abid loved Minions and his Minions' T shirt and on the other hand, he ensured that he did not displease his father, respected his Religious sensitivities and followed his instructions about the Islamic logic. His love for his Minion T shirt was both based on its materiality (comfort) as well as symbolism (love for Minions). Arguably, Abid identified with the Market logic of showing love for a brand. Concurrently, he was conscious of the Islamic meaning of image bearing T-shirts. Despite his love for the Minion shirt, he ensured that he changed in time for his prayers. His motivation to prioritize Islamic logic for prayers was different but his solution to deal with the institutional complexity, was similar to that of Asma's. His motivation to change came from his desire for the consumption of iPad, TV and chocolates, following the correct

prayers. Like Asma, Abid followed a *temporal* strategy. He learnt to manage his concurrent embeddedness in two institutions by first doing everything Islamically appropriate, in order to subsequently enjoy his embeddedness in the Market. His account clarifies the sedimented position of the Islamic institution. It's when he offered his prayers wearing the 'right' clothes that he was sure to not be kept away from Market pleasures. Abid's account indicates the modification of the practice of prayers and the development of bookending the Religious practice with market practice. The Religious practice of praying is accompanied by a Market based reward whereby Abid knows that if he offers his prayers strictly according to the Islamic logic, he will be able to use the iPad. Abid went on to share:

> *"My Moulana Sahab* [Religious teacher] *always gives me points for wearing the appropriate clothes for reading Quran. For example, he gives me 10 points for wearing a T-shirt with no face or eyes, another 20 points for wearing long shorts and so on.....if I earn 100 points then he rewards me with a toffee"*

Clearly, prayers are not the only time when Islamic appropriate dress code becomes mandatory. All Islamic practices such as reading Quran, were also occasions when such dress codes came into play. Socialising tweens into the Islamic logic of keeping T-shirts free of eyes, through a mechanism of rewards, was evident in Abid's account. As Abid accrued his intangible reward points, he hoped to ultimately indulge in a tangible, material and Market consumption of a toffee. This Market based reward was however different from the previous one. It was more used by the Religious teacher to encourage suspension of the Market logics of wearing character T-shirts while reading Quran. Asma's practice mentioned earlier, entailed clear 'bookending' of her Religious time with Market time. She wore her 'bunny T shirt' the correct way just before and after her prayers. The Market logic sandwiched the Religious logic in her practice. The co-existence of the two institutions (Islam and Market) and their respective material manifestations (T-shirts with no face or eyes for Islam and toffee for Market), is indicative of the *contamination* of logics and practices.

Stories from both participants illuminated the mechanism of reward that socialized them to prioritize Islamic institution and its logics over Market and its logics. The difference was however, in the origin of these mechanisms. Abid's rewards originated from the Market and were extrinsic, while Asma's reward originated from Islam. It was spiritual and intrinsic. However, the outcome of both reward mechanisms was the same: dominance of the Islamic logic of T-shirts with no eyes or face. On the face of it, the consumption behaviour in both cases, is controlled by the Islamic logic during Religious times. However, in Abid's case, the Religious practice is being modified by the

introduction of Market rewards. It can also be interpreted as the diminishing power of spiritual rewards to motivate behaviour among Muslim tweenagers. Regardless of the mechanism that earns the Islamic order dominance over the Market order within the domain of character T-shirts, the dominance is limited to Religious times and occasions.

In both cases, the requirement to adhere to Islamic orders results in the abandonment of a consumer practice, although temporarily. *Situationism* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) enabled both tweens to read their immediate structural environment and use time as a rhetorical device to differentiate between the time for following the Market logic and that for the Islamic logic. The rhetorical time can also be interpreted as occasions that split into the binary of Religious and non-Religious occasions. Religious occasions (reading Quran and offering *Namaz*) were naturally understood as times to follow the sedimented Religious discourse while non-Religious occasions (spending time with friends, going out, relaxing at home) were understood as times to follow the Market or the consumer discourse that translated into personal liking. Furthermore, the Religious teacher and parents can be immediately recognized as the carriers of Islamic logic and mechanism managers. Moreover, parents were also the Market socialising forces in Asma's case as her desire to purchase the 'cute, bunny shirt' was facilitated by them. Parents playing the dual role of Market and Islamic socialising actors, develops room for Pakistani Muslim tweens to exercise their embedded agency. Although the Islamic institution is dominant in their context, Muslim tweens' immediate environment favours a connection with both institutions. Hence, multi-faceted practices connected to both IL emerge.

Mechanisms can be also interpreted as *consequences.* These consequences were both positive reinforcements (*sawaab,* points and toffee) and negative reinforcements (avoid the possibility of dad banning the consumption of iPad, TV or chocolates) with the same eventual behavioural goal of encouraging Pakistani tweens to prioritize Islamic logic of no eyes or face on T-shirts when they prayed or read Quran. Hence the Market and the Islamic logics are segregated, but this is never final and complete.

As noted earlier, the *contamination* of logics is clear from Asma's and Abid's account. Religious activities such as reading *Quran* and offering *Namaz* fall under the strict jurisdiction of the Islamic order and hence the Islamic dress code is followed. However, Muslim tween consumers being conscious of the inverted T-shirt or thinking about changing the T-shirt back to the Market logic or looking forward to the Market based rewards depict the *contamination* of the Religious practice by the Market logic. Similarly, while enjoying their character T-shirts, Muslim tween consumers' consciousness of the need to make it appropriate for their Religious activity is indicative of blurred boundaries between the Islamic and the Market orders whereby the Religious

logic *contaminates* the Market practice. The addition of a new ritual – changing of T- shirts – to the Religious practice is suggestive of the *contamination* taking place in complex Muslim consumption settings. The *contamination* is a natural consequence of the regular movement of Muslim tween consumers between the logics of Market and Islam.

The naturalized practice of reading Quran was common among Pakistani tween informants. Informants started reading Quran when they were around four years old. Therefore, the clothing consumption of informants was aligned with the Islamic requirements. In addition to using the mechanism of reward, Religious teachers used the mechanism or consequence of punishment to propagate the Islamic logic of plain T- shirts. Noman, a 12-year-old boy who was introduced in section 5.2 as somebody who has been not reading Quran recently due to the unavailability of his teacher, recalled his experience and shared his story as follows:

"My Quran teacher told me and my brother that he would stop teaching us if we continue wearing character printed T-shirts…….so I dress accordingly for reading Quran with him"

From the account presented above, the 'threat' of rejection from the Religious institution if Noman did not follow the Islamic logic propelled him to dress 'appropriately' for his Quran lessons. The risk of such rejection has the potential to *contaminate* the Market practice of wearing character T-shirts. Hence, driven by a sense of consequences, Muslim tween participants prioritized Islamic logic over the Market logic such that *situationism* along time, occasions and spaces became meaningless. For example, Basil explained:

"My mother always told me that if I wear T-shirts with eyes on them, then Allah will not accept my prayers……….I still like Captain America merchandise…..I would buy a shirt with the shield and not the character"

The 'sense' of consequences leads to a further *contamination* of the Market practice by the Religious logic. Tweens like Basil discontinued the practice of wearing character T- shirts as their awareness of the Islamic logic did not make it possible. Nonetheless, Basil and other tweens did not completely abstain from the Market logic of showing reverence towards their favourite superheroes by wearing T-shirts carrying their images. Instead, Basil opted for a *symbolic substitution* – shield in place of the character. He decided to wear T-shirts with images that were 'Islamically appropriate' and enable a reconciled consumption practice. By making this choice, Basil chose to steer clear of any institutional complexity.

Finding a way to resolve the tension caused by institutional plurality was not every Pakistani tween's cup of tea. Like Basil, some other tweens also liked to keep their consumptions

free of any institutional work. I share Osman's story below. Osman is a 9-year-old boy who lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother, paternal uncle and his family; Osman is the older of the two siblings and both his parents are employed professionals. He goes to a private English medium school, takes Quran lessons at home from a teacher who visits him daily and prays regularly. Osman also goes to the mosque with his father to offer the evening prayers daily. Osman shared:

> *"...when my* [Quran] *teacher came, he said what is this? What are you wearing? Shorts and cartoon T-shirt! So I left them. Earlier, I used to wear shorts and cartoon T-shirts and every time my teacher had to come, I would have to quickly change......... I used to find that uncomfortable and a hassle. First, I had to change what I was wearing for my teacher and then I had to change again.....I decided to only wear T-shirts with no character prints and I am happy this way"*

Unlike Basil, who found an Islamically appropriate way of following the Market logic of consuming character T-shirts, Osman opted to detach his clothing consumption from the Market logic. Depth interview discussion revealed that prior to *rejection*, he explored *temporal* solutions to successfully operate in a pluralistic environment. On finding the exercise to be taxing, he prioritized the Islamic logic without factoring in any *situationism*. Ultimately, he decided to shape his T-shirt consumption practices according to his Muslim identity. As a part of congregational prayers on a daily basis, Osman was interpellated by the Market in a limited way. He subscribed to the Islamic logic more and his commitment to Islam was not limited to Religious times, spaces and occasions.

From all the account presented so far, it is clear that dealing with institutional complexity is a very personal phenomenon. Muslim tweens' based on their immediately embedding social environment, their understanding and investments in the institutions of Market and Islam and their tendency to be led by the Market's logic of consequence or Islam's logic of appropriateness as well as consequence, engage in institutional work. Reiterating an important point made earlier, the institutional complexity does not tire, frustrate or anguish these Muslim tween consumers. They go about institutional work in naturalized styles.

Further to reading Quran at home, some participants attended Islamic schools in addition to regular schools. This practice also had implications for the consumption of character printed T-shirts. Ali's story is useful in this regard. Ali is an 8.5-year-old boy who lives in an extended family unit with paternal grandmother. Ali is the older of two siblings and both his parents are employed professionals. In addition to his daily reading of Quran at home with the Religious teacher, Ali attends a Religious school on weekends. He shared:

> *".....my Madarssa* [Islamic school]*.... people say that those shirts are not allowed... I was told off*

twice……nobody wears cartoon T-shirts to the Madarssa…. But I love wearing my Ben 10 and Spiderman T- shirts!!........I either wear shalwar kameez [Pakistani outfit that has no print] *or a plain T shirt when I go to the mosque or the Madarssa……I don't like wearing shalwar kameez or pants…..but I have to wear them…..I change immediately into my other T-shirts* [cartoon T-shirts] *when I am back home!"*

For Ali, wearing the character printed T-shirts was important. It was an expression of his love for these characters. However, his consumption desire did not make him think about dropping out of the Islamic school. Understandably, at age eight, children are controlled by their parents and dropping out of any activity is more of a parents' decision than a child's. Nonetheless, the thought or any such subliminal desire did not surface during the in-depth interviews. Ali resorted to *spatial solutions* through his bookended *boundary practices* of changing clothes, to tackle the institutional complexity around consumption of character printed T-shirts, maintaining his connection with both institutions and the associated practices. Tweens like Ali, used space as a rhetorical device and divided it into the binary of Market and Islamic space. Mosques and Madarssas were understood as strictly Religious spaces where the Islamic logic prevailed while all other spaces were available to follow the Market logic. As discussed in section 5.2.2, similar *spatial strategy* was used by Basil around his paternal grandfather, a socialising agent of Islam and the maternal grandfather, a socialising agent of the Market. However, his sense of space was not along universally understood Religious spaces such as the Mosque or the *Madarssas.*

5.4.3   Discussion

All accounts in the preceding section expose the institutional complexity surrounding the consumption of character printed T-shirts in the Pakistani context. This specific practice was a site of discursive struggle between the Market and Islamic logics. It was ascribed with different meanings by proponents of different discourses (socialising agents) or institutional orders. Under the Market logic, such T-shirts were either a means of expressing love and respect towards favourite characters from TV shows or movies or a way of constructing a self-image (cute, bunny T shirt). Under the Islamic logic, the images on the T-shirts were believed to be inappropriate. It is important to note here that once again the informants conveyed their knowledge of the Islamic requirement to abstain from character T-shirts but they did not articulate the Islamic logic in the sense mentioned in the background. Therefore, the belief that an image of an animate object is an attempt to compete with God's creations, did not surface. Yet, the participants showed no frustration about not knowing the reasons behind the prohibition of character T-shirts' consumption. Once again, the sedimented authority of the Islamic institution was apparent.

Despite the plurality of legitimizing logics, Muslim informants did not feel conflicted enough to break free from the institutional complexity and subscribe to one institution over the other. Ali's account seems to come close to prioritizing one institution over the other. I attribute this to his age. He was the youngest participant in the study and was less guarded in his actions and speech. With a carefree attitude, he did not seem to think about consequences like all other informants. His actions were controlled by his parents to the extent that he stayed embedded in the institutional complexity. Other older informants, to some extent, had internalized the institutional complexity and therefore dealt with it in naturalized ways.

Informants emerged as sophisticated consumers. They were aware of both logics and used their agency to stay embedded in the complexity. Stories about character printed T-shirts illuminate strategies used by tweens to deal with the IL plurality. Participants effortlessly engaged in institutional work to find legitimizable ways of balancing the expectations of both institutions. Using either the strategy of *temporal, scopic* and *spatial* separation of the Islamic or the Market jurisdictions or *compromising* by symbolically substituting faces with logos, they successfully operated under institutional complexity. For those who did not find enough benefit in concurrently subscribing to both institutions chose to completely *reject* the Market logic of wearing character T-shirts.

Figure 5.3 below illustrates the institutional complexity surrounding the consumption of character T-shirts in Pakistan.
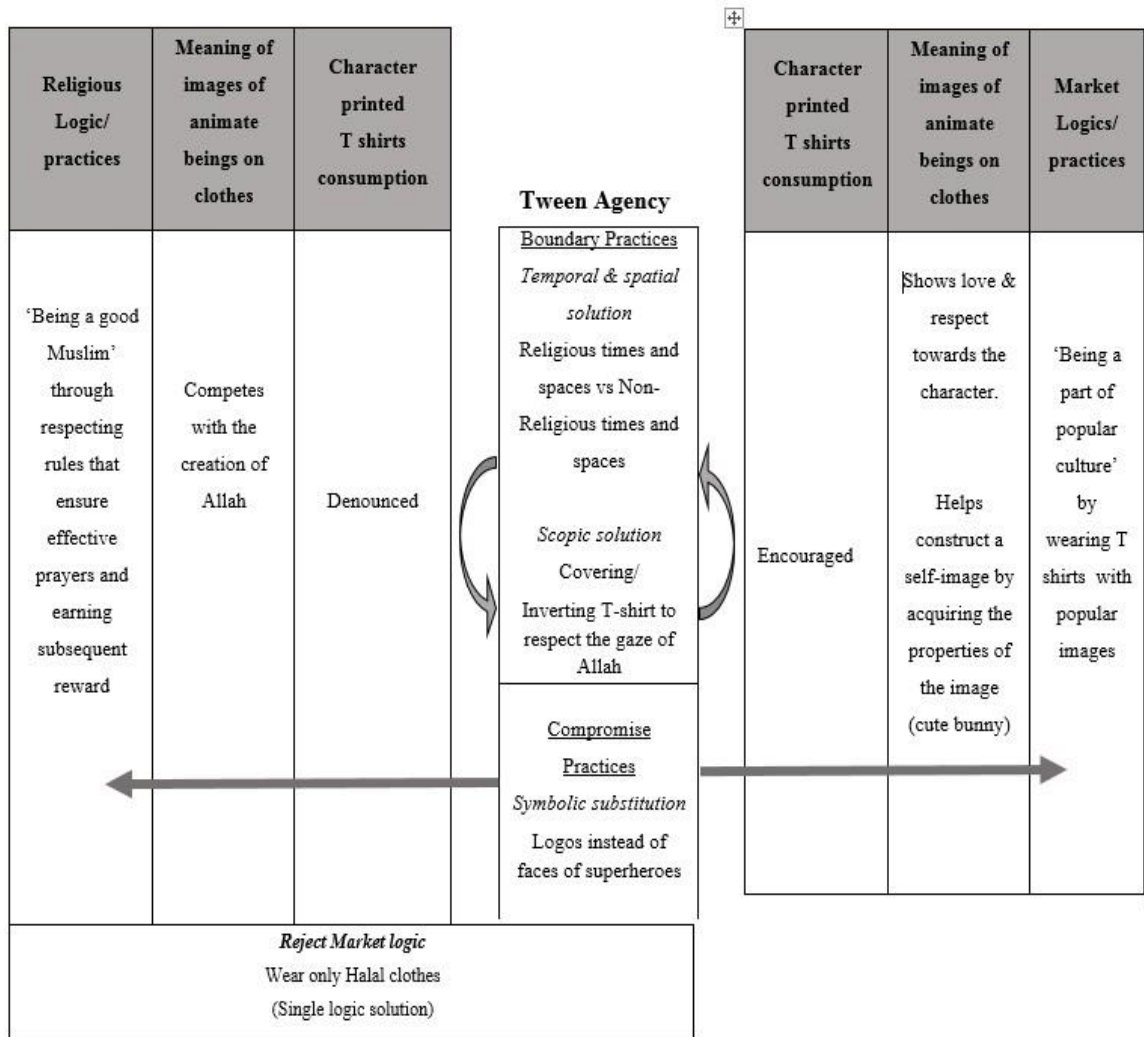
Religious Logic/ practices	Meaning of images of animate beings on clothes	Character printed T shirts consumption	Tween Agency	Character printed T shirts consumption	Meaning of images of animate beings on clothes	Market Logics/ practices
'Being a good Muslim' through respecting rules that ensure effective prayers and earning subsequent reward	Competes with the creation of Allah	Denounced	**Boundary Practices** *Temporal & spatial solution* Religious times and spaces vs Non-Religious times and spaces *Scopic solution* Covering/ Inverting T-shirt to respect the gaze of Allah **Compromise Practices** *Symbolic substitution* Logos instead of faces of superheroes	Encouraged	Shows love & respect towards the character. Helps construct a self-image by acquiring the properties of the image (cute bunny)	'Being a part of popular culture' by wearing T shirts with popular images

Reject Market logic
Wear only Halal clothes
(Single logic solution)

Figure 5.3: Institutional complexity around character T shirts consumption

As illustrated in the figure, character printed T-shirts acquire a negative meaning under the Islamic logic and a positive meaning under the Market logic. Under the Islamic logic, the images on T-shirts are seen to be competing with God's creation and hence the practice of wearing character printed T-shirts is denounced. Muslims believe in the ultimate supremacy of *Allah* and He is believed to be the best creator. Any attempt to imitate his creation is interpreted as a move to acquire his title of 'creator.' Therefore, the act is considered sinful. The Islamic logic therefore discourages the consumption of character printed T-shirts. The Market logic on the other hand, encourages the consumption of character T- shirts. It is an instrument of expression of love between the consumers and the characters (superheroes). Additionally, T-shirts with faces of animals become instruments for creation of self-image. A rabbit or a bunny is perceived as an innocent and cute creature. Wearing a shirt with a bunny face enables the consumer to acquire these properties. The Market logic encourages consumers to create their own identity from the resources in the Market such as the bunny T shirt in this case. According to the Market logic, the consumer is in charge, a master of one's own choice, and able to use the Market to create and re-

create themselves. This is the direct and troubling contradiction with the Islamic logic of submission to *Allah* and Islamic ideals.

The different strategies used by Pakistani tween informants to deal with their institutionally complex context, once again suggest a naturalized and effortless navigation between the two institutional orders characterising their environment. None of the participating tweens showed frustration in coping with the competing demands of the Market and the Islamic logic. They balanced their desire to be a good Muslim with their desire to enjoy their relationship with the Market. There was no attempt made by tweens to drift away from a Muslim practice that restrained the consumption of character printed T-shirts.

The *contamination* of logics and practices was once again visible in the case of character T-shirts. Except for the strategy of rejection, all other strategies indicated a *contamination* of the Market or the Islamic practice. For example, by temporally, spatially and visually separating the jurisdiction of the two orders, the Muslim tween consumers were reasonably eager to revert to the original consumption of wearing Minions T shirt, bunny T shirt, Ben 10 and Spiderman T-shirts. Hence while praying or reading Quran they were thinking about the possibility of continuing the consumption of their favourite T-shirts. Similarly, while going about in their normal routine wearing their favourite character T-shirts, they were thinking about the Religious time and their need to adjust their respective T-shirts. A second instance of *contamination* was visible in the strategy of *symbolic substitution*. This was where the Islamic logic permanently altered the Market logic and practice. Instead of wearing T-shirts with the faces of the superheroes, the Muslim tween informant opted to wear T-shirts of their symbols. This enabled him to continue showing his association with his favourite fictional characters while remaining true to the Islamic guidelines.

The final consumption to be discussed in this thesis is tattoo consumption. This consumption also emerged as a site of institutional complexity. The next section presents findings about tattoo consumption from Muslim tweens in Pakistan.

5.5   Tattoo consumption

Institutional complexity around consumption practices discussed so far, have been managed with the help of *scrutinized practices, boundary practices, reconciliatory practices, compromise practices* and *rejection*. Discussions in the previous sections clarified the position of Islam as the dominant institution in Muslim contexts like Pakistan. Despite evidence of cross-*contamination* of logics and practices, Muslim tweenage actors structure their practices around the knowledge they gain from Islam. The authority of Islam is superior to the authority of the Market. Earlier discussion suggests that Muslim tweens only subscribe to those Market logics that can be reconciled or

compromised with and separated from their understanding of the Islamic logic. Therewas no instance of any Muslim tween rejecting the behavioral prescription of Islam for that of the Market. On the contrary, in some cases the Market logic was rejected in favour of the Islamic logic. In this sense, Pakistan can be interpreted as a consumption context where Islam orders behaviour more strongly than the Market. Yet, several global trends have made their way into the country and are being adopted by Muslim tweens in unique ways.

Unlike the previously discussed consumption practices, tattoo consumption is a practice that is new and undergoing acrimonious debate in Pakistan (Baloch, 2012). A large majority of Pakistani Muslims do not appreciate tattoo consumption for Religious reasons and yet the interviewed Muslim tweens discussed their awareness of, attraction towards and consumption of temporary tattoos. Although *boundary practices* and *reconciliatory practices,* once again proved useful in managing the institutional complexity, their manifestation was different. The rhetorical use of the body also enabled in spatially separating the jurisdiction of Islam and the Market. Moreover, tattooing a saying about God, Islamized a questionable Market trend. In other words, the Islamic logic *contaminated* the Market practice of tattooing.

In order to highlight the structural forces surrounding tattoo consumption and the subsequent strategies used by Pakistani Muslim tweens to manage the institutional complexity, this section is arranged in three parts. Specific details about the popularity of tattoos and the Islamic narrative countering its effect, are discussed in the background. Next, Muslim tweens' insights about the socialising forces in the environment educating them about the Market and the Islamic meaning of tattoos, the issue of the body and their tattoo consumption practices, will be presented. The final part will present a discussion about Muslim tweens' strategies of using their body as a rhetorical tool to make their tattoo consumption possible while they stay linked to the Islamic institutional order.

5.5.1   Background

The debate between the Islamic and the Market order over tattoo consumption originates from the meaning of the body. Islam and Market have contrasting view of the body. Under the Islamic logic (both Sunni and Shia Islam), a Muslim does not assume complete ownership of the body and is required to look after it until it is returned to Allah on death (Sibtayn, no date). Islamic clerics and scholars interpret this logic in two ways. Some scholars translate it into looking after one's health while others also include a literal understanding of not tampering with the physical appearance of the body, which is in effect on loan from its creator, God. Islamic interpretations therefore attach a negative connotation to tattoo consumption as it is believed to change the physical appearance of

the body. Prophet Muhammad's oral tradition is quoted to declare tattoos *haram* as tattoos are believed to mutilate the body, cover the natural body and possibly cause infections; moreover, tattooing is seen as a practice of the non-believers (Huda, 2017; Islamqa.info, 2009; Muslimconverts.com, 2018). Hence, tattooing is a practice that has long been an issue of identity for Muslims, confirming an aspect of the Muslim body (that it's free from modification). The body is 'on loan' from *Allah.* This belief is central to what it means to be a Muslim. Being a Muslim is considered a blessing and hence treating the body as one's own is, under this logic, a serious rejection of Islam.

The body that is considered a loan from Allah under the Islamic logic, is positioned as an instrument to construct a sense of self under the Market logic. Tattooing, clothing choices, body piercing, hair-dyeing, haircutting, hair-styling, using makeup are some of the many consumption choices that actors make to assert their identity or work towards an ideal sense of self and for the purpose of pleasure, desire, or self-expression. Under the Market logic, a consumer fully owns his or her body and is therefore free to make choices in regard to the body. The disagreement between Islam and Market is effectively over 'who owns the body? Regarded as a part of Western culture, tattoo consumption is questioned by the Sunni Muslims (the majority in Pakistan), who claim that *Namaz* [Muslim prayer] is not acceptable if there are tattoos of animals or human figures, on the body of the one offering prayers. (Muhammad, 2010). Yet, the growing popularity of tattoos amongst the urban youth in Pakistan was reported by BBC (Baloch, 2012). Therefore, Pakistan is a context where on one hand, the debate between Religion and tattoo consumption is ongoing and on the other, the demand is reasonable enough to justify at least one tattoo studio in each of the top three metros of the country (Malik, 2013).

Tattoo consumption has existed in different forms in the Pakistani culture for centuries. It has its own unique consumption and connotation. Specifically, henna tattoos are an integral part of celebratory occasions in the country. Therefore, temporary tattoos, formed with the help of *henna* or stickers, *are* allowed by most Sunni Muslim scholars and Religious leaders. However, the images must not have a human or animal face (Huda, 2017).

According to the Tribune's article (Malik, 2013), a typical customer looks for external validation for tattoo consumption and comparing tattoos to the more widely accepted local tradition of henna impressions helps a tattoo artist convince a doubting potential customer about the 'truce' between Religion (Islam) and tattoo consumption. Motivations behind tattoo consumption in Pakistan amongst youth is not limited to fashion; it is also perceived as an instrument to express love (when a boyfriend gets his girlfriend's name tattooed) and as a remedy to skin imperfections. However, once tattooed, the customer limits its exposure to those with a liberal disposition (Malik,

2013). As per the BBC report (Baloch, 2012), the conservative Pakistani society raises the same concerns over temporary tattoo consumption and views it as a sign of rebellion against the Religious norms while those in favour of the consumption see it as a form of art and a personal choice – a consumer desire linked with the Market logic. Nevertheless, Baloch (2012) claims that the controversy attached with tattoo consumption has not stopped it from becoming a latest trend among the urban youth in the country.

Videos and phenomenological discussions with Muslim tween informants revealed that the popularity of tattoos is not limited to youth in Pakistan. Pakistani tweens understand the Market and the Islamic meaning of tattoo consumption due to the socialising forces present in their environment. Subsequently, they use their body for institutional work and navigate their way out of the complex plurality of the institutional logics of Islam and the Market. Findings from Muslim tween informants about their peculiar tattoo consumption practices are presented in the next section.

5.5.2   Muslim tweens' consumption of tattoos

Muslim tweens from Pakistani upper middle income, urban households developed affinity towards tattoos as they were exposed to them through media content such as videogames, YouTube videos and movies, live observations and peers. They devised unique strategies for making their tattoo consumption practice possible. Nida, as you may recall was introduced in section 5.2. She travels abroad and inside Pakistan with her family for vacations. She has extended family living in Canada and Malaysia and through them, has access to foreign markets. While discussing tattoo consumption, Nida shared:

"I use them and I also put them on my baby sister's arm. I like them on the upper arm…. I saw an actor in a movie with three crows on her inner wrist….I really liked it…. I also saw people with a lot of tattoos all over their neck, arms, and chest when I travelled to America…. it was really bad……we [Nida and her younger sister] *almost do this every month....like every* [emphasized] *month…..I basically love tattoos!!!* [from videography] *I buy them from Saffron* [name of a shop] *in Ashiaana* [name of a Market] *when I go with my mother or my naani* [maternal grandmother]*"*

Nida learnt about the Market meaning of tattoos from movies and her visit to the US. She was able to see how tattoos were consumed on the body and what it meant for the consuming individual. Both socialising forces taught Nida different meanings of tattoo consumption. From the movie, she learnt the fashion meaning while her visit to the US exposed her to the art meaning. During the depth interview, Nida shared that she found the three crows on the inner wrist of the actress in the

movie very chic but the more tattooed bodies of people she saw in the US put her off. Her liking for the fashion and stylish tattoos was also induced by her older sister who in addition to travelling with the family, travelled independently. Nida's older sibling was a national athlete and represented Pakistan in international competitions. Hence, the older sibling was treated like a role model by Nida and any idea endorsed by her was immediately accepted. Since Nida was the sibling in between, she was often assigned the responsibility of babysitting her younger sister when the older sibling was away travelling. The video made by Nida showed her socialising her younger sibling into the consumption of a temporary tattoo. Her expression 'I basically love tattoos!' was a typical consumer expression communicating her appreciation of tattoos. Market logic and consumer language was apparent in Nida's account.

While Nida was exposed to both the art (fully tattooed arms and chest) and fashion (three crows) meanings of tattoos (Kjeldgaard and Bengtsson, 2005) through global youth culture discourse, she was more influenced by the fashion meaning. Hence, similar to Western clothing, temporary tattoos acquired their meaning around the nodal point, fashion, in the Eastern, Muslim context. Furthermore, an extended family member (maternal grandmother) was the enabling agent as she facilitated the purchase of temporary tattoos. The grandmother was the reinforcer of the fashion meaning attached to temporary tattoos and effectively a carrier of the Market logic.

In another case, the socialising force was situated outside the family. Maria, a 12-year-old girl lives in an extended family unit with her paternal grandmother. She is the younger of two siblings and both her parents are employed professionals. Maria studies at a private English medium school and like all other informants takes Quran lessons at home from a Religious teacher who visits on weekdays. Maria's mother is very involved in her daily routine. She keeps a close watch on her general as well as consumption behaviour. For example, she did not allow Maria to use Maybelline's Babylips (a lip balm and colour) that she got as a birthday gift. Since the pack mentioned 18 years as the age for the targeted consumer, Maria was prohibited from its consumption. Maria's mother often sat through interviews as an observer and sometimes clarified or added to Maria's stories. Discussing her consumption of temporary tattoos, Maria shared:

"I have worn temporary tattoos. There was this book called "Over the Hedge" it was a tattoo book…I got it as a birthday present. My brother also took five of my tattoos and wore them on his upper arm so that nobody could notice it……My friends also wear bracelet tattoos"

Institutional complexity and some additional aspects of the Market logic emerged from Maria's account. The need to hide temporary tattoos was a sign of this tween's embeddedness in a complex institutional environment. Similar to the consumption practices discussed in the previous sections, the *visual* or *scopic* aspect of tattoo consumption was evident in Maria's story. In a Muslim

context, the visibility of any Market practice is a critical point. Facilitated by a birthday present (videos showed Maria talking about her birthday presents. Since the tattoo book was one of the presents, it was discussed in detail in one of the interviews). Maria opted to not only use the temporary tattoos herself but also share them with her brother. The Market logic triggered the consumption desire of both siblings and the joy was appreciated by both but they were careful to recognize the presence of 'others' whose disapproval could problematize the consumption practice. Hence the need to manage the consumption around the gaze of those who disapproved, was clear. Tattoo consumption was visible between the siblings; however, it was hidden from the gaze of other. This story highlights the role of gaze of actual actors and not just the 'imagined audience' (Cody, 2012) in shaping tweens' behaviour. Maria explained that her brother was more excited than her in consuming the tattoos and was very selective in the tattoos he used from the book. Moreover, the strategy of hiding enabled them to avoid criticism.

A third unique case of socialization of temporary tattoos came from Basil. Basil, you will recall was a 12-year-old boy who was given an iPhone 5 by his maternal grandfather, while his paternal grandfather was more strict about the Religious ideals. Basil explained:

"I used a temporary tattoo from a chewing gum recently in August or September maybe coz [because] like I went to a super market and got chewing gum from there and there was like a tattoo, so I just like put it ..

Temporary tattoo stickers are offered as an additional treat, a feel good factor for children. It evolved into a consumption ritual attached to the chewing gum as almost all participants could recall the temporary tattoo they got and their own experiences of consuming it. While Basil did not show a high level of involvement with tattoos, other participants were more discerning. For example, Sara's account illustrated her knowledge of tattoos. Sara was introduced earlier as an active swimmer. She mentioned:

"I don't wear the sticker tattoos that come with chewing gums. I mostly throw them away. They like have faces on it, sometimes there is like Batman on it, face, like the logo of Batman. First of all, it's for boys, and secondly it has a face. In Namaz [Muslim prayers]*, if you have a face anywhere on your body, it* [prayers] *doesn't count* [become acceptable]*"*

Sara's account brings to fore further nuances of temporary tattoo consumption linked to the Market logic. Her understanding of tattoos was gendered, much like clothing. Just like Islamic logic that separately instructs male and female for their clothing practices,the Market logic does the same for the tattooing practice. Secondly, she was conscious of tattoo's interference with Islamic practices. As noted earlier, offering *Namaz* is a regular part of everyday routine in Pakistan. Discussion in

previous chapters highlighted tweens' *rejection* of the Market logic whenever it interfered with a Religious practice. Sara, in this case, did not reject consumption of temporary tattoos, rather she was selective in the kind of tattoos she consumed. In-depth interview with her unfolded her consumption style:

"Sometimes I put fake tattoos when I'm swimming, like here [upper arm] *or here* [above the elbow]*...only one tattoo...like I...I don't put on real tattoos. They are originally my brother's, from a time when he was my age and swam. He bought them from abroad and my mother saved them..... I bought tattoos from Karachi once but they were not good quality. The tattoos I have are some which are really complicated* [difficult to decipher the image]*, then there are some which are really plain like it has butterfly and freestyle written in yellow and outlined by red and black. It's really cool, I like those...like the swimming types. I took the help of my mom; she helped me put them on..."*

During the interview, Sara explained that swimming tattoos were those that suited the sport. For example, her tattoo read 'butterfly,' to refer to the butterfly stroke in swimming. Her account is useful in inferring the consciousness of the Islamic logic that drives Muslim tweens' to articulate their Islamically objectionable consumption in justifiable styles. The need for Sara to specify that her tattoos were fake is indicative of her consciousness of the Islamic logic. Describing tattoos as fake conveyed that they were 'not real' and hence less problematic under the Islamic order. Using fake tattoos helped her reconcile the Market with the Islamic logic. Furthermore, her strategy was to use tattoos on her upper arm where the *wudu,* Islamic ritual washing of body parts before *Namaz*, did not take place.

Sara explained how 'fake' tattoos became a part of her consumption constellation (Chaplin and Lowrey, 2010) linked with swimming - a behaviour typical of actors subscribing to Market logic. Adjectives like 'complicated' and 'plain' describe her discerning consumption style. She spoke like a savvy consumer who was aware of the Market offerings and had her own style of tattoo consumption. Furthermore, she compared the quality of temporary tattoos that were locally available to those bought from abroad. Sara's story is that of an involved consumer following a Market logic and looking for the best consumption option. Her mother was also a socialising force and the carrier of the Market logic, who not only saved the tattoos for years but also helped her understand the use of body (upper arm, above the elbow) to consume tattoos. Sara's expression 'it's really cool' is a Market expression and depicts her liking for tattoos. The term 'cool' was a common adjective used by informants for tattoos. Under the Islamic logic, Muslim tweens described their consumption as right, correct and appropriate while under the Market logic they described their consumption as cool, fun and liked.

Chapter 5

Abid, the 11-year-old boy was introduced previously as a tween who goes to a private English medium school. Abid's story about tattoo consumption was useful in understanding the socialising influence of peers in not only understanding what tattoos were but also in knowing how to consume them. Abid shared:

"My friend gives me fake tattoos. He said he gets it from this gift shop. I used my last one some time ago. It was a spider inside a spider web and there was also this other one, a big bat….. I don't like really the idea of having too many tattoos but it's just for fun. I have this feeling where I'm this cool person. I have seen Ronaldo pull up his shorts to show his tattoo on his thighs when he like scoressss [emphasized] a gooaalll! [emphasized] but I don't want to put it on my thigh so I put it on my arm. Once my friends and I were playing basketball and I scored a really far shot, I was actually ahh! ahh!..... I was really far, I was half way around the pitch and I don't know what came over me, I just shot and it went inside the basket and then I pulled up my sleeve and showed my tattoo and I went "ahhhh!! I am the master!" My friends knew I had a tattoo cause they all had like 6 more tattoos on…but only those who like scored a basket did what I did"

Abid's account repeats some of the Market ideas and institutional complexity shared by previous informants. He reminded that his tattoos were 'fake' (like Sara), that he too disliked too many tattoos (similar to Nida's dislike for fully tattooed arms and chest), and that tattoos were cool. Disliking the idea of fully tattooed arms or body parts can be interpreted in the light of the Pakistani Muslim context. As mentioned in the background of this section, tattooing is not common and is mostly a practice frowned upon. Being embedded in such an environment propels Muslim tweens to opt for smaller tattoos that can be 'managed.' They have not reached the stage of using tattoos as an art form, to make a statement about themselves.

Abid's story further explained the socialization process. He learnt to make it a part of his celebratory ritual as he scored a basket, in a basketball match, similar to Ronaldo's expression in a football match. Media was once again a socialising force. Not only did the football player teach the ritual but also educated about the use of body to consume tattoos. Temporary tattoos enabled Abid to declare his individual competitive achievement, a functionality he attached to the consumption of tattoos. He legitimized his consumption of tattoos based on the logic of consequence. Tattoos enabled him to make a statement about his basketball skills. The second noticeable element in Abid's story is the community behaviour. He belonged to a group where his peers liked and wore tattoos. These peers were also the facilitators who provided temporary tattoos for him to consume. Abid's explanation that tattoos were 'just for fun' was on one hand, a Market expression that depicted his understanding of the meaning behind consumption of temporary tattoos and on the

other hand, a way of legitimizing his consumption under the Islamic logic. By emphasizing that the tattoo consumption is nothing serious, and only a part of joyous moments, he sought to legitimize his tattoo consumption.

Although consumption practices of Muslim tween informants have been separated out across various section of the findings chapter, together they form a part of the constellation of consumption practices that make up the consumptionscape of Pakistani tweens. Knowledge about tattoos came from media enveloping the lives of Pakistani Muslim tweens such as YouTube videos, Netflix movies and videogames. Media not only exposed them to tattoos, it also enabled an understanding of its meaning in the context of the Market. Informants' accounts also highlighted the role observation played in understanding the Market meaning and relevance of tattoos. This was especially true for informants that were non-consumers. For example, Asma, the 9-year-old practicing Muslim girl who was introduced earlier, shared:

"Tattoos are something you do to be cool but Muslims are not allowed to do tattoos. Mostly boys have tattoos….I have never seen a girl with tattoos. I was jogging in the park in the morning and I saw a

person …he was wearing a cap, sleeveless shirt and he had a tattoo on his arm.. Girls do not make tattoos on their arms or something. Those who do it are tom-boys..... first I thought they could be cool but I never thought I could also do them because I didn't ever like them on my arms"

Asma's account is useful in inferring how environment enables sense making. Not seeing a single female wear a tattoo around her, made Asma believe that it was not typically meant for girls. Once again, we are reminded that tattoos are cool and that there are clear gender distinctions linked to the consumption of tattoos. On one hand, she registered that tattoos helped one look cool and on the other hand, she acknowledged the impossibility of this consumption for Muslims.

Conclusively, Muslim tweens in Pakistan get socialized into the Market meaning of tattoos through media exposure (movies, YouTube videos, football matches), international travelling, birthday presents and their peers. There were stories of shared tattoo consumption where tweens socialized others or were socialized by their age mates – siblings or peers. These shared consumption settings were locations of meaning construction enabling tweens to learn to use their body parts for tattoo consumption and commonly believe that tattoos help one look cool. In some cases, temporary tattoos became a part of a consumption constellation for the purpose of aesthetics (swimming) or to symbolize individual competitive achievement (basketball). The Market logic based on the logic of consequence was nonetheless a common factor in these consumption stories. Informants spoke like savvy consumers who were not only aware of the Market meanings but equally aware of quality variances, gender suitability of different tattoos and consumption

occasions as consumption meanings. However, consumption of tattoos was not a benign practice. Participants' repeated use of the word 'fake' for their tattoos conveyed their consciousness of the Islamic logic and the need to seek legitimacy under the Islamic order. Asma's account illuminated some socialising forces that brought to fore the Islamic meaning of tattoos, for her:

"Once we [Asma and her older brothers] *were playing Xbox and there was a Muslim player Ozil. He had tattoos but my brother said he is in the middle because he has a tattoo and Muslims do not wear tattoos. My brother said, he is half a Muslim because he is Muslim on one half and the other half is that he has a tattoo....he is not a complete Muslim. You should not spoil the beautiful arms which God has given you."*

Informants including Asma spoke about consumption occasions where siblings or peers were a part of a shared consumption ritual. These settings were also sources of new knowledge. Asma's older brothers provided a second meaning to tattoo consumption and brought to fore the Islamic meaning of body. During the depth interview, she explained her knowledge of the Islamic meaning of body. She explained that the body was a gift from God and individuals are only a custodian of this gift. True Muslims were therefore expected to keep it in its original state. Hence, Asma believed that a true Muslim must not tamper with the natural appearance of the body and if one did then the Muslim identity gets compromised. According to the earlier accounts of the Market meaning, the body was a location for self-expression. 'Cool' and 'fun' were words used to describe tattoos and participants expressed their personality as 'cool' when they wore tattoos. The institutional tension was a result of a contest between using the body for self - expression versus handling it as a gift from God; it was a tension between being cool and being pure.

Some other stories presented a thicker description of the Islamic meaning of tattoo consumption. Aasia's accounts have been included earlier and is being once again shared here, as it is useful in further explaining the Islamic logic behind tattoo consumption:

"I would like to have one of a dragon on my neck or my arms, from palm up to the elbow with fillings all over but its haram. Never wear anything on your skin that is what Allah said. Do not change anything Allah has given you.... and plastic surgery is not allowed and never remove things from your face; these things are haram. Like removing a mole from the face is haram because it's a blessing and don't change the eyebrows. It is the most haram thing of all. If you don't have eyebrows just fill it but please don't touch your eyebrows. And it is not allowed to dye your hair jet black. My mom told me that it is forbidden by Allah. And we should not cut our hair like boys that's also not allowed. You can cut hair short but not like boys. No girl should look like a boy and no boy should look like a girl. I learnt all of this at my Religious class at Perceptions

[name of the Islamic school Aasia attends]. *I asked teacher everything and she told me about the dye colour and haircut thing. I asked her if I could cut my hair short, she said yes you can but not like a boy"*

Aasia was one of the older tweens among all informants. Her understanding of the Islamic jurisprudence was developed by her mother and the Islamic school where she was a regular attendee. She not only explained the meaning of tattoos using the Islamic term, *haram,* but also gave examples of other acts forbidden by Islam such as modifying one's physical appearance. From her account, the Market meaning of tattoo as a body enhancer for self-expression, is evident. However, she presented the Islamic logic of treating the body as a blessing and an *amanah* (trust) from Allah. Her assertion that Muslims are entrusted by Allah to look after the body that is under His ownership and hence she abstains from any act that can count as an infringement, indicated her subscription to the Islamic logic. *Haram,* mentioned in earlier discussion as well, is an Islamic discursive term meaning 'strictly forbidden.' The universal term, haram, has a naturalized meaning and associating any practice to this term is an attempt to naturalize an Islamic meaning to a practice. While the practice of tattooing is not declared as *haram* in the universally accepted Islamic scripture, *Quran*, it is interpreted as forbidden by Islamic leaders, theologists and teachers. The tween informant was naturalized by the socialising agents such as mother and Religious teachers into understanding *Allah's* ownership of the body, the meaning of Muslim identity and the significance of Muslim practices. Moreover, not all Muslim tween participants abstained from temporary tattoo consumption. Those who liked tattoos and showed an inclination towards its consumption, nonetheless registered the Islamic meaning of tattoos. Aisha, a 10-year-old girl who was introduced earlier, shared:

"I think tattoos are really nice. I don't like the one which has faces on it because I think it's bad to get those tattoos. Even my mom says that its bad to get the face tattoos…….even tattoos all over your body is okay like your hand, your body and your arm…that's even okay but you know at least we should not put faces all over the body and stuff. Yes if you are writing something or stuff, that's okay but you know not the ones which have faces and the smiley faces. The trees and stuff, they are okay but they don't look nice. Trees, things and if you are making something…I don't like that but faces, is a different thing. God gives you gunah [penalty, punishment] *if you put faces on your hand, or your body or foot or whatever.*

On one extreme, Aasia's story presents a clear Islamic logic behind abstinence from tattoo consumption and on another extreme, Aisha's account depicts a blurred Islamic logic governing tattoo consumption. She introduced a qualification to the Islamic meaning by sharing that tattoos with 'faces' are problematic. The issue of face has already been discussed in the chapter of T-shirts.

Through these two accounts, it is evident that the Islamic logic is not universally adopted. In this sense, the Islamic logic is understood by Muslim tweens to lie on a spectrum offering several shades. A shade that suits a particular tween the best, is adopted. Aisha continued:

"Obviously when you're writing something about God, he is not going to give you gunah [penalty, punishment]*…that's like sure……. Recently, my khalu* [maternal aunt's husband] *got a tattoo over here* [left side of the upper body]. *He got a tattoo which had a G on it and the greater sign in maths and then high* [upward arrow] *and then low* [down arrow] [God > ↑↓]. *I didn't know what that meant at first… he said that it means God is greater than any high or low…. if you are writing something like… about God… like God is greater than any high or low or something like that or a saying…that is ok"*

Aisha's understanding of the resolution between the Market and Islamic logic, flows from her social environment. Finding a way to Islamize the permanent tattoo, enabled Aisha's uncle to legitimize the consumption and free it from any tension. Her uncle, therefore, educated Aisha about the solution. Body was used by Aisha's uncle for a self-expression of his Muslim identity. This was a unique case of reconciling the Market practice of tattooing with the Islamic logic of praising God. A tattoo about God on a body that is a gift from Him, is understood to not count as tampering. This instance can also be interpreted as the *contamination* of the Market practice of tattooing with the Islamic logic to produce a unique Islamic tattooing practice. Aisha's strategy of legitimizing her understanding of tattoo consumption reinforces belief in Jafari and Suerdem's (2012) claim:

"*In their daily life activities, individuals feel empowered to define, independent of their Religious authorities, their own unique relationships with their God. In their everyday life situations, they may deliberately sacralize the profane in order to actualize their own ideal individual selves..... individuals are capable of interpreting and practising Religion in a variety of ways based on their life goals and experiences. Those who tend to practise their own personalized Islam still leverage the very core of Islam.*" (p. 72)

According to Aisha, Allah's name legitimizes the practice and guards it from being termed *haram.* Most other informants belonged to households where tattoo consumption was judged more strictly under the Islamic logic. Videography developed by a nine-year-old female participant, Nida, showed a temporary butterfly tattoo that she was wearing just above her ankle on one of her legs. Nonetheless, this participant was not oblivious to the Islamic connotation of tattoos. Discussion in the interviews revealed the following:

"My father says that tattoos are haram because you can't do wudu [ritual washing to be performed in preparation for prayer, Namaz – Muslim prayer] *when you are wearing……..he lets me wear*

tattoos because they are fake [temporary]*……I don't want to wear permanent tattoos…. I don't wear tattoos in the places where we have to do wudu….I either wear a tattoo on my upper arm or lower leg* [just above the ankle]*"*

In this particular case, father was the carrier of the Islamic institutional logic and a socialising agent. Islamic logic discursively constructs the body and the practice of *wudu* monitors the meaning of body. Consequently, 'tattoos' were assigned a negative meaning by the father. Use of Islamic terms such as *haram* by the socialising agent, in this case, father, enabled a naturalized understanding of tattoo consumption for the tween as a forbidden consumption practice. On one hand, the global youth culture discourse invited the tween to adopt tattoos as a part of fashion while the Islamic discourse denounced the consumption of tattoos, declaring it *haram*. The contradictory connotations of tattoos under the institution of Market and Islam resulted in a visible tension experienced by an overdetermined tween. In order to resolve the tension, the tween participant made a rhetorical use of her body to separate the body parts that could be used for the Market logic of following the global youth culture and wearing tattoos from those body parts that were under the strict jurisdiction of the Islamic logic. While the tween appreciated wearing tattoos on her inner wrist, she abstained from the practice as it would interfere with *wudu.* The *contamination* of the Market practice by the Religious practice is once again apparent. The preferred location on the body to get a tattoo is adjusted along the Islamic practice of ritual washing of certain body parts.

5.5.3   Discussion

The institution of Religion or Islam possessing sedimented power provides a meaning of body and subsequently influences the consumption practice of tattoos for Pakistani tweens. Informants were interpellated by the Islamic institution to construct and maintain the Muslim identity in line with the Islamic logics. On the other hand, the institution of Market introduced the global youth culture through media and travel that provided a second meaning to the body – a site of self-expression. Market logic encouraged tweens to own their body and use it to construct a sense of self – a cool person. The Islamic logic expected Muslim tweens to think of the body as a blessing from God or a loan from Him that has to be returned in its original form, one day. Tween informants showed awareness of both meaning making institutions and the antagonism in their meaning of body and tattoos. The recognition of institutional complexity and the drive to maintain both identities enabled tweens to experience embedded agency. Figure 5.4 illustrates the institutional complexity surrounding the consumption of tattoos in a Muslim context.
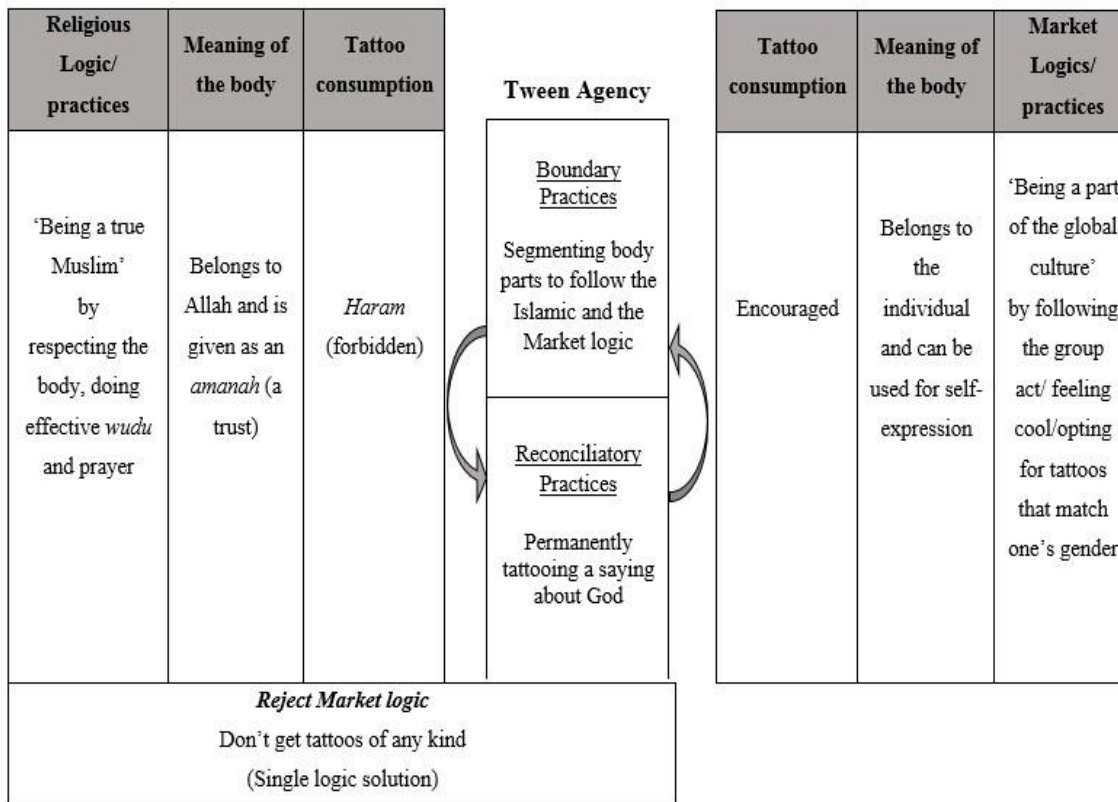
Religious Logic/ practices	Meaning of the body	Tattoo consumption	Tween Agency	Tattoo consumption	Meaning of the body	Market Logics/ practices
'Being a true Muslim' by respecting the body, doing effective *wudu* and prayer	Belongs to Allah and is given as an *amanah* (a trust)	*Haram* (forbidden)	**Boundary Practices** — Segmenting body parts to follow the Islamic and the Market logic	Encouraged	Belongs to the individual and can be used for self-expression	'Being a part of the global culture' by following the group act/ feeling cool/opting for tattoos that match one's gender
			Reconciliatory Practices — Permanently tattooing a saying about God			
Reject Market logic — Don't get tattoos of any kind (Single logic solution)						

Figure 5.4: Institutional complexity around tattoo consumption

Pakistani tweens are influenced by the structuring effects of both institutions and often subscribe to the meanings assigned by both systems. They engage in institutional work to manage the pluralistic demands by adopting *boundary practices* or *reconciliatory practices*. Muslim tweens who do not find sufficient attraction in managing institutional complexity choose to *reject* the Market logic of tattoo consumption and act according to the Religious behavioural script. Discussion in previous sections have shown *boundary practices* as viable solutions to handle institutional complexity around media, fashionable Western clothing and character T-shirts. In the case of tattoo consumption, *boundary practice,* once again became useful but unlike the previous cases where *space, time,* or *gaze* were used as rhetorical devices to separate the Market and the Islamic domains, *body parts* were used. Two tween informants shared their stories of using their body parts in an entrepreneurial style to identify spaces that could be used to follow the global youth culture (linked to the institution of Market) and Muslim practices (linked to the institution of Islam).

In Nida's case, her grandmother facilitated the purchase of temporary tattoos every month (Market socialising agent and mechanism) and her father declared it *haram* (Islamic socialising agent and mechanism), nudging her to find a solution to end the complexity surrounding her. Similarly, Saba's tattoo consumption was facilitated by her mother who had saved her older brother's swimming tattoos and also helped her in consuming them. Her mother was also the agent

of the Religious order, who reminded her about her prayer timings when Saba was at her training sessions. Once again, the institutional complexity surrounding Saba led her to identify ways of consuming her 'fake' tattoos in Islamically appropriate ways. In the case, where the tween informant understood a way of reconciling the differences between the Market and the Islamic logics, permanent tattoo consumption was perceived as possible through a *reconciliatory practice.* Tattooing a saying about God, one that praised Him, was a way of Islamizing the global youth cultural trend. The informant learnt to combine both logics in one practice.

A third case of resolving the tension was to follow the single logic of Islam and abstain from tattoo consumption altogether. Once again, the predominance of the Islamic logic is evident. Islamic logic was chosen over the Market logic whenever an informant did not find other solutions viable. The Market logic was never adopted against the Islamic logic. It is important to note that Muslim tweens' consumption of temporary or fake tattoos was not treated as a separate strategy of dealing with institutional complexity. This is because the tattoo, permanent or temporary, remained a contested consumption, especially during *wudu.* One of the Muslim tween informants found it problematic to do *wudu* while wearing a temporary tattoo. Hence, the strategies to deal with such complexity have been included in the illustration presented in Figure 5.4.

So far the findings from four complex consumption practices have been presented with brief discussions and illustrations. The next section assimilates all these findings and presents an over-arching discussion about Muslim tweens' consumer culture and complex consumption practices.

Chapter 6   Discussion

As stipulated in the first chapter, the study was focused on the structure-agency dialects within the institutional field of 'consumption practices.' In terms of structure, the focus was on the two institutions, Islam and the Market, that enable sense-making of consumption practices, through their respective logics. In terms of agency, the focus was on the consumption strategies and practices of micro level actors, Muslim tweens, in response to their structural embeddedness. Contrary to Coulter's (2009) assertion that girls are positioned in literature as irrational consumers whereas boys are more projected as practical purchasers, the findings of this thesis show that beyond the structuring of religion, both boys and girls are emotionally and cognitively engagement. For example, a desire for western goods as identity markers comes with a consideration of their time and place. Hence, regardless of the gender, Pakistani tweens are equally drawn towards global trends as well as their religious duties and are therefore involved in the institutional work required to make their consumption possible. Their actions are means to an end in that enabling them to become a part of popular culture or fulfil their Islamic obligations or do both. In this respect, the study falls into the consuming as classification typology proposed by Holt (1995). In Holt's (1995) words, "classifying practices serve both to build affiliation and to enhance distinction" (p. 10). Stories shared by tween participants show that the Market construction of the tween segment (Coulter, 2009) is successful. In spaces where the Market has been able to legitimize its logics, it has also successfully legitimized tweens as a segment interested in the consumption of technology, tattoos, Western clothing and character printed T shirts. Specifically, the study set out to answer two research questions:

1. *How do the Religious and the Market institutions assign meanings to different consumption practices?*
2. *How do tweens negotiate their way through competing IL to establish their consumption practices? In other words, how do tweens legitimize their consumption practices using Religious and/or Market logic?*

Since Pakistan provided an opportunity to study the institutional complexity surrounding the field of consumption practices, it was selected to explore strategies used by Muslim tweens, to manage their consumption practices at the nexus of Islamic constraints and Market affordances. Both institutional orders offer anchors to Muslim tweens by providing a context of connection with either the Islamic ideals or global youth culture. The two

orders were not mutually exclusive legitimizing systems for Muslim tweens. Tweens subscribed to both and used *reflective balancing strategies* based on either segregating the Islamic and the Market logics' domain or integrating the Islamic with the Market logics in one consumption practice. Muslim tweens also opted to reject the objectionable Market logics of consumption, to reduce institutional complexity around them. Hence, the strategies to deal with institutional complexity were varied and complex.

The findings chapter presented insights along four selected consumption practices, namely media, fashionable Western clothing, character printed T-shirts and tattoos. The objective of this chapter is to bring together all findings in order to theorise Muslim consumption strategies and Muslim consumption practices. This chapter is arranged in three sections. In the first section, I recount the institutional complexity around consumption practices in a Muslim context along with a diagrammatic illustration of Muslim consumption strategies. In the second sections, I explain the reflective balancing strategies used by actors to legitimize institutionally complex consumption practices. In the final section, I discuss Muslim consumption practices that are unique to an institutionally complex context and present a diagrammatic illustration.

6.1   Institutional complexity in the Muslim consumption context

Data collected through videographies and depth interviews with Muslim tweens from urban, middle income households in Pakistan brought to fore many consumption practices that take place in an institutionally complex environment. These included media, food, nail paints, toys, videogames, technologies such as smartphones, tablet computers and laptops, fashionable, Western clothing, makeup, character T-shirts and tattoos. Four of these consumption practices, namely media, fashionable Western clothing, character T-shirts and tattoos were selected to answer the questions that the research set out with. Not only were these consumptions most common among all participants but they also provided maximum opportunity to study institutional complexity within the field of consumption practices.

The interview discussions around lived experiences of Pakistani tweens' emerging consumption practices or order of discourse, helped in locating the origin of meanings within the Islamic and the Market discourses. By investigating chains of meanings in phenomenological interviews and by focusing on the situated use of language, signs (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002) such as 'media,' 'fashionable Western clothing,' 'character

printed T-shirts' and 'tattoos,' were found to be polysemic terms or floating signifiers, that acquired uniquely different meanings under the Islamic and the Market discourses or institutional orders.

Under the Islamic discourse, *Muslim* was the master signifier as well as a nodal point of identity around which different signs were ordered. In other words, Muslim was the privileged sign with a legitimizing power over the meanings of other signs, in this case floating signifiers. Resultantly, any consumption practice that diluted the 'true Muslim identity' was questioned using the Islamic logic. Therefore, media's 'inappropriate' images and sound, fashionable Western clothing's ability to attract attention from the opposite gender, character T-shirt's images competing with the creation of *Allah* and tattoos tampering with the body, a gift or a loan from *Allah,* earned these consumption practices negative connotations under the Islamic logic and were therefore denounced. The analysis of the Islamic discourse was in line with Jorgensen and Phillip's (2002) advice who informs that "analysis of the 'Other' which is always created together with the creation of 'Us' can give some idea of what a given discourse about ourselves excludes and what social consequences this exclusion has" (p. 50). Informants' use of Islamic discursive terms like *halal, haram, gunah* and *sawaab* suggested their knowledge and understanding of the Islamic logic of consumption and what it particularly excluded. For example, understanding the meaning of *halal* dress immediately also explained what was not *halal* or was *haram.* If the female Muslim dress code demanded hiding the shape of the body, then Western clothing item such as skinny jeans was immediately an objectionable consumption object, under Islam. If the body was a gift or blessing or a loan from *Allah* then tattoo consumption was tampering with the body that had to be eventually returned to Him.

Informants shared their knowledge of latest global trends that they acquired through their access to modern forms of media such as Netflix movies, videogames, Facebook and other social media and YouTube. Use of language such as '*Netflix allows you to <u>choose</u> the movie you want,' 'horoscopes are <u>fun</u> to know. Some of them are very funny,' 'when I feel like I am very <u>happy</u> and I am <u>excited</u> and stuff, I will wear this [jeans],' 'bunny shirt..... was my <u>choice</u>..... It was <u>cute</u>,' 'sometimes I put fake tattoos when I am swimming....It's really <u>cool</u>'* and *'games are not that good on the phone, its <u>better</u> on my PS4,'* were found in chains of equivalence explored in phenomenological interviews. The chain of equivalence between 'fun,' 'choice,' 'excited,' cute,' 'cool,' 'awesome,' 'like', 'fashionable,' and 'looks good,' helped in identifying *global youth culture* and *fashion* as nodal points that ordered

floating signifiers such as 'media,' 'fashionable Western clothing,' 'character printed T-shirts' and 'tattoos.' These chains of meanings connected the floating signifiers or consumption practices to the Market logics of individualism, hedonism, entertainment, pleasure, self-expressive lifestyle, and utilitarianism. The polysemic terms, hence acquired positive connotations under the Market order and facilitated membership of the popular culture by encouraging their respective consumptions.

The Pakistani context provided insights about complex overlays of Islam's and Market's impact on the meaning of media, fashionable Western clothing, character T- shirts and tattoos. There was ideological antagonism between meanings derived from the Muslim identity and popular culture. Each institutional order's behavioural prescription excluded the obligation to the other, yet the embedded tweens did not free themselves from either one of these structures. They operated with an institutionalized sense of institutional complexity (Smets *et. al.,* 2015). Smets *et. al.* (2015) assert that "….that tensions of coexistence can become settled over time and institutional complexity is unwittingly sustained within taken-for-granted practices of everyday work" (p. 933).

Consumption stories of Pakistani Muslim tweens suggest that the Market and the Islamic logics *contaminate* each other's domains by being present even when strategies of separation are deployed. For example, Asma separated the Islamic and Market's jurisdictional domains by wearing her bunny T-shirt during play time and inverting it during prayer time. While playing and thinking about inverting her bunny T shirt to blur the image before her prayers suggests the presence of the Islamic logic in the Market domain, in Asma's mind. Similarly, Asma thinking about reverting her T shirt to its original form post her prayer, while she prayed suggests that the Market logic was present in the Islamic domain. There were other more obvious instances of *contamination* of logics and practices. For example, the replacement of the superhero faces on T-shirts with symbols such as their weapons and logos was an illustration of how the Islamic logic *contaminated* the Religious logic. The *contamination* of Market practices by the Religious logic and practices was obvious and observable whereas the *contamination* of the Religious practice by the Market logic or practice, was more subtle. Inverting the T-shirt to blur the character was a subtle interference of the Market practice within the Religious domain. However, the inclusion of the Islamic logic in the Market practice of character T-shirts was more noticeable. The *contamination* of logics and practices sustained the institutional complexity.

Tweens' consciousness of their embeddedness in a pluralistic environment was a function of institutional mechanisms connecting them to the governing systems of Market and Religion. Reminders from parents (stop the game and pray), grandparents (music is *haram*) and Religious teachers (reward for wearing the right clothes during Religious activities) about the need to earn *sawaab*, the Islamic spiritual reward, as well as internalization of behavioural scripts from Islam, were the essential mechanisms that reinforced the structural influence of the institutional order. On the other hand, reminders from modern media about latest global trends and compliments from peers (for wearing fashionable Western clothing and tattoos), parents (facilitating the consumption of fashionable Western clothing), grandparents (grandfather buying an iPhone), media (following Peyton List's dressing style) and travel (facilitating access to international Markets and exposing tweens to the trend of tattoo consumption trend) concurrently informed Muslim tweens about the logics of the Market. Therefore, the Market and Religious logics *contaminating* each other was possible.

From informants' accounts, it was clear that the institutional complexity did not tire or frustrate them despite their considerable institutional work. By *reflectively* designing consumption strategies, they swiftly managed their embedded consumption practices realizing that Islamic and the Market order are not on an equal footing. However, the Islamic institution's veto power over the Market did not convince them to give up their connection or subscription of the Market logic. There is no attempt by Muslim tweens to bring about a change in the institutional order of Islam such that the subscription of Market logics is easier and free of any reflective institutional work. Muslim tweens' consumption practices were *reflectively balanced* and legitimized by a mix of Islamic and Market logics. In fact, they used their transitional age to make temporary room for consumption practices that would become impossible as they enter teenage. For example, Aasia's story of switching to more loose clothes as she grows older indicates how the liminal age (Cody, 2012) earned her the room to indulge in the Market propagated consumption practices while she stayed conscious of her Religious identity.

The next section discusses this agentic behaviour of Muslim tween actors in detail. For now, Figure 6.1 below uses the metaphor of balance to illustrate the institutional complexity surrounding Muslim tweens' consumption practices in Eastern, Muslim contexts.
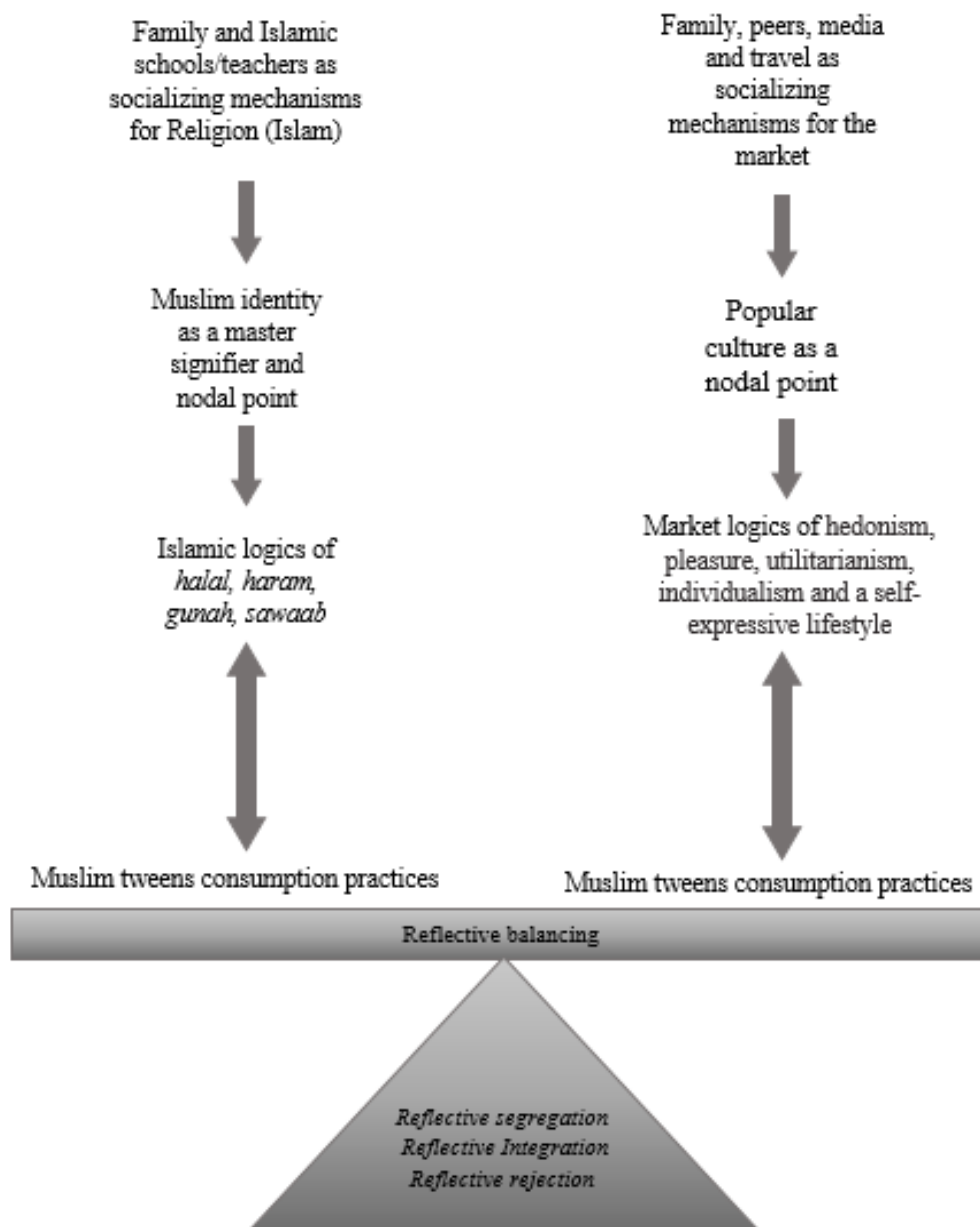
Family and Islamic
schools/teachers as
socializing mechanisms
for Religion (Islam)

Family, peers, media
and travel as
socializing
mechanisms for the
market

Muslim identity
as a master
signifier and
nodal point

Popular
culture as a
nodal point

Islamic logics of
*halal, haram,
gunah, sawaab*

Market logics of hedonism,
pleasure, utilitarianism,
individualism and a self-
expressive lifestyle

Muslim tweens consumption practices

Muslim tweens consumption practices

Reflective balancing

*Reflective segregation
Reflective Integration
Reflective rejection*

Figure 6.1: Institutional complexity around Muslim consumption practices

This diagram conceptualizes institutional complexity and maps the structural influence on field level actions. On one side of the balance is the Islamic structure influencing the consumption practices of Muslim tweens through its field level logics. The socialising mechanisms use the nodal point and the master signifier, 'Muslim identity' to remind Muslim tween actors about their embeddedness in the Islamic structure and the need to uphold its logics of consumption such as *halal* living, modesty and the Muslim identity.

The Islamic field level logics use discursive legitimizing terms such as *halal, haram,*

gunah and *sawaab.* On the other side of the balance is the Market structure, governing field level actions through its socialising mechanisms and nodal point of global youth culture and fashion. Using discursive terms like 'fun,' 'choice,' 'excited,' cute,' 'cool,', 'awesome,' 'like,' 'fashionable,' and 'looks good, the Market logics of consumption such as hedonism, entertainment, utilitarianism, individualism and self-expressive lifestyle, were understood and communicated by Muslim tween informants.

Since both orders prescribe different actions along the same consumption object, making them floating signifiers, micro level actors, Muslim tweens in this case, engage in *reflective balancing* based on the strategies of *reflective segregation, reflective integration* and *reflective rejection.* These strategies, therefore, form the base of the fulcrum. As the Market logics appeal Muslim tween consumers, the Religious order faces jurisdictional imbalance. Subsequently, tween consumers from Muslim settings undertake institutional work to restore the balance and stability in the Religious order, which at times takes place at the expense of the Market logics. Therefore, regardless of the strategy used, the balancing act of the actors is guided more by the Islamic institution than the Market. In other words, the left side of the fulcrum in Figure 6.1 is dominant. In order to strike any balance, the Market side needs to become Muslim appropriate.

Following sections explain the agentic behaviour of Muslim tweens enabled by the institutional complexity surrounding them. I will first present the consumption strategies and next explain the resulting consumption practices.

6.2   Reflective balancing strategies

My interpretation of the rich consumption stories shared by participants suggests that Islam is the dominant institution in an Eastern, Muslim context. Although knowledge and information from both Market and Religion are *available* to Muslim tweens, the latter is most *accessible* and *activated* due to the strong embedding mechanisms of the Islamic institution. In effect, Muslim tweens experience *bounded freedom.* It is important to differentiate Jafari and Suerdem's (2012) 'authorized selection' from *bounded freedom.* As already noted, authorized selection is selectively interpreting Islamic guidelines to justify one's consumption practices (Jafari and Suerdem, 2012) whereas *bounded freedom* is situationally engaging with the Market or modifying Market encouraged consumption practice to align them with Islamic ideals. Situational engagement with the Market and the Islamic logics explains the inconsistencies in consumption practices. For example,

bookending the Islamic logic of clothing with the Market logic of wearing shorts like Mohsin or bunny T shirt like Asma. On the other hand, rejecting click baiting YouTube content like Noman, spatially separating the Market and the Islamic areas of jurisdiction for wearing temporary tattoos on the arm like Nida, tattooing a saying about *Allah* like Aisha, stripping music like Aasia and gaming content like Noman of their un- Islamic content and replacing faces with logos on T-shirts like Basil to continue showing love for favourite superheroes, are some instances pointing towards the modification of the Market encouraged consumption practices. This is also interpretable as the contamination of the Market practices by the Islamic logic. Therefore, instead of selectively drawing on Islamic logics, young Muslim actors intuitively combine the Islamic and Market logics of consumption.

Bounded freedom is a result of embedded agency (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) exercised by Muslim tweens, as they understand and internalize the Islamic logic. Freedom to situationally separate and modify Market logics to maintain the Islamic hegemony is both similar and different from 'bounded intentionality' (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012). The model of agency proposed by Thornton *et. al.,* (2012) rests on three pillars: individual interests or goals, social identification and cognitive limitations. Scholars believe that goals and social identity guide an actor's intentionality but are bounded by cognitive limits as well as internal tension resulting from multiple goals and identities (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012).

Bounded freedom is similar to bounded intentionality as both are guided by social identities and goals. However, cognitive limitation, the third element of bounded intentionality is not valid for bounded freedom. Although Muslim tweens are guided by the permissions, causation and obligation schemas (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) of the Islamic logic, they find room to include the Market logics in their consumption practices and are therefore not cognitively limited. Drawing upon discursive resources from within the Religious and the Market institutions to reduce the antagonism by *decoupling* and *transposition* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012), Muslim tweens legitimize their consumption practices. In some cases, young Muslim informants chose to only draw on the Islamic discourse to legitimize their consumption practices. For example, Osman's rejection of character printed T-shirts to avoid institutional complexity and reproduce the Islamic logic of consuming plain T-shirts.

Bounded freedom was characteristic of all Muslim tweens' consumption practices. Informants strategically, proactively and intentionally shaped their consumption practices in

the presence of reasonably dominant Religious institution on one hand and emerging Market institution on the other hand. Participants emerged as *reflective balancers* who understood the material and symbolic aspects of the institutional orders of both Islam and Market. As already noted, Thornton *et. al.* (2012) describe material aspects as structures and practices while symbolic aspects as ideation and meaning. Muslim actors' reflective balancing is based on three specific strategies (see Figure 6.1) that enable Muslim tween actors' to manage their consumption practices in a complex and pluralistic environment. These strategies are explained below:

6.2.1 Reflective segregation

The reflective segregation strategy is based on the idea of separating the jurisdiction of the Islamic and the Market order. This strategy was designed by Muslim tweens who concurrently subscribed to the logics of Islam and the Market. They were committed to their Muslim identity and found reasonable attraction in the popular culture. However, the Islamic and the Market logics, with their distinctive meanings, created tension around consumption of media, fashionable Western clothing, character T-shirts and tattoos. Resultantly, these consumption practices were perceived as polysemic or *multivocal* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

In order to reduce institutional complexity, Muslim tweens engaged in *reflective segregation* of the jurisdiction of Islamic order to find available times, spaces, gazes and body parts, where the Market logic could be followed. The opportunity to follow the Market logic was found in areas where the Islamic order exercised loose jurisdictional control. Prayer times, *Madarssa* and body parts used for *wudu,* were understood as exclusive Islamic domains whereby no Market logic could drive consumption behaviour or practice. All other instances provided opportunities to Muslim tweens to *decouple* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) themselves from the Islamic order and their Muslim identity. Nonetheless, as explained in the findings section, there was *contamination* of domains and practices. The attempt to *reflectively segregate* the Market from the Islamic order was only to the extent of keeping the logics and practices away from the socialising actors of the respective orders. The *segregation* did not free the Muslim tweens from their internalized sense of the Islamic ideals. Even when they consumed under the Market logic, the Islamic logic kept playing its role in the background. Specific case in point is that of Basil who used his rhetorical *time, space* and *gaze* to consume music and movie around Market socialising

agents, maternal grandfather in his case. The separation allowed him to adopt a Market practice but it did not mean that he was free to consume anything that was blatantly un-Islamic. More will be discussed in section 6.3.1. on *boundary practices*. Smets *et. al.,* (2015) theorize segmenting practices as a means of separating the opposing logics and associated practices by restricting them to their own respective spaces and dress codes. Although they share the situation sensitivity to enact logics, Muslim tweenagers, unlike the managers reported in the study of Smets *et. al.,* (2015) do not experience a neat separation of logics. There is always some *contamination.*

Although the separation strategies allowed Muslim tween consumers to balance their consumption practices linked to the popular culture with their Muslim identity obligations, it was not a universally accepted solution. Some other participants could not neatly separate the Islamic order's jurisdictional domain from that of the Market and pursued the strategy of reflective integration. This strategy is explained as follows:

6.2.2 Reflective integration

The tension caused by the Market logic becoming 'visible' to the Islamic logic and vice versa, at the intersection of jurisdictional boundaries between the Market and Islam, rendered the reflective segregation strategy useless for some Muslim tween participants. Moreover, their perception of Islam's boundless jurisdiction nudged them to differently design strategies such that they balanced their Market consumption desires with their Muslim identity obligations. These participants internalized the Religious logic and considered separation of the Islamic domains from the Market domains, meaningless or problematic. Hence, contradictions and the complementarities between Islam and the Market were identified by such actors as areas of opportunity to integrate symbols and practices of both institutional orders. This was the instance of *transposition* (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) through structural overlap (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Existing organizational literature explains mergers and acquisitions to be an example of structural overlap, whereby actors of different backgrounds and ideologies are forced into an association (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). In this study, the two institutions and their logics were present in the embedding environment that informed Muslim tweens' consumption practices. Although Thornton and Ocasio (2008) explain structural overlap to lead to an institutional change, the consumption stories of Muslim tweens suggest that this may not be a necessary consequence of institutional complexity. As noted in the section on IL, previous studies

have explored the co-existence of opposing IL (Bertels and Lawrence, 2016; Mair *et. al.,* 2015; Smets *et. al.,* 2015).

The strategy of reflective integration explored in this study, led to the *contamination* of the Market practice and logic by the Religious logic and vice versa. The strategy is based on either finding an opportunity to *reconcile* the difference between the Islamic and the Market logic or a possibility of arriving at a *compromise* between the Islamic and the Market logic or a way of *justifying* the Market practice in Islamically appropriate ways or a method of *scrutinizing* the Market logic to strip it off the un- Islamic elements. *Reconciliation* was a strategy of Islamizing the Market logic; for example, a permanent tattoo praising God. It was a hegemonic intervention (Laclau, 1993 in Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002) from the institution of Islam. *Compromise* on the other hand, was a strategy to replace objectionable elements of the Market with neutral elements such that the Market logic harmonizes with the Religious logic. For example, substituting the faces of superheroes with other identity markers such as logos or weapons. Since such symbols were neutral to the Islamic logic of clothing, it provided room to Muslim actors to subscribe to the Market logic. *Justification* was a method of explaining the Market practice's usefulness in ways that could be legitimized under Islam. For example, listening to Music to be able to do Maths better. *Scrutiny* as the fourth strategy was based on muting the audio of the videogames to subtract the objectionable language while enjoying the visual experience of gaming. The strategies of reconciliation, compromise, justification and scrutiny were a result of *reflecting* on the IL of Islam and the Market to decipher their meanings, symbols and practices.

It is important to mention here that the overall strategy of reflectively integrating the logics of Market with those of Islam cannot be seen as an attempt to change the dominant institutional Islamic order, although there is *contamination*. Sedimented Religious logics and practices do not allow a pure uptake of the Market logics. Muslim tweens adopted Market logics that were either in harmony with the Islamic order (logos instead of faces) or could be legitimized under the Islamic institution (permanently tattooing a saying about God – using God's gift to praise Him, consuming visual experience and avoiding the objectionable audio of videogames). In doing so, the dominance of the Islamic institution was maintained, however, in new ways. Just like the Market logics and practices did not prevail without *contamination* from the Islamic logics and practices, the opposite also occurred. The Islamic logics and practices were also *contaminated* by the Market logic. For

example, consuming an inverted bunny T- shirt during prayers, suggested the presence of the Market practice in Religious domains. Similarly, Muslim tween girls covering the character T-shirt with a big *dupatta* during prayers, was an instance of *contamination* of the Religious practice by the Market practice. Muslim boys wearing full length trousers over shorts just for the time of prayers, was also an occasion of *contamination* of the Religious practice with the Market practice. Although these Muslim tweens made an effort to 'hide' their Market practice from the gaze of *Allah* as well as the gaze of Islamists during Religious time, the presence of the Market practices, although in the background, showed *contamination* of the Religious domain. Similar to the managers in the study of Smets *et. al.,* (2015), Muslim tweens used pluralistic logics as resources to legitimize their consumption practices. Their institutionalized sense of institutional complexity (Smets *et. al.,* 2015) guided their consumption behaviour such that the institutional complexity was reproduced. The adoption of a practice perspective and the explanation of movement between tensioning logics is common between this study and that of Smets *et. al.,* (2015). However, unlike the managers in the study of Smets *et. al.,* (2015), the Muslim tween consumers did not attempt to produce hybrid consumption practices. Smets *et. al.,* (2015) describe the hybridization as a process of including the best of both available logics in one practice. When Muslim tween consumers replaced the faces of superheroes on their T-shirts with logos or other symbols, they did not produce a practice representing the best of both Market and Islamic logics. In fact, they produced a Market practice that was legitimizable or *tolerable* under the Religious logic. Production of such practices was not based on a combination of the best logics; rather, it was a subtraction or adjustments of the Market logic to make it *tolerable*. Furthermore, Smets *et. al.,* (2015) suggest bridging as a way of dealing with institutional complexity. Using the metaphor of the bridge connecting the two banks of a river, Smets *et. al.,* (2015) show that actors are agentic to use the logics situationally. To some extent, this was true for the Muslim tweens. However, a complete shift in favour of the Market logic was never possible. In fact, the over-privileged Islamic logic dominated the governance of consumption practices and under no circumstances could the Muslim tweens afford to lose their consumption practices' Islamic legitimacy. In this sense, the agency enabled by the institutional complexity was limited. The bridging of opposing logics in a manner that neither became a dominant legitimizing logic is a key difference between the institutional work of managers in the study of Smets *et. al.,* (2015) and that of Muslim tween consumers' strategy of *reflective integration* in this study.

As noted earlier, the strategies to deal with institutional complexity depended upon actors' internalizing the logics of the dominant Islamic institutional order. The variation in the degree of this internalization led actors to deploy different strategies to legitimize their consumption practices. Some Muslim tween informants completely *rejected* the Market logic in favour of the Islamic logic to resolve the institutional complexity surrounding them. The next section discusses this strategy in detail.

6.2.3   Reflective rejection

The strategy of *rejection* was employed by those who either did not find reasonable attraction within the Market logic to deliberate over the Islamic institution's jurisdiction or meaning of its logic or strongly believed in upholding their Muslim identity. They chose to steer clear of any institutional complexity by subscribing to the logics of the dominant institution and rejecting any Market logic of consumption that interfered with their Islamic lifestyle. These actors were invested in the Islamic institution and therefore they *accessed* and *activated* the Islamic knowledge structures for their sense making needs. By avoiding to participate in the Market through the consumption of un-Islamic media content, character T-shirts and tattoos, actors were able to reaffirm their association with the Islamic order and communicate their status as knowledgeable Muslims.

Whether tween Muslim actors subscribe to the logics of the Market or not, socialising agents especially parents, who represent the Market as well as the Religion, guide them to ultimately grow out of the Market logics (such as constructing individual identity by wearing fashionable Western clothes) and move towards a pure form of Muslim logic (such as maintaining a pure female Muslim identity by wearing loose clothes) as they grow up. In other words, Muslim tween consumers are guided to drop their *Reflective Segregation* and *Reflective Integration* strategies in favour of *Reflective Rejection* as they enter adulthood. Holt's (1995) metaphor, consuming as classification, is a key theme in the Muslim consumer culture. Actors are guided to make a conscious effort to reinforce or reaffirm their affiliation with the Islamic order, through their consumption practices. For example, Muslim informants' articulations, 'just for fun', 'not real,' and 'fake' enable them to distance the tattoo consumption practice from the serious and meaningful practices of Islam. In this sense, the Market is therefore seen by Muslim tweens as a location of play, and Islam as a domain of all serious things in life. Hence, the need to uphold a true Muslim identity in adult life is reinforced. They are expected to start dropping childish Market

consumption practices such as fashionable Western clothing, character T-shirts, videogames, music, movies, temporary tattoos and embrace more fully the Muslim identity and manifest it through strictly Muslim consumption practices particularly the dress.

Although Muslim informants were guided by Islamic socialising agents to move towards Muslim consumption practices as they enter adulthood, extant literature suggests that this may not necessarily be possible. Adult Muslim consumers are reported to hybridize their Muslim cultural expectations with the Western consumerism (Sobh *et. al.,* 2014). Sobh *et. al.,* (2014) show the use of Muslim *abaya,* worn by females, to hide their Western inner wear and high end brands. The *abayas* empower the adult female Muslim consumers to wear Western clothing and at the same time hide it to gain the approval of Islamists and legitimacy from the Islamic order. Although the Market and Islamic practices are more neatly separated by the Muslim tween consumers especially through *reflective rejection,* Sobh *et. al.,* (2014) show that the contamination of the two practices as well as their associated logics is complex in the adult Muslim consumer culture.

Smets *et. al.,* (2015) identify demarcation as a strategy of ensuring that no one logic is excessively marginalized as actors balance the behavioural expectations of opposing logics. Findings of this study however, suggest the Market logic is often marginalized and the resulting loss of legitimacy in the eyes of its referent audiences is not perceived as a major setback by Muslim tween consumers. Hence, how actors respond to their institutionalized sense of institutional complexity depends greatly on the historical significance of logics. In the Muslim context, the Islamic logic has been historically important and therefore sedimented and dominant. Findings show that there is no attempt to equalize the authority of Market with Islam, hence, demarcation is a redundant strategy for Muslim tweens.

All the three strategies used by Muslim tween informants and described in this section, lead to a variety of Muslim consumption practices. The next section presents a detailed discussion about the consumption practices of Muslim actors in an institutionally complex setting.

6.3   Consumption practices in an institutionally complex Muslim context

The strategies of *reflective segregation, integration* and *rejection* translate into peculiar

consumption practices within institutionally complex Muslim contexts. Muslim tweens' design their consumption practices to sustain institutional complexity and the authority of the Islamic order. Nonetheless, their strategies and practices leads to a *contamination* of logics and practices.

Muslim tweens' consumption practices are a mix of innovative and primitive practices. Among the new are those that are designed under institutional complexity and enable a simultaneous connection with the Market and the Islamic institutional orders. *Boundary practices* and *reconciliatory, compromise, justified and scrutinized consumption practices* from now on referred to as *integrated consumption practices* are all new consumption practices. Based on their distance from consumption based on purely Islamic logics, they are considered to be new consumption practices. Among the old are *Islamically appropriate consumption practices,* whereby only Islamic logic legitimized consumption and there was a complete absence of any logic from the emerging Market order.

Figure 6.2 below plots Muslim consumption practices along IL of Islam and Market on the x-axis and old and new consumption practices on the y-axis.
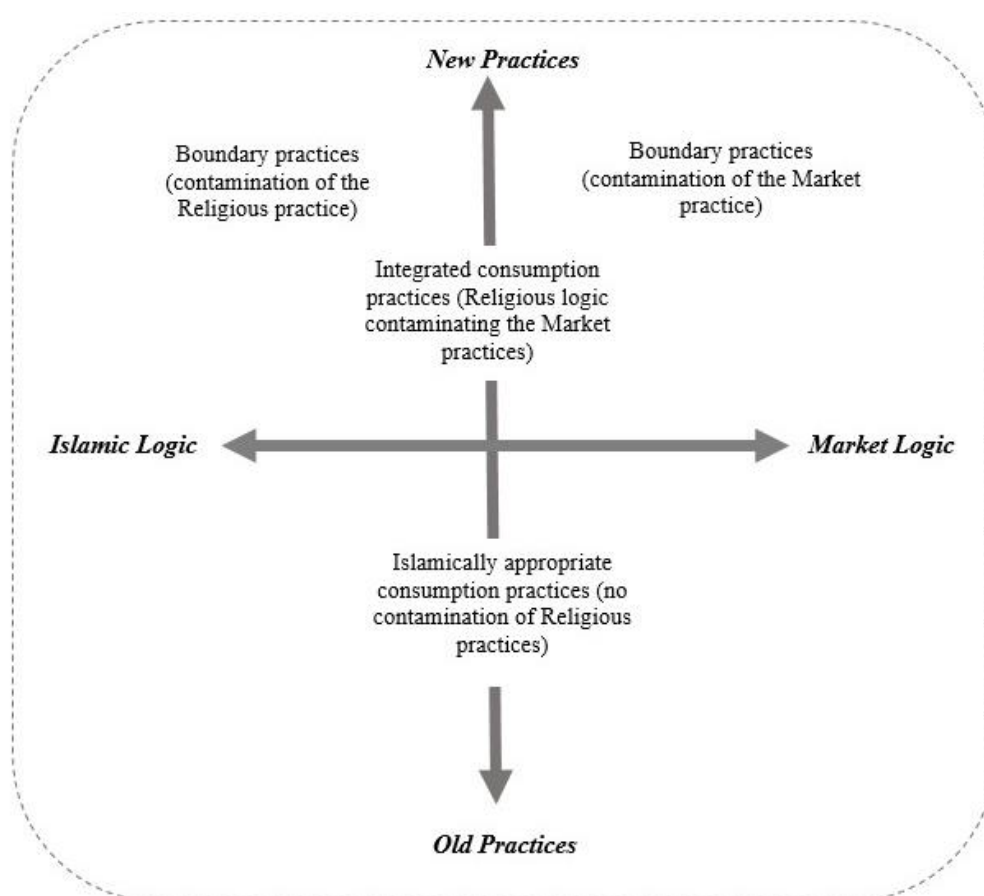

Figure 6.2: Muslim consumption practices

The two dimensions used to plot Muslim tweens' consumption practices are the IL of Islam and Market on the x-axis and old versus new practices on the y-axis. With the help of these dimensions, I illustrate the evolution within established institutional complexity. There is no attempt to reduce institutional complexity by changing the Islamic order, in a Muslim consumer culture. However, Muslim actors' innovative practices, *boundary* and *integrated consumption practices,* incorporate Market logics of consumption within their Islamic lifestyle. This idea has been referred to as *contamination* throughout the narrative of the thesis. In this respect, there is a micro-level change in the institutional field of consumption practices. However, this cannot be regarded as institutional entrepreneurship (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012) as the fundamental mobilization of key stakeholders and collective action to bring about an institutional change, is missing. In all cases, the informants' strategy to *segregate* or *integrate* the Market and the Islamic logics was solely aimed at legitimizing their individual consumption practices. While some young Muslim tweenagers design innovative consumption practices, some others continue to pursue their strict subscription of the Islamic order and engage with the Market in primitive style. Each of the consumption practice mentioned in the figure above, is explained below:

6.3.1 Boundary consumption practices

Boundary practices are shown in two quadrants of figure 6.2. Islamic or the Religious logic is fixed, with little to no flexibility towards the Market logic. The Market logic, on the other hand, is relatively new and is included in Muslim lifestyles in subtle and unique ways. Although the Market logic does not find automatic patronage or replace the Religious logic for the consumption of media, fashionable Western clothing, character T- shirts and tattoos, it is able to engage Muslim tweens in reflective projects prior and subsequent to the domains of behaviour strictly dominated by Islam. The opposing logics of the two meaning making systems are managed by Muslim tween consumers by restricting them to Religious and non-Religious domains. *Reflective segregation* gives birth to *boundary practices.* Guided by their sense of *situationism* (Thornton, *et al.,* 2012), Muslim tweens design *temporal* and *spatial* solutions to separate the Islamic and the Market logic of consuming fashionable Western clothes and character T-shirts. Similarly, through *scopic* solutions, they separate the gaze of *Allah* and those of the Islamists from the gaze of fashionistas and peers, they find possibilities of following the Market logic of self-expressive lifestyle and belongingness to popular culture by consuming character T-shirts and fashionable Western

clothing. Finally, *body parts* are segmented between those that fall under the clear and strict jurisdiction of Islam for *wudu* before *Namaz* and those that can be used to follow popular culture by wearing tattoos.

Although these boundary practices are means of separating the Islamic and the Market domains, an element of the opposite logic is always present in each domain. For example, by 'inverting' or 'covering' their character T-shirts in Religious times (prayers), spaces (*Madarssas*) and gazes (of Islamists such as the Religious teachers), Muslim tweens fulfil their Islamic obligations, uphold the Islamic logic of 'no faces' and yet not necessarily separate the two practices. Effectively, the Market logic's attraction prompts Muslim tweens to bookend their Islamic practices with their Market practices and earn Islamic legitimacy of their T-shirts by blurring the image on it. They follow the Islamic logic when they are within the boundary of Islam but are not necessarily detached from the attractions of the Market.

6.3.2   Integrated consumption practices

As noted earlier, *reconciliatory, compromise, justified* and *scrutinized practices* are collectively termed integrated practices as they are a result of *reflective integration.* Unlike the boundary practices, the *integrated practices* earn simultaneous legitimacy under the Market and Islamic institutional orders, at all times, in all spaces, under all gazes and on all body parts. *Integrated consumption practices* are plotted in figure 6.2 at the intersection of Market and Religious domains.

The four integrated consumption practices are aimed at Islamizing the Market logics. For example, T shirt with symbols from favourite movies/TV shows instead of faces (a *compromise consumption practice*), a permanent tattoo praising God and wearing full sleeves inner under a sleeveless Western top (a *reconciliatory consumption practice*), a utilitarian reason for listening to Music (a *justified consumption practice*) and subtraction of un-Islamic content from movies and videogames (a *scrutinized consumption practice*). These practices show a direct adjustment of the Market practices to align them with the Religious logics. On the contrary, the Market has a more subtle way of contaminating Religious practices. For example, the mere hiding of the character T-shirt with the help of a *dupatta* or inverting it for the prayers, is an indication of the presence of Market within the Religious domain.

The *boundary* and *integrated practices* are all new ways of dealing with institutional complexity in a Muslim context. In addition to these, the primitive styles of consumption under the influence of Market and Religion also continue in the Eastern Muslim context. I call them primitive because they resemble the consumption styles of older generations reflective of a time when the Market was under-developed and Islam was the only order governing consumption behaviour. The section below explains the Islamically appropriate consumption practices in detail.

6.3.3   Islamically appropriate consumption practices

In the Eastern Muslim context, Islam is the historical order and Market an emergent order whereby the former is sedimented and the latter is attractive. Hence, in the evolved Muslim context, both institutional orders drive consumption practices. Nonetheless, for some actors, the attraction within the Market logic is not enough to find room within the Islamic logic. Hence, they deploy the strategy of *rejection* of any Market logic that opposes the Islamic logic. Within the field of contested consumption practices, such as media, character T-shirts and tattoos, such actors are satisfied using a single logic solution that favours their Religious practices and Muslim identity. Hence, they believe in keeping their body parts in the original state and free from tattoos, they follow the Muslim dress code and wear *halal* clothes in all times, spaces and gazes, and they consume only Islamically appropriate media content.

In summary, Muslim tween consumers undertake complex institutional work without showing any angst to navigate through the institutional complexity that embeds them. Their practices show that they are first Muslims and then consumers of the Market. Against this reality, this empirical work brings forth a second reality. While the Islamic order interpellates Muslim tweens universally (Goffman 1968 in McAlexander *et. al.,* 2014; Varul 2008 in Jafari and Suerdem, 2012), they are sufficiently attracted by the Market to find unique ways to manage their Market linked desires within their Islamic embeddedness. And their navigation between the two institutions is naturalized in Eastern Muslim contexts.

Chapter 7   Theoretical Contribution

By studying daily routines, locating the influence of socialising mechanisms that carry the logics of the Market and of Religion to influence consumption practices, examining the consumption strategies, and eventually exploring Muslim tween consumption practices, this project explicates Muslim consumer culture with respect to tween actors.

The study combines the consumer research literature with IL literature to respond to calls made in both streams of literature to better link micro level practice with social level structures. There have been calls made in consumer research literature to account for the structuring effects of culture (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011; Wilson *et. al.,* 2013, Ekström, 2006). Specifically, Askegaard and Linnet (2011) have made a call for studies of consumption practices that not only enable understanding of the structuring effects of culture and ideology but also highlight how consumption practices shape cultural and social norms of the society. Agreeing with the assertion made by Cody and Lawlor (2011) that there is little known about the lived experiences of the much attractive tween segment, this study particularly extends the work of Wilson *et. al.,* (2013) by illustrating 'how,' 'when' and 'where' Muslim tween consumers create possibilities of including Market practices in their otherwise Islamic lifestyle. It responds to the call made by Wilson *et. al.,* (2013), who say that "more work needs to be done to unveil and unpack consumption patterns, identities, possessions and the extended-self from emic and etic perspectives, linked to internationalization, globalization, and localization" (p. 13). The study is also an extension of the IL perspective within the domain of consumption. IL literature calls for accounts of micro-level actions (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012). Specifically, Thornton *et. al.,* (2012) have called for more studies of institutional complexity. This study used the IL perspective as the theoretical lens to explore the structure-agency relationship within the field of consumption practices.

This is one of the first study to explore the consumption of a difficult to reach and research contexts called the Pakistani, Muslim tweens. Similar to the Western understanding of the tween segment, insights from the study show that the Pakistani tweens are an outcome of the Market logic. In other words, the Market has successfully targeted them with offerings such as tattoos and character printed T shirts that enable them to identify with the teens around them. However, in Eastern Muslim contexts, it takes place within institutional complexity whereby Market construction is moderated by Religious logics. Therefore, tweens are never constructed

in the same manner everywhere - they are both a global construction by Markets as well as a locally experienced source of identity in a specific culture. Although there is liminality in their consumption similar to their Western counterparts, participants' accounts highlight liminality peculiar to their Eastern, Muslim context, as will be explained later in this section.

Capturing the contextual structures or institutional orders from the viewpoint of Muslim tweens, the study explains the agency that is understood and exercised by tweenage Muslim consumers. Findings show that agency is a contextual phenomenon. Even within one Eastern Muslim context, the extent of agency is a function of the immediate socio- cultural-religious setting. Parents' communication and socialising styles combined with the Religious outlook of the urban upper middle income family and the influence and strength of socialising mechanisms affords varying levels of agency to Muslim tweens. Therefore, it is problematic to universally assume children as independent consumers, who follow agreed patterns of consumption, including those based on global youth cultural trends. This study recognises the local interpretations of consumer practices based on unique institutional complexities in which they are established. Like Western tweens, Pakistani Muslim tween consumers explained what is cool, how they enjoy fashionable Western clothes and tattoos, and how they are thrilled by the latest digital media entertainment, as they consume these things in a particularly Pakistani Muslim style that balances the institutional logics of both Markets and Religion. Muslim tween consumers' rhetorical use of time, space, the gaze and body parts shows how socialization accounts for and deals with the IL. The study's contribution to consumer and IL literature are outlined below.

The research makes a contribution to consumer literature by theorizing Muslim tween consumer culture. In the absence of an informed theory of Muslim consumption, the Western theories of consumption due to their cultural distance (Ekström 1987; John 1999; McNeal, 2007; Shim *et. al.* 2011) are limited in explaining the Muslim consumer culture. Previous studies of Muslim consumption have recognized the interplay of the Market and Religious institutions within the field of consumption (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010; Wong 2007; Wilson *et. al.,* 2013; Jafari and Suerdem, 2012). However, they are limited in offering a field level conceptualization of the strategies and consumption practices of Muslim actors in institutionally complex settings. The findings of this research fill the theoretical gap and offer culturally informed insights about field level actions. The study suggests that while Muslim consumers uphold their Muslim identity through consumption practices, they are not oblivious to

the Western consumption norms. Hence, Western market practices are not in a battle with other cultures; in fact, Muslim consumers *carefully* select Western consumption pleasures. While they do so, however, Muslim tween consumers do not attempt to bring about any institutional change. Rather, they include the Market logics in their Islamic lifestyles to shape '*halal consumption practices*.' The understanding of *halal* in the West has typically, been around Muslim food; however, Cass (2017) elaborating on the new Muslim consumer landscape has identified *halal* beauty and *halal* travel as Muslim specific consumption items. This study offers a further understanding of how consumption practices are *halalized* and therefore contributes to the growing connotation of the word *halal*. Simultaneously, understanding the importance of following the Islamic order while subscribing to the attractive Market logics of consumption, Muslim tweens *halalize* their consumption practices through boundary and integrated consumption practices. The term *halal* is an Islamic discursive terms that is used by Muslim consumers to judge the legitimacy of their consumption practices. Muslim consumers adopt global trends that can be *halalized* using Islamic principles. With the help of *boundary consumption practices* and *integrated consumption practices*, Muslim tweens actors work to make Market practices tolerable or appeasing under the Islamic order. Although Muslim actors have a clear sense of Islamic logics, they have varying styles of legitimizing their Market practices. For example, the character T-shirts were made tolerable during Religious times in several ways: covering it with dupatta, inverting it or changing out of it. Therefore, Muslim consumers' mechanisms of making their consumption *halal* or tolerable under the Islamic logics, is a contextualized (based on extent of agency) and an individualized phenomenon. Irrespective of the strategy used, Pakistani Muslim tweens work for a peaceful co-existence of the Islamic and the Market logics and the dominance of the Religious logics. This is because of their cognitive and emotional investment in the institutional order of Islam. In this sense, Pakistani Muslim tweens' liminality is manifested between their carefree uptake of the Market logic and their Religious consciousness linked to their Muslim identity. Their mix and match of the Market and the Religious logic to legitimize their consumption practices is indicative of the adult market that is likely to emerge in Eastern Muslim contexts like Pakistan. Therefore, this study also forwards the agenda put forth by Cody and Lawlor (2011) and Cody (2012) of exploring the lived experiences of the tween consumers and explaining the liminality that surrounds their consumption practices. In addition to this, this research also shows the complex way in which Market and Religion produce and are produced by tweens in ways that cannot be reduced to simple gender stereotypes.

Although innovative, Muslim tweens' consumption practices are not consciously aimed at breaking free from the institutional complexity that surrounds them. At no point do they feel a need to subscribe to one institutional order at the cost of the other. By exploring the institutional complexity caused by interplaying Market and Islamic logics within the field of Muslim tweens' consumption practices, the project forwards the agenda of exploring micro foundations of IL (Thornton *et. al.,* 2012). While Thornton *et. al.,* (2012) acknowledge that "an individual can avoid cognitive conflict when pairing a norm from one institutional order with a norm from another by compartmentalizing the norms" (p. 57), they point towards a dearth of empirical studies that illuminate individual-organization institutional field level strategies. This study of tween consumers' understanding of institutional complexity and their strategic responses to such complexity agrees with the alternative view of institutional complexity proposed by Smets *et. al.,* (2015), Mair *et al.,* (2015) and Bertels and Lawrence, (2016). Young Muslim consumers' creatively use the Islamic and the Market logics as resources to legitimize their consumption practices. By *reflectively segregating* and *reflectively integrating* the Market and the Islamic logics to legitimize their multifaceted consumption practices, Muslim tween consumers respond to their institutionalized sense of institutional complexity (Smets *et. al.,* 2015) in naturalized styles. Their institutional work is aimed at maintaining the dominance of the Islamic order while accepting the influence of the Market order. Evidently, these young Muslim consumers emerge as unique global citizens whose multi-faceted consumption practices feed off the Market and the Islamic institutional orders and earn them legitimacy as global Muslim consumers.

Muslim consumer culture at the outset is constructed by the plural logics of Market and Islam. However, findings of this study show that there is a degree of demarcation between the two but only when seen through the eyes of the Muslim consumers. They do not use the two logics to produce a new institution based on Market and Religion. In fact, they maintain the distance between the two logics through their practices. Organizational studies have shown that opposing logics co-exist through hybrid organizations (Mair *et. al.,* 2015) and hybrid practices (Smets *et. al.,* 2015). This study, on the contrary, shows that opposing logics can co-exist through actors' practices of tolerance. Sometimes in their effort to ensure tolerance or *halal consumption,* they abandon one logic, the Market logic, altogether. Hence, the *halal consumption practices* are not based on hybridity between the two logics. In their naturalized response to embedding institutional complexity, young Muslim consumers work with additional practices, for example changing or inverting the T-shirts before starting *Namaz,* that manifest the opposition in the logics of Market and Islam. Nonetheless, in their on-going efforts to separate

the two logics, *contamination* emerges as an inevitable consequence.

Moreover, in addition to finding the theme of institutional time and space, the research uncovers emerging themes of institutional gaze and body parts (space on one's body). Muslim tweens' consumption stories uncovered the institutionalized gaze that guided their behaviour in different times and spaces. Being aware of the omnipresent gaze of *Allah* does not deter Muslim tween consumers from following the Market logic.

And yet the adoption of Market practices such as fashionable Western clothing cannot be read as an act of antagonism against the Islamic order. Findings of the study suggest that symbolic aspects of institutions can take the form of a 'gaze.'

This thesis contributes to the IL literature by showing how institutions get embodied in consumers. Current institutional theory literature not only insufficiently accounts for emotions (Voronov and Vince, 2012), it also insufficiently accounts for the human body that moves in time and space and is subject to ILs as it does so. This study shows that human body is part of the institutional logics – it is used to reproduce logics and is also reproduced by it. Institutional ideas and behaviours are attached to the human body and hence in an account of cultural consumption, the importance of the physical body must not be overlooked. In this research, Muslim tween consumers were found to *reflectively segregate* the domains of Islam and Market, pursue *boundary practices* and use their body to dress up according to the logics of Islam and/or Market based on a situational sense of time and space. Similarly, they used body parts to follow the Market logic of wearing fashionable tattoos in spaces that were not used for the Islamic ritual washing. Moreover, the consumption of media such as videogames, movies and music was scrutinized by Muslim tween consumers using Islamic guidelines in order to protect their eyes and ears (specific body parts) from sinning. Hence, human body is an institutionalized entity. In other words, institutional complexity is embodied in Muslim consumers' physical body.

Chapter 8   Conclusion, Limitations & Future Research

As findings from the Muslim tween consumption context show, the narrative of consumption practices is not monolithic. Rather, the countervailing Islamic and Market ideals produce *halal consumption practices*. This thesis theorizes the interaction of Islam and Market when their respective practices (material) and meanings (symbolic) become visible to each other. The co-existing institutional orders of Islam and Market set the stage for *halal consumption practices* based on different configurations of the Islamic and Market logics that impregnate Market attractions with Islamic significance or *contaminate* Islamic practices with Market desires. This study shows that although Muslim consumption field is populated by opposing logics of Market and Islam, the embedded actors, in this case Muslim tweens, do not experience a cognitive or emotional struggle.

The findings show that the effects of globalization have penetrated Eastern Muslim contexts like Pakistan but the adoption of the global trends is careful and managed in ways that can be legitimized under the Islamic logic. Muslim tweens are embedded in the Islamic institutional order, yet they engage with the emerging institutional order of the Market. Unlike Giesler's (2008) study of marketplace drama, there are no dramatic acts of antagonism. In fact, the processes of restoring normalcy after a visible breach are very subtle and tactful. For example, Noman's turning the volume of the videogames off after hearing the use of bad language, restored normalcy and the institutional balance in favour of the Religious discourse. However, although there is no attempt to bring about an institutional level change within the Islamic order, research indicates a slow erosion or *contamination* of the salience of the Islamic logic. The primitive, Islamically appropriate consumption style based on *reflectively rejecting* objectionable Market logic, is not very common among Muslim tweens.

Although the Market logic does not find automatic patronage or replace the Religious logic for the consumption of media, fashionable Western clothing, character T- shirts and tattoos, it is able to engage Muslim tweens in reflective projects. Hence, there is a change in the social fabric as a combination of Market and Islamic logics guide consumption practices. In other words, the Market construction of the tween market in the Eastern Muslim context is peculiar. The new and evolved consumption practices of the Muslim tweens can be treated as antecedents to a possible change in the future. For example, advocates of temporary tattoo consumption (peers, siblings) emphasize the fashion theme (nodal point) to leverage positive associations while the anti-temporary tattoo advocates (Religious teachers, parents) emphasize the Muslim identity theme (master signifier and nodal point) to develop negative associations with such

consumption. Longitudinal research can be useful in explicating how any coalition of actors take action to legitimize or delegitimize the consumption of temporary tattoos in a Muslim context. It will be useful to see if the current subtle *contamination* of Religious practices (*Namaz*) by the Market practices (character T-shirts) stops as young consumers enter adulthood or if the *contamination* continues in new forms and ways.

This study is an effort to develop an empirically informed theory of Muslim tween consumer culture in complex institutional contexts. Through the study of Muslim tweens' consumptionscape, I have recognized the effect of plural institutional effect on consumption behaviour. A longitudinal study with the participants of this study, after a gap of few years is likely to further illuminate how their current consumption practices evolve into lasting consumption ideologies. It would be useful to study if the same actors, on reaching adulthood, anchor themselves in the order of Islam as well as the Market or they accept complete submission to the Islamic order as the ultimate guiding force.

The current interplay of Market and Religious logics is most visible within the urban upper middle class in Eastern developing countries' context. These consumption settings situated consumers that were simultaneously invested in the institution of Islam and had sufficient knowledge and interest in global Market trends. However, studies moving with the same agenda as this thesis but exploring a less affluent or developed consumption context such as the semi-urbans or the rurals, are likely to bring to fore unique mechanisms and institutional complexity. Not only can such studies advance our understanding of the structure-agency dynamics within the field of consumption practices, they can also potentially identify institutional orders that are unique to these geographies.

The findings of this research has implications for Islamists such as the Islamic teachers and Muslim parents. As Muslim parents socialize their children into the institutions of Market and Religion, they may recognize the tendency of their children to become subscribers of global consumption trends with a sensitivity to their Religious boundaries. As mentioned in section 5.1, the Islamists in the Pakistani society raise objections against the popularity of Western fashion and tattoos. Findings of this research suggest that young Muslim consumers are aware and conscious of the Religious logic of consumption. Their consumption practices are *halalized* under the Islamic logic and are therefore never in opposition to Islam. While global market trends such as tattooing, wearing fashionable Western clothing and consuming modern media content successfully engage them into *reflexively* including them in their consumption practices, they are not able to displace their internalized Islamic ideals. Tween Muslim consumers in fact

earn citizenship of the global consumer culture by way of their Muslim route. Hence, the concerns of Islamists seem unnecessary.

The project explored the consumption practices of Muslim tweens in Pakistan, one of the many countries situated at the nexus of Market development and Islamization. Additional investigations are needed from other similar or different Muslim contexts in order to establish a comprehensive description of Muslim consumption practices and Muslim consumer culture. Researchers can specifically explore similarities or differences in the embedded agency exercised by young Muslim actors in different Muslim contexts.

Appendix A   Consent Form

Ethics reference: 14541

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (Sept 10
/version no. 2) and have had the opportunity to ask questions

☐

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data

☐

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at

☐

I am happy to record my daily routine for a week.

☐

I am happy to have my interview video recorded.

☐

I am happy to be contacted regarding other unspecified research projects. I
therefore consent to the University retaining my personal details on a database,
kept separately from the research data detailed above. The 'validity' of my
consent is conditional upon the University complying with the Data Protection
Act and I understand that I can request my details be removed from this

☐

Data Protection

*I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a
password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files
containing any personal data will be made anonymous.*

Name of participant (print name)……………………………………………………

Signature   of   participant……………………………………………………..

Date………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix B   Participation Information Sheet (PIS) - Child

Ethics number: 14541

Please read the following information carefully. It explains the project that I am working on. I would like you to participate in it but before deciding to take part in this research, it's important that you understand what it is. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is Saima Husain. I am a student at University of Southampton, UK. I am asking you to participate in a project that examines commercial, parental, peer and other influences on the choices of pre- teens. This project will study choices that relate to buying or not buying certain products or brands from the Market. Sometimes it is difficult to make sense of what everyone is telling you. My project looks at some of the influential forces in your environment and how you make sense of them.

There are a lot of similar studies done in the other part of the world. However, they don't help us understand how children in our part of the world are growing up to become smart consumers. Therefore, there is a need for a study in Pakistan to understand how children become consumers.

Your parents have already given permission for you to participate in this study, but you do not have to participate if you choose.

Why have I been chosen?

I am interested in studying children (aged between 8 and 12 years) from a middle class household in a city from Pakistan where both parents work. Since you belong to such a household, I am inviting you to participate in the study.

What will happen to me if I take part?

I am interested in studying how you find out about new things; how some people convince you or stop you from certain things and how you feel about using and not using certain things. I would therefore, like you to first record the most interesting bits of your daily routine for a week, using a video camera that I will be providing you with. You can start filming when you are back from school until you go to bed at night. When you are busy with meal times, school work or TV, I would like you to place the camera in one position and allow it to continue recording. Otherwise, you can take it around with you and film everything that you find important, especially when you are making choices about what to buy or do. Make this fun and don't worry about getting things right or wrong. On weekends, I would like you to record your routine from the time you wake up to the time you sleep at night. If your parents are comfortable in you carrying the camera, then please take it along and record everything you do during the day, both at home and outside. Please do keep your parents' comfort in mind when you are filming your routine. I will be more than happy to guide you about the use of the camera and where it should be placed to record your activity when you are busy.

Once you have recorded your daily routine for a week, I would like to sit with you to view the film and also have you explain the recorded events. We will meet for 90 min at your home to know more about your favourite and not so favourite consumption routines, about who guides you towards or away from particular routine and about how you clarify confusions in your mind about choices. I will be video recording this interview so that I can play it later to understand your views. In case there is a need to meet you again to ask more questions, I will request for another meeting with you.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There will be a token of appreciation in the form of Rs. 2000 (£12.43) presented to you.

Are there any risks involved?

The study is expected to be risk free.

Will my participation be confidential?

To protect your confidentiality, the films and interviews will not be shared with anyone unless required by law or requested by your parents. If there is a need to quote what you said then false names will be used instead of real names.

These videos of your routine and the interviews will be kept by my supervisors Dr. Mike Molesworth as well as Dr Weisha Wang and me.

What happens if I change my mind?

You may quit this study at any time by simply calling me on my cell number 0300-9219989 and saying "I do not wish to participate."

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you should contact the research support officer, Ying Ying Cheung (risethic@soton.ac.uk) or Head of Research Governance (02380 595058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk) at the University of Soutampton, UK.

Where can I get more information?

If you have any question about this study, please talk with Dr. Mike Molesworth at M.R.Molesworth@soton.ac.uk or Dr. Weisha Wang at weisha.wang@soton.ac.uk

Appendix C   Participation Information Sheet (PIS) - Parents

Ethics number: 14541

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This project is a part of a doctoral study in *consumer socialization*, carried out by Saima Husain, a post graduate research student at the University of Southampton. *Consumer socialization* is the process by which young people (children) develop consumer related skills, knowledge and attitudes (Ward, 1974). How children learn to become smart consumers is extensively studied across the world; however a local perspective of this development is missing. This process of child learning is believed to be affected by his/her mental as well as physical development and the social, physical and Marketing environment that surrounds him/her.

Leading Marketing periodicals in Pakistan report on growing 'pester power,' asserting that the current Pakistani youth is growing up faster and is more informed than previous generations (Mohsin, 2006). According to Euromonitor's report on *Consumer Lifestyles in Pakistan*, published on Sept 12, 2014, "brand identification by tweens is effecting the buying decisions of households. More play time and socialisation among this age group at school also results in peer comparison of brands. Tweens like to have the same brand of T-shirts, shoes, colour pencils, lunch snacks, confectionery items and toys as their peers."

Research from developed countries provides insight into children's consumer behaviour and associated symbolic goals of parents from different income classes (Pugh, 2009); however, the social realities characteristic of a complex society and the variance in physical environments limits the transferability of the work. Hence, a study designed to investigate the consumer socialization process in a typical middle class, dual income, urban, educated household in a developing country is believed to be a fruitful exercise in informing the consumer socialization literature about the peculiarities of the context and the associated processes.

Why have I been chosen?

There are two reasons for selecting you to participate in the study:

First, your profile matches the profile of interest for this research. A typical middle class, dual income, urban, educated household is believed to be a unique setting where children's mosaic called 'life' is filled with various physical and social environments. The consumer socialization processes and peculiarities are expected to be unique and enlightening. There is likely to be an interplay of Religious, ethnic and consumer socialization. Hence, the context is an enriching one to explore the consumer socialization field and to capture the voice of the one socialized – the child.

Second, the age of your child matches that of the ideal respondents needed for the research. This study is focused on capturing insights from the children who are aged between 8 and 12 years.

What will happen if you allow your child to take part?

The study will go through the following steps:

1.   Using basic video cameras (provided by the researcher), the children will make a self-directed video of their daily routine for one week. They will be essentially asked to record anything from their environment that is important in enabling or disabling them in making consumer choices. The recording time will vary on weekdays and weekends. On weekdays, children will be requested to record their activity from the time they return from school to the time they go to bed at night. On weekends, they will be requested to record from the time they wake up to the time they go to sleep. This may require them to carry the camcorder along if they are going out. However, all recording will be with your consent and as per your comfort.

2.   These videos will be subsequently used as stimulus material in interviews, conducted by the researcher at the participants' home, to further elicit stories from children about their favourite and not so favourite consumption routines, about who guides them towards or away from particular consumption practices and about how they reconcile differences between their wishes and the environmental demands to finalize their consumption preferences. The interviews will be approximately 90 min long and will be video recorded as body language and oral language inform
researchers about meanings. You are requested to be present in the household while the child is
being interviewed in order to support the child if there is a need.

3.   In case there is a need to seek further clarity on the videography, a follow up interview will be scheduled.

Are there any benefits in my child taking part?

There will be a token of appreciation in the form of Rs. 2000 (£12.43) presented to the young informant for participating in the study. Additionally, the insights gathered will be useful in adding to current knowledge of consumer socialization.

Are there any risks involved?

The study is expected to be risk free.

Will my child's participation be confidential?

The study is compliant with the Data Protection Act/University policy Information gathered from you will be stored and kept confidential on a password protected computer. Data collected will be treated with sensitivity whereby linked anonymity will be maintained and pseudonyms will be used wherever required. The research follows a qualitative paradigm; hence, stories shared by participants may enable recognition
of the profile of the respondent but not identify the person particularly. Theory building will be kept around generic themes to further protect research participants' identities.

Since videography and video recorded interviews will form the essential data source, linked anonymity will be ensured. Linked anonymity refers to the data enabling identification of respondent's profile but not his exact identity. Furthermore, data will be coded so that participants are not identified by researchers.

All videos will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw at any time without your legal rights being affected.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you should contact the research support officer, Ying Ying Cheung (risethic@soton.ac.uk) or Head of Research Governance (02380 595058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk) at the University of Soutampton, UK.

Where can I get more information?

For further details, you may contact Dr. Mike Molesworth at M.R.Molesworth@soton.ac.uk or Dr. Weisha Wang at weisha.wang@soton.ac.uk

Appendix C

Appendix D   Sample Transcript

I: Hello Noman

N: *Assalamualiakum* [Muslim greeting]

I: *Waliakum Salaam* [response to the Muslim greeting]. How are you today? N: I am doing well.

I: Are you ready to start the interview? N: Yes, why not

I: Great! Why don't you begin by telling me about your experience of making the videos?

N: Well, it was….. I mean something that I haven't done before so I was quite curious and inquisitive at first..but then I got the feel for it so.. You may have noticed like at first I was making short clips and then I like started going to two hours and one hour.

I: Hmmm…. (smiles). So, did you enjoy? N: Yes.

I: Or did it become boring in the end?

N: Well…a bit (smiles) but it was like… a new experience for me.

I: It was interesting when you were explaining your reasons for making these videos to your friends….. so I saw the part where your friends were over and you'll were playing a game….you had to make the videos and they were constantly asking 'but why, why do we have to be on this. Who needs this?' and then you were constantly explaining…… So that was very interesting.

N: Yes, they thought I had some type of YouTube channel. (smiles) I: Do you have a YouTube channel?

N: No

I: Does anybody around you have one?

N: (shakes head)..No. Well, actually my friends do but it's like really small.

I: I noticed that there was some discussion about blogs. Do you write blogs? Are you a blogger? N: Mmmm..umm. No. I'm like I like watching them but…..(goes silent)

I: What Kind of blogs do you follow? N: Like Daily Life

I: Do you have particular bloggers that you are following? N: Mmm..yeah. Roman Atwood

I: What's that blog about?

N: Basically doing like… interesting stuff like basically mounting a gun on a car and then shooting it and stuff like that
I: So those are YouTube videos or are those blogs? N: YouTube videos
I: So they are YouTubers right? N: Yes

I: So Aliyaan (interviewer's son who is known to Noman) also watches these YouTubers and he is following some like Stampy and …and? (interrogates). Who are some other famous ones? Pauses….Squid

N: ohkayy (assuring that he knows about the people the interviewers names) I: Do you follow them?

N: No

I: No? You are following others?

N: Yes. I just stick to one sort of channel. When I like scroll through down to see other videos of the same YouTuber and I like come across another one, if I like it then I follow them.

I: So what makes you like a particular YouTube video or dislike a particular YouTube video?

N: Basically like (thinks)… if they are like faking it and they are like not quite true to themselves. They are just doing it like..for the views or ….(keeps quiet) I: What are they doing in

the video, usually?

N: like..uhh..interesting like crazy stuff..uh..(tries to remember).like something that nobody has ever done before.

I: Can you give me an example?

N: uhhh. Like basically this RC Car..do you know what that is? I: (Shakes head, suggesting a 'No')

N: No, basically it's like a radio controlled car that can go 60-70 miles per hour and..and they are like painted black and mounts something on it and then I also watch some lifehacks

I: (Nods). So when you watch these videos…. those that you find very interesting…what do you do with the knowledge that comes with it?

N: Yes, I often try them out…like I just made something right now (excited) I: You make your own

videos?

N: No, not videos. I just..I like tried to make a popcorn machine! With a Coke can.. It makes pop corns but I haven't tried using it yet.

I: Wow! That's great! …. and what do you do with things that you make following YouTube videos?

N: Like, I show it to my family but I don't really show anyone else…..My brother thinks that it's kind of pointless to do such things but I like doing it.

I: How did you learn about these videos? Where did you find out about them?

N: Well..like, from this YouTuber. Basically like it started off like spending so much money we can..um. like try to make something at home that will cost less or nothing much.

I: Can you explain how you made the popcorn machine?

N: Like I punctured a hole through the coke can then I cut it this way (gesturing with hands)…and then it looks like this..(showing), a half, 3/4th of a rectangle and then this part was not cut so I couldn't lift it up and then I could keep the corn in and some oil and then I would keep it on the stove .uh..since its metal, it won't melt aannd, the popcorn would start coming out.

I: Do you plan to try it? N: Yes

I: When?

N: Once I go to the super market.

I: okay….Tell me more about the YouTube videos you watch. The ones you like and the others that you dislike

N: Well the one in which people swear, I cannot watch. My parents…..they don't really give me any

restrictions. I will like automatically know if there is something wrong with it (the videos)…. then I just shut.

I: What would you find wrong? N: Abusing someone

I: hm.hm.

N: and stuff like that

I: Do you watch movies? N: Yes

I: Alone? Or with family? Or friends?

N: With family... Basically the TV is in the lounge, my mom can come whenever she wants and stuff

I: Okay. How old are you exactly? N: Almost 12, like.

I: When do you turn 12? N: April the 7th

I: You are just three days older to Aliyaan

N: Oh really (smiles)

I: Yes, he turns 12 on 9th of April

N: Oh yeah.. and Jibran turns 12 on the 8th. I: Yes.. interesting…. 2005!

N: (Smiles...nods)
I: Okay..so there were a lot of videos that you made about gaming

N: Yes

I: There were a lot of videos where you were sometimes playing alone, sometimes with your brother and sometimes with your friends. How were you introduced to video gaming?

N: Err. My father actually. Like one day he was just like playing games. I was I don't know how old I was but I just entered the room and I find it kind of attracting so I started playing. I: What game

was he playing?

N: Well. This..uh.this gun game. But uh first I started off with uh my father got me Fifa or that uh..uhh (thinks) car….. car games but then I demanded for some uh some gun games so he got me those uh but uh it all started with PC so.

I: How old were you when you started?

N: I don't… uhh..I used to play online games, I think I was 7 and I had this like some Nintendo type of thing in which I used to play and some block game I don't remember. I think I was 3 and then I also had PS3 in which I played the game cars, like the movie Cars. So they made a game about it and played that.

I: Do you play the car games now, the racing games? N: Yes

I: Which ones?

N: Forza Motorsport 3, Forza Horizon 3. I play Fifa 16 as well. I: And which is your favourite

game?

N: Mmmmm...uhh. I think Forza Horizon 3 but even though I've only played the demo, the

graphics and everything; the game play is great.

I: What makes that a bigger favourite than say Advance Warfare or Call of Duty because you were mostly playing Advance Warfare or Call of Duty in the videos

N: Well…because Forza Horizon 3…. it basically has free room. So once we are done with all of the missions , we can just roam around, uh we can go on the mountains and stuff but uh like in Advance Warfare, all you can do is just play online or something; or with your brother, you don't have a free room or anything and the Forza Horizon 3 graphics are even better.

I: When did you buy it?

N: I thinkkk.. (looks at the roof, thinks). I think it was June, this June.

I: But your frequency of playing this over Advance Warfare and Call of Duty is lower. You play more of Advance Warfare and Call of Duty?

N: Now it's stopped because I've completed the whole of campaign and plus...my brother and I are bigger car fans.

I: Has there ever been a game that you really wanted but your parents refuse to buy it or didn't allow you to play?

N: Yes. Forza Horizon 3 because the one we have is demo, it very limited but... I: Limited? What do

you mean by limited?

N: Basically demo is like they sh...it like comes before the release of the game so they show you what the game is going to be about. We… We found this out from the …since brother and I are car fans so we found this out when we downloaded the demo when it came out

I: So why did your parents not allow you to buy this game?

N: Uh. Basically it's all about the grades, they don't want us to be...uh like be drifting towards the games and uh... not studying…. So

I: So is there a particular time only when you are allowed to play video games?

N: Well…no but when I know I have to study, I do study

I: So does your brother? N: Yes

I: So how do you decide that now we will play and now we will not play?

N: So basically when we are sitting around, doing nothing...so my brother calls me. When my brother is done he basically calls and he's like 'I want to play with you' so I'm like 'okay'

I: How many hours in a day do you spend playing video games? N: Two hours

I: And on weekends?

N: Hmmm.it depends. If we have a lot of homework and if we have to go somewhere then usually like 2...if more then more.

I: So you said that you started playing games more because of your father because he used to play games and then you got introduced to video gaming through him. How does your mom feel about gaming?

N: She disapproves…and now my dad also because I feel I've got a lot of.. a lot caught up with

video games. Two hours per day is a lot I feel

I: What does your mother have to say about video games?

N: Well she..she disapproves it and...and since she was born in a time of ...like (smiles) where there was no video games or any type of console…. she can't understand.

I: Okay.so what does she say when you are playing?

N: Well…she doesn't...she doesn't really get the point. She thinks it's like a waste of time. She says….. If you want to play like Fifa on console its better if you go and play outside or maybe read a book about it. Something that will help.

I: What do you say?

N: I just tell her 'acha mama' (ok mom)…then I continue a bit and then when she gives me a second warning, I just get up.

I: Right. After how many warnings do you feel that you cannot stretch further. what would happen if you did not get up?

N: Uhh.. she will get mad at me

I: And?
N: Maybe like ground me or something like that

I: How does she ground you?

N: No video games or no entertainment

I: No entertainment. So entertainment means?

N: Uhh. Like all the electronics but sometimes she may be lenient and says one hour of TV everyday

I: Okay, so all electronics would include your video games, your TV time, your PC time and? N:

and laptop, iPad

I: Laptop, iPad. What do you do on iPad and Laptop?

N: uh well... Not laptop actually because my father has the laptop and he doesn't let me touch it. He has all his business work in it and I also accidently erased all his data, soo...no laptop. I:

Oohhhh... and what happened after that?

N: Well luckily he always emails his work to himself so it was okay. Uhh, but then iPad I usually just play my games on it

I: What kind of games are you playing on your iPad? N: Uhh... car drifting games

I: Is there any game that you don't like playing at all?

N: Yes. Mario

I: Mario... what kind of a game is that?

N: Basically it's about jumping and collecting coins or something like that. I: And what do you

think of that game? What makes you not like it?

N: Well, a) the graphics and b) I think it's pointless and you keep on dying again and again and

again.

I: But how different is that to call of duty where you also keep on dying? N: Yes, but you can lower the difficulty.

I: Where? With Call of Duty? And not die? N: Yes. Well not really…

I: (smiles) I want to understand what's the point behind call of duty which is not there in Mario?

N: Plus Mario is type of an oldie game..I think it's been around since the 90s soo….(implying that he is young and Mario is old)

I: (Nods) any other game that you dislike? N: (Thinks)...No. Sonic. A bit

I: And what's wrong with Sonic?

N: I usually die. I can't get past the levels

I: Okay. Have you played Minecraft? N: Yes

I: And what do you think of that game?

N: Its okaayy... it gets boring after sometime but... (stays silent) I: What makes it boring?

N: Uhh like...you keep on dying by trawlers and stuff but…..and sometimes the building also gets a bit tiring…and the Xbox edition I have downloaded the demo only so once I create a masterpiece and so if I want to quit the game and I play it again so I start fromm... like the basics

I: So what kind of kids do you think play games like Mario? And Sonic and Minecraft? Since you think Mario is an oldie game

N: (Thinks)... People with Nintendos because Nintendos are basically on Mario and Sonic type of games

I: Is Nintendo a popular gaming console?

N: Yes...uhhh... I mean like from the people I know…. out of 5, 2 people have it

I: Do you like Nintendo?

N: I mean like it's okay. The games are...like they don't have a wide range of selection

I: Oh.okay

N: They are limited so that's why

I: And which gaming console do you have? N: Xbox One

I: So I often hear children talk about...or children compare Xbox One with PS4. What made you buy Xbox One and not PS4?

N: I didn't actually buy it. Uhh. My cousin bought it for me... Uhh my cousin asked my father for a suggestion.Uhh, personally I think the Xbox is better than the PS4. Then my father's answer was, we had a PS3 before so he wanted us to try something new.

I: Okay

N: That's what he told us.

I: But you said you personally prefer Xbox over Ps4 and what makes you prefer one over the other?

N: Well...it's...I feel it has a wider range of games. I: Okay

N: Uhhh, it has all of the Forza games. PS4 does not have that and the games that PS4 has, Xbox also has. Uhhh (thinks hard) and the PS4 thumb grips, uh the… the controller, the sticks they wear off.. The rubber wears off….whereas the Xbox ones..don't wear off.… I mean they do wear off but after sometime.

I: How frequently are you buying games?
N: Uhh...once I get good marks I: So it's after every test week? N: No, every exam

I: Once in six months? N: Yes... Two games

I: Two games, once in six months? N: Yes, if we get a good result.

I: And...both, you and your older brother must get a good result? N: Yes

I: But what if the person who's done well really wants the game?

N: Well because then, my brother will feel as if I'm the one who is getting everything so I really don't want that to happen and second of all I have a PC and whatever game I want, I can download that. So I really don't need to buy.

I: I noticed you used the expression 'peace out' in your videos. What does 'peace out' mean? N:

Like basically a 'good bye'

I: Where did you first hear it?

N: Uhh... YouTube. There was this guy, a tech channel called Techrax. He always ended his videos by saying 'peace out'

I: Okay. A while back you mentioned that you don't watch videos that has people swearing…a lot of video games have a lot of swearing, just in the middle of the game… (interrupted)

N: I always...whenever I play call of duty, I know that people swear so I turn off the subtitles and the volume. Uh, I sometimes turn on the volume during the gunfight and stuff but the subtitles are always off so...

I: So there was one video where you were on a website called Akinator. Where did you learn about that from?

N: Again a YouTube video.

I: Okay…so I understand that YouTube helps you learn new phrases like 'peace out', it informs you about websites to visit, it also teaches you DIYs like the popcorn machine. What else have you seen on YouTube?

N: I have seen Youtubers wear tattoos. I: What are they?

N: Basically like ...uh... you know those bubblegums in which you get those stickers like you can put on your arm, basically that's a tattoo…… you can either put a temporary one or permanent one….I saw Doseoffousey wear tattoos…but I've stopped following him

I: Why?

N: Clickbait

I: Sorry?

N: Clickbait

I: What's that?

N: Basically they are telling you the wrong thing. They basically…it's in the title that "he he fell off a motorcycle" but then when you see it..You see him fall off deliberately and then there is a black screen with white, uhh... text here comes clickbait so. Basically they...for how how many views you get you get more money...

I: hmm

N: So for every 100,000 views you get a 100 dollars. The more people click on the video, the more money he gets. This is what people do. And he's been doing this continuous.

I: Hmm (nods). So what was wrong? You said there were lots of wrong things going on. I didn't understand. What was wrong?

N: Well basically if he wants to do YouTube and if he wants to make a living out of it then its fine. But you can't do it the wrong way because this basically... Even I can do that I met Donald Trump and I get like 100, uh 1000 dollars out of it but it's basically harami money.

I: I still don't understand.

N: It's a wrong thing to do. It's basically earning money from... a bad way. From a wrong way. Uh.. basically this thing..clickbaiting is basically something when they write it in the title and once you click it, it's not gonna happen. Eh..nothing happens related to the title so you are regretting clicking on that video while the person is making bucks and...(stops)

I: Okay...so how did you learn about this YouTuber?

N: (Thinks). Roman Atwood because they like went on a tour.

I: Okay. And for how long did you follow this YouTuber before you decided that you wanted to give it up?

N: One week

I: One week. And then you completely gave it up? N: (Nods)

I: And your reason to give it up was?

N: He showed off (number one) and he click baited. One he even said something about Yeezy. Do you know what they are?

I: No, I don't know.

N: It's shoes……. shoes that are made by a celebrity and they cost $1000; he compared it and he said that I got Yeezy for $21.

I: Okay

N: So, it's wrong

I: It's wrong? What makes you think it's wrong?

N: Because uh, basically he is telling us the wrong information in the title and ….then later even if he apologizes for it, he is still getting money on the other side…

I: So you said its *haram* money?

NL Well, not haram money but basically he is earning money off of a wrong thing. I: Okay, how do

you explain the word haram? What does haram mean?

N: Something that is not..like you should not do

I: Examples?

N: Drinking alcohol, having a tattoo

I: Having a tattoo is haram?

Conversation interrupted, Noman's mother walks in, says salaam to the interviewer, exchanges pleasantries and sits down.

N: and gambling

I: Gambling is haram, tattoo is haram, drinking alcohol is haram? How do you know that they are haram?

N: Uh uh because like the Islamiat teacher told me. (Islamiat is a study of Islam; mandatory for all Muslim students in Pakistan)

I: School teacher? N: (Nods)

I: But did you ever ask her what makes her say that these things are haram? N*: Nahi* (No)

I: *Nahin? Kabhi bhe nahi*? (No? Never?)

N: Because if it's written in the Quran, how can I argue with it

I: But did she say that tattoos are haram because it's written in the Quran?

N: No I….when the person (referring to the YouTuber, Doseoffousey) got the tattoo I scrolled down the comments and one guy was a Muslim and he said that tattoos are haram.

I: Okay, so he got a tattoo... Which means he didn't have it in the previous video and then he got it.

N: yeah.umm...mm basically he's like, he has three tattoos. First he like...he got one and then he regretted it for years and then he got another one and the he got another one so...

I: So what was the regret for?

N: Uh because he didn't tell his parents...and when... he was an Arabic, he is an Arabic...so

I: He is an Arab? N: Yes.so uh

I: Is he a Muslim?

N: Yes..but I'm not sure….(thinks) yes his mother wears a Hijab.

I: okay

N: Uh umm…where was I?

I: So he was regretting it because he had not told his parents…

N: Yes and when his parents found out they got angry so he like...so he just started doing tattoo

I: Okay and then he got more tattoos after that? N: Yes because his skin got peeled off

I: So to hide that he got more tattoos? and then his parents were not upset anymore?

N: He told me his reaction; they said that they...I don't know why but his parents like agreed to it for some reason.

I: And then you said that you scrolled down and somebody said that tattoos were haram. Did he comment back on it? Did he respond to that comment?

N: No, because YouTubers usually don't..

I: Ok so, your Islamiat teacher told you that drinking alcohol is haram and tattoos are haram and what else…and what else did she say? (Tries to recall) N: Gambling

I: Gambling...yes, gambling is haram. And you came across tattoos over YouTube. Is there anywhere else where you came across tattoos?

N: Shakes head suggesting a 'No'

I: So what do you think of tattoos that children get from the bubblegum packs. Have you ever tried them?

N: Yes but they never come on..and like they never come on properly

I: You were never able to get the tattoo on your skin? N: I did. But it like half of it came and half of

it didn't. I: How long did it stay there for?

N: Once you had a bath it like it disappeared.

I: And you've never seen anybody in person wearing tattoos? N: I have (recalls, smiles)

I: Where?

N: Uh, my father's friend but he had a temporary one (looks at mother for confirmation) I: Explain

what a temporary tattoo is, please.

N: Not like ..like temporary tattoo..uhh (looks at mother again, smiles). Like like it stays on and then after some time you can peel it off

I: So where do you get that from? Bubble gums? N: No no no….

I: Then?

N: Like tattoo shops

I: Do we have tattoo shops in Karachi? N: No. He got it from abroad.

I: Where did he wear it?

N: Here (Shows the point on his right upper arm) Mother: You never even saw the tattoo Noman?

N: Uh…I know. *Kiun k wo yahan baithay hoay thay* (because he was sitting here) (points in a certain direction)

Mother: Acha (okay) and you saw that? (shows surprise)

N: umm…*matlab…han thora sa*. (I mean, yes, a little bit). He just showed. And he told us *kay wo…baba ko bola tha k Vaseline lagan hota hae ya kuch* (and he told us that….he told father that he has to use Vaseline or something)…something like that

I: What do you think of tattoos?

N: uh…I don't like them because (a) its haram and (b) I don't want my skin to be looking like after maybe I regret it I don't want my skin like all…patch…like…basically I don't want to have them.

I: It's a very interesting word that you've used "haram". Uh… so haram you said is something you should not be doing and (interrupted) N: Not Allowed!

I: Not allowed. By? N: Allah

I: By Allah. And we learn about those things from our Islamiat teacher in school?

N: Yes and also our Moulvi sahab. (Religious teacher who comes home for Quran reading) I: So

Moulvi sahab also talks about them?

N: Yes

I: Has Moulvi sahab ever explained what you can do and what you should not be doing other than tattoos. Has he ever talked about tattoos?

N: No

I: What has he told you that comes under haram and not-so-haram?

N: He told us a story about Prophet uhh…*keh.*(that).uh…a person came to him…I…I don't remember clearly…but a person came to him and said that I can forgive one thing uh…I can forgive uh…any one thing out of the three things; I drink, I gamble and I lie. So he said, he asked him which one should I like stop doing. He told him that lie…suh…stop lying and then he automatically stopped doing that both sins…

I: Stopped gambling and stopped….
N: Yes...yes

I: Stopped what else?

N: uh…drinking.

I: okay. How many times a week are you reading Quran with moulvi sahab?

N: Uh…well…uh…he left in the...uh….winter holidays unexpectedly uh….now my mom was trying to find a new one.

I: Soooo….Moulvi sahab was coming every day? N: Yes

I: Just for Quran?

N: Yes…uh…*nahi* (No)…uh…he also taught us how to…uh… read *namaz.* I: Right. Tell me more

about Moulvi sahab and his instructions.

N: *Jab bhe ham atay thay he told us keh at least yahan tak aap k trousers anay chahiye* (whenever we came, he told us that your trousers must atleast be upto here) (knees)…so we came in like *shalwar kameez*

I: For Namaz or for Quran

N: uh...Quran

I: and what about Namaz?

N: And also Namaz (nods) and yes about shirts, he told us *yahan aankhain nahi honi chahiyen* (there shouldn't be eyes on it).

I: *Aap nay pocha kiun?* (Did you ask him why?) N: *Nahi* (No)

I: Do you know?

N: (Shakes his head).

I: You don't know?

N: (Shakes his head again).

I: Soooo…I am assuming that you don't have a T-shirt with a character on top? Like no Spiderman…?

N: I used to

I: Not anymore?

N: I have grown over it.

I: Now you don't wear those T-shirts? There was a video where I saw…uh….your older brother wearing a T-shirt, it was I think a blue T-shirt….didn't have any characters on it but it had tiny things on it. They had faces

Mother who is sitting tries to remind Noman about a shirt with faces/eyes.

I: Yeah yeah…yeah
Mother: Alien types. And you have Tron Legacy T-shirts. What do you say about that? N: *Us ki u aankhain nahi hain* (smirks) (It doesn't have eyes)

Mother: But it has a mask or something over it. N: *han jee* (yes)

I: Although I should have said this earlier but I want to say it now. There is no right and wrong answer here. The idea is to understand how you see things, make sense of what you can see and hear. I am not judging you. And my work is not just about you…it's about a lot of other children who are your age. And I am talking to them about similar things. So each child has a very different view of the same things.

So when it comes to T-shirts….who's buying them? Let's just first understand that.

N: Well now I have…well…like six months ago or…seven months ago my mom used to buy those for me but now I want to buy myself whatever I fancy. I: What do you fancy?

A: Like basically a plain shirt with maybe something written on it….not much.

I: And what makes that a better choice?

N: It's just my…it's just my natural thing. I basically wear all kinds of style. I have one Tron Legacy.

I: Do you have a favourite T-shirt? N: Yes.

I: Which one is that?

N: Well…it's a yellow T-shirt which has a dude made on it. I: Okay

N: It's just comfortable…that's why.

I: Okay. So about this other T-shirt that your mother just mentioned? Do you not wear that? N: I do.

But it's too long. It's a bit big for me right now

I: So once it starts fitting you, will you wear it?

N: Uh…only on special occasions. It's not like uh…

I: What is so special about that T-shirt for it to be worn only on special occasions?

N: Well because again... (giggles) so…like...I only wear like plain clothes at home but when I go outside I try to look nice. I: We all do

N: Yes

I: So let's assume that you are wearing your Tron Legacy T-shirt and moulvi sahab comes over. Would you be able to go say your Quran in that t-shirt?

N: Well he only taught us about *keh aankhain nahi honi chahiyen* (there should be no eyes)…I don't know if there is any…if there should be a character or anything

I: So you would go wearing it?

N: I would but uhh…if he doesn't allow me then I would change it. I: then you go back change it

N: yes

I: and come in a plainer t-shirt. N: yes

I: and once he is gone, you will go back change back in to that shirt?

N: no…I usually get lazy so I just couldn't be it…it's like…

I: okay. Do you pray regularly?

N: well…only on Friday….*Jummay ki namaz* (Friday prayers)

I: There was a…there was a video once where you said its prayer time but I am hungry.

N: yes (smiles)

I: Which day was that? Was that Friday? N: Yes

I: okay…*jummay ki namaz ghar main…ya..ma…masjid main*? (Friday prayers at home...or at the mosque?)

N: Well…uh….my father had already gone. Uh…I think it was 12:30 when I woke up so my father had already gone

I: How do you dress up when you go fro *Namaz*?

N: I always wear *shalwaar kameez*. Otherwise, I would like…wear something like a plain T-shirt some and like jeans like this, and then I will pray…But I always wear *shalwaar kameez.*

I: I am going to give you Rs. 2000 by the way for helping me with my research. What are you going to do with it?

N: uh…uh…I keep like uh…store it.

I: Do you… store it?…do you get pocket money?

N: uh…my mom has told me to get certain amount everyday but…like every day nahii (Noo)…every week but I forget to take it so…

I: How nice!!

N: I forget (smiles)

I: From who are you supposed to get this money? N: My father

I: And how much would that be?
N: Rs. 200

I: Is that your canteen money? Canteen allowance? N: No..

I: No…that's different? (confirms) N: Yes

I: So this two hundred a week would add up to eight hundred a month? N: Yes

I: And what would you do with it?

N: I would keep it….store it

I: Okay…so uhh….what are you going to do with the Rs. 800 pocket money or the Rs. 2000 that I give you? N: Store it

I: For what? For how long?

N: Anything that…that attracts me

I: Have you ever bought something from the money that you saved? N: (shakes his head)

I: Are you allowed to buy whatever you want? N: yes, with my parents' approval.

I: What is approved and what is disapproved? N: a hoverboard or ------------

I: is approved?

N: is disapproved

I: What do you think makes them disapprove it?

N: They think it's useless because like we should start…because *abhi hum is stage per hain jis per hum already lazy hain. Hum sports or fitness nahi kartay. Aur jab ham chalna bhe ruk jaye gay tu phir* (right now we are at a stage where we are already lazy, we don't play sports and when we stop walking then) we be…we all will be obese and stuff.

I: (Giggles) Thank you so much for giving me your time today. I will come back for another interview. I hope you are not getting tired because of this process of research.

N: No, I am okay

I: Great! Thank you

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