'I once wore an angry bird t-shirt and went to read Qur'an': asymmetrical institutional complexity and emerging consumption practices in Pakistan

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"I once wore an Angry Bird T-shirt and went to read Qur'an": Asymmetrical institutional complexity and emerging consumption practices in Pakistan

Abstract

This paper brings together theories of institutional logics and the exploration of the lives of tweens in Pakistan to understand how emerging consumption practices fit within Pakistani children's daily lives, and how institutional complexity that includes the dominance of Religion under Pakistani Islamisation is negotiated to separate and maintain the differences between them. We identify resolutions to asymmetrical institutional complexity in the consumption of character T-Shirts: temporal-spatial practices; visual practices; symbolic substitution practices; and, single logic practices. We contribute to an understanding of how consumption happens in an Eastern Muslim culture, and how multiple institutional logics shape the consumption practices of children, by articulating how *halal* consumption practices, far from being essentialist, or presented as market segmentation, form from negotiations and reflections at the boundaries where Islam and Market logics meet.

Introduction

How are consumption practices formed in a culture where the routines of life are structured and maintained by multiple institutions that contain asymmetrical complex logics? Although institutional complexity is now recognised as implicated in new consuming behaviours, in Pakistan consumption takes place within an under-researched context that involves both dominant Religious logics and Market logics that result from ongoing globalisation. By understanding how consumption practices come about in such a culture, we may both realise non-Western marketing theory (which remains underrepresented in contemporary debates, see Jafari and Suerdem, 2012), and recognise how dominant and subordinate institutions shape and are shaped by consumer practices. This complexity is absent in existing marketing theory largely because in Western contexts Market logics are assumed to be dominant as a structuring context for

consumption. By considering Pakistan, we highlight that this is not always the case, and therefore sensitise researchers to the need to both consider multiple institutions in the shaping of markets, and the potential for other institutions (Religion in this case) to exert a significant structuring influence.

In Pakistan, children in particular are faced with both rigorous socialisation into religious conformity from continuing 'Islamisation' policies, *and* greater access to Western consumer ideas via global media. The result is that they represent important actors in the formation of new consumer practices and their related identities. We specifically aim to understand: 1. how emerging consumption practices fit within Pakistani Muslim children's daily lives; 2. the specific role of Religion as a dominant institution in the shaping of consumption practice, and therefore; 3. how dominant and subordinate institutional logics are negotiated to keep separate and maintain differences between them. In asking such questions, we are sensitive to the need to avoid presenting Islam as an unified global segment that is in opposition to consumer culture on a transcendental level (Jafari, 2012; Jafari and Sandıkcı, 2015; Jafari and Sandıkcı, 2016), and instead locate it within a specific historical and social context (Pakistan) where both Islam and the Market represent structuring forces on how consumer practices emerge and so markets are formed.

We will do this by considering when, where and how a specific popular consumption practice - wearing character T-shirts - becomes possible. As a result, we provide a theorisation of how new consumption practices emerge within an asymmetrical (dominant and subordinate) institutionally complex context. Whereas adults have established practices with their associated institutional scripts, we recognise that children are forming new practices drawing on the institutional logics they are socialised into without necessarily experiencing a conscious desire to resist or transform either institution. In short, their practices do not symbolise a transcendental, sacred, ideological conflict, or its resolution (for example through *halal* segmentation strategies in the market), but rather the mundane everyday process of figuring out what to do and when (Jafari, 2012).

Our study responds to the on-going, broad call made by Askegaard and Linnet (2011) to account for the structures that make consumption possible, and in particular to calls for research on how consumption happens in Eastern Islamic cultures (Jafari and Suerdem, 2012; Karatas and Sandıkcı, 2013; Moufahin, 2013). By theorising Pakistani Muslim tweens' consumption practices, we also respond to the need to deconstruct the

singular conception of Muslim consumption (Jafari and Sandıkcı, 2015) by providing a specific local account. The originality of our work lies in understanding how these children come to understand and exercise embedded agency as they establish new consumption practices. For Muslim tweens embedded in asymmetrical institutional complexity, the negotiation of, reflection on, and subsequent separation of logics through temporal-spatial, visual, and symbolic substitution solutions enable the consumption of character T-shirts, although efforts to reduce institutional complexity may also result in the rejection of the subordinate logic in favour of the dominant one. In addition, attention to these solutions highlights how one logic can contaminate another, not through the work of an institutional entrepreneur (Thornton et al., 2012), but due to an institutionalised sense of complexity (Smets et al., 2015), where the carriers of subordinate logics transform practices at institutional boundaries as they creatively use times and spaces that have been neglected by dominant logics.

The paper is organised as follows. We first consider the specific research context, Pakistan, then the existing work on Muslim consumer practices, noting the emphasis on adult practices and on more moderate Muslim contexts, in addition to the debates about misrepresentations of Islam in marketing studies (see the dialogue between El-Bassiouny, 2014, 2015 and Jafari and Sandicki, 2015, 2016 in the Journal of Business Research, for example). We highlight the absence of work in countries where Islam plays a dominant role in everyday life (for example, Pakistan under Islamisation). Additionally, we recognise the merit in viewing Muslim consumption practices heterogeneously. We further note the absence of research on how Muslim children develop new consumer practices, noting the potential for consumer socialisation to reproduce both Islamic and Market logics. We then explain how the IL perspective enables an understanding of how new consumer practices emerge before explaining our methodology, followed by findings and discussion. We conclude by theorising Pakistani tween T-shirt consumption as the result of asymmetrical institutional complexity and by noting the transferability of our insights to other situations.

Islamisation and Western market influences in Pakistan
Pakistan has Islam in the foreground and pluralistic undercurrents in the background of its current culture (Yusuf, 2012). Traditional Islamic values: respect for elders; helping those in need; honesty in dealings; living a simple life; seeking education; abstaining from alcohol and gambling; performing the rituals of prayers; fasting during Ramadan,

and; alms-giving, are manifested in Pakistani Muslim lifestyles and structured through ongoing Islamisation policies that started in the late 1970s. These also included women in the media wearing *shalwar kameez* (the local dress) and covering their head, increased religious state controlled TV programs, the incorporation of *Sharia* (Islamic) law in the justice system, shutting down of casinos, mandatory deduction of *zakat* (Islamic charity) from bank accounts, and over-hauling of school text books to include Muslim texts (Qadeer, 2011).

Although Pakistanis have had some access to global consumer goods since the separation from India, this was indirectly suppressed by Islamisation until the restoration of democracy in 1988. Since then, government policies have only slowly resulted in an opening up to global corporate influence. Since 2000, television has grown significantly with audiences able to access international content (Abideen et al., 2011). The local fashion industry and retailing landscape have also grown substantially. Typical middle-class shoppers now frequent upscale malls, with comfortable shopping environments, food courts, cinemas, and other leisure activities. Such exposure to globalisation may produce acculturation to different cultures (Chen et al., 2008), and young Pakistanis in particular may now recognise both traditional religious values and Western consumerist ones.

With these changes, Pakistani marketers have recognised children as an attractive market segment (Kashif et al., 2012). In a society where 'elders decide' based on local traditions, including interpretations of Islam, we might expect there to be little room for targeting children directly. However, marketing programs aimed at children suggest that the young consumers *are*, indeed, finding some degree of freedom to develop autonomous consumption practice.

Tweens in the Eastern, Muslim context are therefore simultaneously socialised by both local Islamic and Market logics, albeit not equally. The market invites expressions of individuality, especially through the enjoyment of Western media and associated material consumption such as toys, clothing and technology, that together form much of young Pakistanis' leisure time in the home and with friends. Islam, however, remains a dominant logic that structures much education and considerable ritual, but also provides opportunity for socialising, and strong resources for identity construction. As Jafari and Suerdem (2012) have also noted, plural logics are not neatly divided in these people's lives. As we shall see, they do not easily separate as sacred and profane, pleasurable and obligatory, or any other binary division. There are,

however, occasions where boundaries of different logics become apparent with the resulting reflection producing complex patterns of practices that make up daily life of Pakistani tweens.

Islam, consumption, and socialisation

Muslim consumer cultures have attracted recent research interest (Jafari and Süerdem, 2012; Karataş and Sandıkcı, 2013; Sandıkcı and Jafari, 2013), but are by no means fully understood. The emphasis in earlier work has been on how Islamic ideas produce specific consumption practices and marketing strategies, for example, the adoption of Islamically 'appropriate' consumption of clothing and movies by a Turkish Muslim community (Karatas and Sandıkcı, 2013), the 'consumer jihad' against global, infidel brands by Turkish Muslims (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012), and the influence of various Islamic discourses on urban and affluent Malay Muslims' identity projects (Wong, 2007). Within the realm of marketing strategy, the *halal living* phenomenon in branding (Wilson et al., 2013), and the significance of Islamic transcendental values in Muslim marketing (El-Bassiouny, 2014) are also highlighted. Although some scholars (Wilson et al., 2013; El-Bassiouny, 2014) claim that there is little effort from marketers to systematically design solutions for Muslim consumers, KFC, Subway and Nando's certified *halal* food offerings and Nike's launch of a hijab for Muslim women athletes (Ahmed, 2017) indicate the ongoing interest in Muslims as targets for Western brands. Since religion has typically been perceived to provide regulations for the consumption of diet, clothing, entertainment and so on (Jafari and Suerdem, 2012; McAlexander et al., 2014), these Western brands have incorporated their understanding of an Islamic logic in their offers. Wong (2007:451) also notes "In Islamic societies, consumer culture is often portrayed as a threat, harmful to Religion as it privileges hedonism, pleasure, individualism and an expressive lifestyle", with the result that Western brands should remain sensitive to Muslim ideals. In research, we are reminded that the institution of Islam maintains its structuring influence for Muslims through weekly meetings (Karatas and Sandikci, 2013), mosque attendance (Maliepaard and Lubbers, 2013; Wilson et al., 2013) and daily prayers (Wilson et al., 2013).

There is a risk here of reducing 'Islam' and 'consumerism' to blunt opposites such as freedom/restriction, profane/sacred, or even West/East (see Sandıkcı, 2011; Jafari, 2012) that become distant from an understanding of the unique experiences of local

actors who go through daily life within both these logics. Jafari and Sandicki (2015; 2016) argue that there is in fact no absence of either Western goods, or a consumer culture in Islamic geographies. In other research then, market meanings are recognised as being weaved into Islamic practices. For example, Turkish female Muslims adopt a Market logic of fashion to transform the practice of veiling (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010), and Iranian Muslim women augment the symbolic value of their hijab (head scarf) with Western branding (Balasescu, 2003). Islamic consumption practices are therefore recognised as an *interaction* between local Market and Islamic institutions, either in tension, or conflict (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010; Jafari and Suerdem, 2012; Wilson et al., 2013), or combined in pursuance of identity goals (Wong, 2007; Karatas and Sandikci, 2013), including the maintenance of Islamic lifestyles (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; Fischer, 2009; Sandikci and Ger, 2010; Ismail, 2013).

In reviewing such literature, we acknowledge the complexity of Muslim consumer culture where both religious and market meanings are open to interpretation so that 'symbolic boundaries' between the Muslim subculture and 'others' are constructed through Muslim consumption practices (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Jafari and Goulding, 2013; Karatas and Sandikci, 2013). In any Muslim culture, what constitutes acceptable (*halal)* and unacceptable (*haram)* consumer practice is dynamic (Jafari and Sandikci, 2015), just as it is for all consumers elsewhere. From Sandıkcı and Ger's (2010) fashionable veils to Izberk-Bilgin's (2012) conceptualization of 'jihadi consumers', and Karatas and Sandıkcı's (2013) appropriate clothing style and movies, legitimacy of consumption practices is contextual. Again, understandably, scholars have therefore argued against the tendency to view Muslim consumers as a homogenous market segment (Jafari and Sandikci, 2015, 2016), recognising the need for more specific contextualised empirical work.

The deficit of studies of consumption in Muslim contexts also extends to an understanding of children and their consumer socialisation, even though they may best represent how new consumer practices are developed. Children learn to become consumers (Ward, 1974) and, as Moschis and Churchill (1978) explain, children model consumer behaviour through their daily interactions with other actors. This means that that socialisation depends on the narratives circulating in the environment and reinforced by socialising agents that represent different meaning making systems (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Shim et al. (2011:297) also note that "consumer socialisation… begin[s] to form when an individual is still a child".

Consumer socialisation theory has adopted a range of approaches including the developmental role of socialising agents (Mangleburg and Bristol, 1998; Kapur, 2005; McNeal, 2007; Pugh, 2009; Wisenblit et al., 2013; Basu and Sondhi, 2014), pester power (Lawlor and Prothero, 2011), demographic factors such as family size (Ekström et. al., 1987; Basu and Sondhi, 2014), family type (Ekström et al., 1987), number of siblings (Kerrane and Hogg, 2013; Basu and Sondhi, 2014), and family income (Wisenblit et al., 2013; Basu and Sondhi, 2014). Hence, family has been the focus of many socialisation studies; however, the ways in which family itself is an outcome of other structuring institutions in which consumption takes place is often noted only implicitly so that the institutional complexity that embeds both socialising agents and young consumers has been undertheorised.

The existing consumer socialisation literature does however acknowledge the role socialising agents have in representing Market logics to children (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003; Buckingham, 2011; Wisenblit et al., 2013). Peers, in particular, are recognised as an important resource for consumer socialisation (Valenburg, 2001; Kerrane and Hogg, 2013). Moreover, Valenburg (2001) asserts that peer influence may be capable of filtering out the effect of other socialising forces.

Key among those other socialising forces is the media. Children are exposed to television, computers, mobile phones and videogames, and their consumption of media content (Wisenblit et al., 2013) further socialises them into the logic of the Market. Although Muslim teens "do not find Religious duties confining" and may therefore forgo TV for Religious practices (Karim, 2012:92), Western global media is believed to be hybridising the youth culture in Asian countries such as Malaysia and Pakistan (Datoo, 2010; Karim, 2012). Indeed, the growth of global media in the Asian countries is believed to be the most rapid in the world (Kim, 2008). Both local and international TV content has grown phenomenally in Pakistan (Abideen et al., 2011), changing consumer lifestyles, as international trends penetrate the country (Shaikh, 2017). The media's socialising effects has also led to the popularity of global brands and fuelled the growth of modern markets in Eastern urban centres. For example, according to Euromonitor International, Pakistan is currently the world's fastest-growing retail market (Sameer, 2017).

Finally, socialisation studies note that tweenage or preadolescence brings a shift in the consumption behaviour as children become more independent (McNeal, 2007), and able to negotiate more sophisticly with parents (Buijzen and Valkenburg, 2003). This

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 influence strategies (Kerrane et al., 2012), and the ability to view advertisements sceptically (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 more informed purchase decisions.

Pakistani tweens are therefore living at a time where they are subject to both strong Religious injunctions, and new exposures to Western consumer goods. They are at an age where they begin to understand and so reproduce the logics that embed them and hence use their embedded agency to construct new practices. While Pakistan is very different from the West, it is also quite different from the context of other Islamic marketing research and yet there are almost no studies of consumer practices in Pakistani in major international journals despite the fact that it has the 2nd highest population of Muslims in the world, over 200 million people (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017) and 69 million children under 14 (Country Meters, 2017).

Institutional logics and emerging consumption practices

For Thornton et al. (2012) the mechanisms that connect structures to actors are located within the domain of socialisation, with socialisation agents as carriers of broader societal ways of knowing and doing. Thornton et al. (2012) further recognise Religion and Market as two important institutional orders that make up a society. Religion is explained by Thornton et al (2012:44) as "an explanation for the origin of the world and in converting all issues into expressions of absolute moral principles on the basis of faith". However, they further assert that Islam remains in conflict with capitalist economic systems that are represented by Market logics, seemingly reproducing the essentialising and exceptionalist discourse that Jafari and Sandicki (2015, 2016) powerfully critique as a orientalist view of Islam. In organizational studies (OS), then, the Market represents commercialisation and profit maximisation whereby share price legitimizes Market practices, and Islam remains opposed to this (see for example, Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton et al., 2005, 2012; Berman, 2011).

Although this understanding of the Market is also present in consumer studies (see for example, Humphrey, 2010; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli, 2015), Mele et al. (2015) assert that the Market can also be understood

as entities, representation, performing and sense-making. Similarly, Fligstein and Dauter (2007:857) define Markets as "networks, institutions or performances", proposing that the Market represents the specific social settings, retail and leisure spaces for example, where societal actors interact to affect each other's behaviour. In our study then, Market logics represent the enacted consumer culture related to local commercial relationships, manifested through the consumption of brands, advertising and fashion in Pakistan, and not merely a universal drive for profit maximisation, just as we accept the localness of Islamic institutions in Pakistan as practices of payer, education, and family life.

Despite this suggestion of universalised logics, the IL perspective actually offers an approach to analysing the micro-foundations of institutions, institutional heterogeneity and change. Thornton and Ocasio (1999:51) describe the IL 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, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their daily activity". Symbolic aspects of institutional orders become observable actions through their material manifestations (Friedland, 2009). In other words, institutional orders form a frame of reference that precondition actors to understand sources of legitimacy, while decisions, choices and behaviour are constrained by the institutional orders.

Thornton et al. (2012) emphasise the prevalence of contradictory institutional orders in modern societies such that multiple institutional orders compete and complement each other over time to gain actors' attention. The resulting institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2010) motivates actors to exercise 'embedded agency' to reduce the demands of complexity by transforming ILs or creating new institutions. Being dissatisfied with existing institutions, being disadvantaged under the established institutional arrangements, or being conflicted by opposing demands to act in certain ways, motivates actors to take up institutional entrepreneurship, the success of which depends on their ability to mobilise key stakeholders to bring about an institutional change.

Within organization studies, institutional complexity scholarship has focused on theorising the conflicting demands of institutions and leading to such institutional entrepreneurship. However, more recent scholarship has also theorised the co-existence of opposing logics (Mair et al., 2015; Smets et al., 2015; Bertels and Lawrence, 2016) whereby no change in institutional order is attempted and instead opposing logics both

provide resources to legitimise practices (Mair et al., 2015; Smets et al., 2015). Hence, there are currently two views of institutional complexity: the first that sees institutional pluralism as a breeding ground for institutional entrepreneurship arising from tensions between logics (Thornton et al., 2012), and the second that sees complexity as an institutionalised phenomenon whereby actors work to maintain separate institutions (Smets et al., 2015). We can therefore see how complex institutional environments can lead to new practices without the need to evoke ideological struggle, or transcendental belief, but rather through the everyday practices that occur within multiple logics.

An institutional system is thus also never total or complete (just as Jafari, 2012 notes for Islam itself). Rather institutions influence and are influenced by action. Whether the subscription of one institutional order is partially or completely replaced by the other, or new methods of subscribing to the logics of multiple institutional orders are designed, institutions and their behavioural scripts develop and change as a result of interplay of material and symbolic elements (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). For example, the fashionable veiling (material practice) of Turkish women (Sandikci and Ger, 2010) combined the local Market logic of fashion and Islamic logic of covering the body, to offer a new symbolic meaning to the practice of veiling without an attempt to replace the historical Islamic practice of veiling with modern fashionable clothing practices.

Although the IL perspective originates from organisational studies, consumer researchers have recently suggested it as a way to account for the contexts in which consumption practices emerge or change. For example, Askegaard and Linnet (2011) believe that although consumer culture theory has brought a sociocultural context to consumer research, there remains a need to account for the institutions forming a field around a socially embedded consumer. Specifically we see IL in: Giesler's (2008) study of the music industry where multiple logics are resolved through drama; Humphrey's (2010) explanation of how the Business and Wealth logic were used by managers to legitimise casino gambling; Scaraboto and Fischer's (2013) explanation of how Market and Art logics transform the field of fashion, and Ertimur and Coskuner-Balli's (2015) study of the US yoga market study where plural market logics (spiritualism, fitness and commercial) impact brand strategies. Together these studies theorise the influence of institutions and their logics either in combination, or in antagonism, whereby the actors embedded in such institutional complexity respond to bring about a change. Again, elsewhere, however, Smets et al. (2015) study of Lloyds insurance suggests the

possibility of multiple logics being kept as separate but simultaneous, although this has not been elaborated in consumer research.

The institutional complexity within Muslim consumption context results from the local Market and Islamic institutions. As gaining legitimacy of action under one institution is typically at the risk of losing legitimacy under the other (Smets et al., 2015), this study shows how the asymmetry of these two logics results in specific Pakistani tween consumption practices.

Research aims

Although insightful, most Muslim consumption studies are from 'moderate' Islamic countries, such as Turkey and Malaysia where complex identity struggles may be easy to identify and resolve by reflexive adult consumers. Pakistan, with its previous project of Islamisation, that has embedded religious practice more fully in everyday life, represents a quite different context in which Islam's influence on daily practices is potentially stronger, and Western consumption practices less accepted as normal. This provides an opportunity to theorise consumption when Market logics are subordinate to dominant Religious ones.

In considering the socialized children in Pakistan we bring to fore how consumption practices may emerge in an asymmetrically complex institutional context. We specifically aim to understand: 1. how emerging consumption practices fit within Pakistani Muslim children's daily lives; 2. the specific role of Religion as a dominant institution in the shaping of consumption practice, and therefore; 3. how dominant and subordinate institutional logics are negotiated to keep separate and maintain differences between them.

Methods

The emerging consumption practices of Pakistani Muslim Tweens allow us to understand asymmetrical institutional complexity. Although studying children is difficult, previous studies *have* successfully used young informants (Lawlor and Prothero, 2011; Keranne et al., 2012; Kerrane and Hogg, 2013; Watne et al., 2014).

Between January and August 2017, twelve tweens aged 8 to 12, from urban, upper middle-income and dual income households in Karachi, Pakistan were recruited by the lead author, a native Pakistani and Muslim mother of two tween boys. All

participants lived with religiously active extended families, and had one or more siblings. Typical in such families, participants were pursuing religious education via a *madarssa* or a private tutor, and were enrolled in a private English medium school. They were also exposed to local and international media content through the family TV and their own smartphones, tablets, videogame consoles and computers, and had travelled abroad for vacations. Whilst insider knowledge of the culture, as well as of tween interests and their language aided interviews, the interviewer consciously bracketed her pre-understandings, e.g., when participants spoke about *haram,* they were asked to explain what it means to them. Co-authors represent two other separate cultural backgrounds (one Western, and the other Eastern European) with the result that through discussion, assumptions about both Market and Islam could be foregrounded and discussed to ensure the local understanding of participants was favoured.

Data generation included two phases: participant generated videographies (Belk, 2013), followed by extended phenomenological interviews (Thompson et al., 1989; Stern et al., 1998), whereby participants shared their lived experiences of various daily practices. Together this generated 66 hours of data with an average of 5.5 hours per participant. The interviews were treated as a form of social interaction in which the respondent and researcher together shaped an understanding of tweens' daily practices. Consequently, the analysis of transcripts focused on meanings generated through discussion.

[Insert table 1 here]

Carrying out research with tweens in a society that is unfamiliar with such activity required a methodology that would be both easy for participants and useful in achieving research objectives. As direct participant observation such as ethnography was difficult in secretive Pakistani households, videography was deployed. This allowed participants to capture important aspects of their daily lives in their own way and in their own time, while the researcher stayed physically outside of their daily routines and private domains but was able to observe them. The self-directed video making exercise was reported as 'fun' and 'engaging' by participants, empowering tweens by giving them a voice that they were in control of. Participants were loaned a digital camera for between 1 and 2 weeks and asked to record anything that was interesting to them. Both participants and parents were briefed in the use of the technology, also ensuring

informed consent, including discussions about where recordings might not be made (for example, in school or places of religious worship). The quality of videographies produced varied greatly, with lots of performance for the camera, but all included images of things, people and places that were important to the children (especially their bedrooms, important possessions, sporting activity, and time spent with friends), and captured routines of daily life, including where recording was stopped with explanations that this was because of religious activity, study, formal meals, or other activities that could not be filmed.

The videographies generated ethnographic observations but also provided material that the participants could talk about in subsequent interviews. Videographies were viewed with the participants and used as essential prompts to further elicit stories from them, allowing the researcher and participant to quickly build trust and rapport. Participants were asked to explain what was happening in each scene but also what was absent, or what happened before and after the video was recorded. This made it easy for participants to talk about their lived experience and to illustrate with images in the absence of an ability to express recalled behaviours in detail. Interviews progressed in a conversational style including invitations to tell stories about both consumption and religious practices. The mothers of tween participants often joined the interview discussion to support their children in articulating their responses, occasionally correcting their response. In other cases, mothers sat through the interviews off and on, as silent observers. Such measures were understood to be taken by participating tweens' mothers to ensure the protection of private information. In our analysis, we were cautious about parental interventions however, disregarding narratives that were felt to be produced by parents rather than the participants themselves. Data was treated with sensitivity whereby anonymity was maintained through the removal of identifying information (real names, school, location, or other people named).

The tween participants' stories were then analysed to draw out institutional influences and the strategies used to deal with institutional complexity. Analysis started by capturing specific practices: meals, play, study, and prayer, for example. During the analysis, routine activities emerged that highlighted the spatial, temporal and visual separation of the Market and Islamic meanings or logics of consumption. We then noted the stories associated with these shifts, for example preparation for school, for worship, for play, and leisure activity. It was at the intersections or boundaries of different practices that we recognised how differences between IL came to be understood and

resolved, and we then focused on these moments. In particular, we recognised that character T-shirts represented a specific consumption practice that both captured the IL of the Market, and that produced different temporal, spatial and visual solutions when colliding with Islamic practices. Interview excerpts belonging to different consumption practices or themes were then cross-analysed with videographies and video recordings of the interviews to include any necessary non-verbal details such as expressions of pride in consumption objects, or religious understandings, and delight at wearing specific clothes.

Since the research involved a vulnerable age group, ethical approval was obtained from a UK University including specific consideration about children's ability to give informed consent, their ability to understand the meaning of their involvement, the right to refuse or withdraw participation, and protection of their privacy (Skånfors, 2009). To address these concerns, we followed Backe-Hansen (2002), Alderson (2004) and Skånfors (2009)'s guidance to seek additional consent from gatekeepers (parents), and to allow children to withdraw or refuse participation even if their parents agree, including when they show non-verbal indications of withdrawal such as boredom or anxiety. Participants and their parents reserved the right to review findings and withdraw any contribution.

What Pakistani tweens wear

Participants recorded and discussed a wide range of daily activities that included the consumption of consumer goods (T-Shirts, videogames, music, food and treats, toys, technology, and tattoos in particular), and also noted practices that specifically excluded such things, in particular religious education, training, and worship. One consumption practice that was consistently captured across participants' videographies and stories was clothing, including T-shirts with character images from Western television, movie or videogames printed on them. This emerged as practice that was informed by both Market and Islamic logics, as it was ascribed with different meanings under the two institutional orders, in different times and places. Under the Market logic, character T-shirts were associated with Western culture and understood as popular and desirable. Together with other Western-style clothing such as jeans, T-shirts also represented individual identity work (looking cool, or stylish) recognised by the children themselves and by their peers, and even by parents. The consumption of these items was

encouraged by the Market as character T-shirts were instruments for showing association and 'love' for famous characters and/or global consumption trends, but discouraged by the Islamic logic as it was seen as a challenge to the ultimate creator, Allah and/or against the local interpretation of the Islamic logic of modesty. Under the Islamic logic, they were denounced as interfering with religious practices by religious tutors, parents and extended family members. Significantly the *visibility* of these consumption items which is both their purpose under Market logics (as identity markers) and the source of objection under Religious logics (where such display is prohibited) prompted exchanges between children and socialising agents that resulted in new practices. This means that time, space and visibility are important in understanding how the differences between logics is experienced by our participants at the boundary of practices governed by one or the other logic.

Aasia explains how important wearing the 'right' clothes is:

At my religious school I am taught to dress decently in front of other people, who are your mehrams [close relative] *and your non-mehrams* [actually those who may be eligible to marry, but used for anyone outside the family] *Non-mehrams 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 non-mahram when they grow up and you are also grown up. You have to start dressing up more decently, nothing can go above your ankles... 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! You can wear whatever at your home, when there is family, your family is your mehram, but when you are going out you need to make sure you cover yourself properly…. I normally wear shalwaar kameez* [traditional Pakistani outfit] *when I go out; otherwise, I normally wear what I am wearing right now* [jeans and top].

Here the temporal concern is not just time of day (school time, versus socialising after school), but time of life too, as Aasia notes the potential change in status for cousins and related implication for dress as they become adults, but for now this she notes that Islamic rules may not yet apply, allowing reflection on different clothing styles.

Although in the West many will be familiar with the existence of dress codes for female Muslims, rules apply to boys too. As Basil explains:

> *... 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....*

Elsewhere participants again note that these rules become more significant as a child gets older and our tween participants are only just becoming aware of such issues. Yet, for the time being, our participants also spoke proudly about their Western clothes. Aasia again explains:

> *Once I wore shoes from Turkey and pants from America, shirt from London and jewelry 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... 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 this.... 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....*

Stories about what is worn and where, therefore illuminate different ILs (obeying Islamic rules, but also wearing something you 'like') with often quick movements between these logics. They also reveal the approaches adopted by tweens to deal with the differences that become visible at the boundary of different ILs, with two broad strategies adopted. Tweens may exclusively privilege one IL over the other, or they may deploy mechanisms to resolve expectations of the Market and of Islam and so navigate ways through the institutional complexity they experience by finding room to incorporate the subordinate logic such that the dominant logic remains unchallenged. Participants consistently presented their solutions as ways to avoid any breach of Islamic logics within daily practices.

Temporal-spatial practices

For Pakistani Muslim tweens, the *situationism* of ILs means that time and space become rhetorical devices such that they are split into the binary of Market and Islamic time and space, enabling them to recognise which logics may, or must not apply. Pakistani Muslim tweens move through time and space colonised by either Market or Islam, but not at the same level of intensity. Religious occasions (reading Quran and offering namaz [prayers]) were understood as times to *strictly* follow the local religious discourse as we have also seen above, while non-religious occasions (spending time with friends, going out, relaxing at home, or with parents) were understood as times that are *available* to follow Market logics, for example the consumer discourse that translates into choice and personal liking. Where a child inadvertently carries a Market logic into Islamic time, or space, however, there is an immediate sanction by socialising agents and subsequent reflection, leading to change in behaviour. Noman tells us:

> *"I once wore an Angry Bird T-shirt and went to read Quran with my moulvi sb* [Quran tutor]…*he sent me back and asked me to change my shirt…he told me that there should be no eyes on my T-shirt……now I don't wear them while reading Quran and offering my prayers…..I usually pray on Fridays only….in my shalwar kameez"*

Although Noman complies with the request, he does not give up wearing his favourite character T-shirt, but rather wears it only *when* in what he understands to be non-religious times and spaces. This further reveals how the religious logics operate. Dominance over Market logics are spatially and temporally defined by strict rules that are used to demand certain clothes. However, it is also the very strictness, consistency, and clarity of expression of the rules by their carriers (in this case a tutor) that allows them to be restricted in time and space, so that the prohibition of character T-shirts only applies whilst undertaking specific religious practices.

Spatial resolutions emerged as a popular strategy among tweens. Mosques and Madrassas are understood as strictly religious spaces while other spaces (home, cinema) are available to follow the Market logic. Whereas the Islamic logic demands obedience, the Market logic presents itself as a choice. For example, Ali explains:

> *".....my Madrassa* [religious school] *people say that those shirts are not allowed… I was told off twice…nobody wears cartoon T-shirts to the Madrassa…But I love wearing my Ben 10 and Spiderman T-shirts!!…"I either wear shalwar* kameez *or a plain T shirt when I go to the mosque or the madrassa…I don't like wearing shalwar kameez or pants…..but I have to wear them…..I change immediately into my other T-shirts* [referring to cartoon T-shirts] *when I am back home!"*

Ali notes a Market logic in expressions of what he 'loves', i.e., the substitution of personal taste for religious obligation, and so also the shift to a Market logic. He directly contrasts this with the commands that again come from religious teachers, but this is not expressed as resentment for the demands of Islamic dress, and so T-shirts are not presented to us as a form or resistance or liberation, but rather the opportunity to express enjoyment through Market logics. In this sense, we therefore see children working out how to deal with institutional complexity. In another case, a mechanism of reward coaxed a tween to stop wearing character T-shirts. Abid tells us:

> *"My moulana sb* [Quran tutor] *mostly gives me points, like you know it makes it really fun to read because he gives me points about it because if I do something good or read good, he gives me like 10 or 20 points. If I make the score to 100 points in a day then uhh then he mostly like..like gives me something good like a toffee or something…. Maulana Saab never really, like he never scolded me for wearing something that had eyes but he deducts points if I have some like inappropriate thing on my shirt..."*

From these stories, we can recognise the 'tone' of IL. Religion 'demands' and 'rewards', but the market 'seduces'. The logics have a character about them that suggests orientation towards specific emotions and cognitions in practices that are produced. We can also differentiate consumption from Market logics. It may be easy to confuse the offering of a toffee as a substitute consumer item - a Market logic combined with an Islamic practice - but it's not the things themselves that define them as part of a Market or Islamic logic, but rather the situation in which they are used. It's not the wearing of a character T-shirt itself that produces reaction from the carriers of Islamic logics, but rather what the specific meaning of a character T-shirt comes to represent in

a particular situation. However, it was also apparent that solutions depended on an ongoing ability to separate Islamic and Market spaces and so separate out the opportunities or restrictions of each, as understood by the actors themselves. Rather than consciously working to combine, or resist the logics of each institution, participants work to maintain their separation. Boundaries therefore result in reflection that is important in anchoring new practices in children's mind. Islamic teachers are prompted to consider acceptable dress as children appear in Western clothes, and children are prompted to reflect on both the religious practice and their feelings towards their character T-shirts or fashionable Western outfits.

Visual practices

In other cases, tweens expressed how the Islamic logic extends its dominion over practice via the gaze of God (*Allah*) resulting in reflections that introduced alternative ways of separating Market and Islam. For the participants, the idea of what they wear being seen by God is very real and, indeed, needs to be in order for them to work to circumvent it. This also represents a more sophisticated internalisation of the separate logics resulting in further reflection on ways to enjoy Market logics and the invention of new practices that are understood as *halal*. Character T-shirt are inverted, or covered such that the gaze of the 'eyes' of the printed characters, is blocked and so negated as a barrier to Islamic practice. Asma explains:

> *"If there is a Mickey Mouse made on my T-shirt and his eyes are open, then I can't pray. I am standing in front of Allah when I pray and He will not give me more sawaab* [reward]*….when I wear such a T-shirt then I invert it* [wear it inside out] *in order to fade the print and then pray. Once my namaz* [prayer] *is over then I wear it the right way"*

And Sara explains the similar but alternative practices of covering up with a scarf or another T-shirt:

> *"When I woke up in the morning, I had to say my Fajr prayers….My shirt has to be like full sleeves…and not like half-sleeve and it cannot have faces on it….once I was, uh had a cartoon here, it had, I think a Dora* [Dora the Explorer,

*an American cartoon character] or something on my shirt and she [mother] told
me to change it and I asked why and she told me this. On some shirts there are
some eyes drawn, moustaches and stuff, but when I wear those, I wear the long
scarf; it just covers the shirt. If it is the short scarf, I just put another shirt on top
of it and then pray"*

For a Western reader these tactics may seem humorous or mischievous, but this is not
the sentiment expressed. These practices are considered a serious part of both
complying with the literal instructions understood from the socialising agents of Islam,
and maintaining access to an identity of a choosing as an expressive consumer, as
propagated by the socialising agents of the Market via the global media represented on
character T-shirts.

However, we might recognise that the very Islamic practices that are so
apparently dominant are themselves 'contaminated' by Market logics here. For these
tweens, the practice of praying now starts with the removal, inversion, or covering of a
character T-shirt, and then ends with the re-establishment of a subject embedded in a
Market logic. Again, it would also be inaccurate to see this as a resistance to Islam. The
workarounds described above must not be understood as ways to avoid, ignore or dilute
the Islamic logics that govern the daily lives of Muslims. We note that, while adopting
Market practices was desirable, being a good Muslim was of primary importance for
participants. Muslim tweens therefore find different ways to *halalize* their consumption
practices adopted from the Market.

Symbolic substitution practices

For some participants, such visual solutions are insufficient to maintain the separation
of the Market and Islam as tweens reflect on ownership of character T-shirts and what
they mean under Islam. Yet, they may still not be prepared to give up the identity
afforded by T-shirts that connect them with the global media artefacts that they enjoy
and that allow an expression of Market-based identity. Bilal explains:

*"My mother always told me that if I wear T-shirts with eyes on them, then Allah
will not accept my prayers. We don't have any photographs displayed in the
house….we keep them in albums or phones….my mother says if we display*

pictures then farishtay [angels] *will not come to our house………I still like Captain America merchandise though…..so I would buy a shirt with the shield and not the character […]I bought my Transformers T-shirt from Malaysia and I was the one who wanted to get it, then my mom was also fine with it. She was like 'okay it doesn't show the face, even I can't see it properly so fine and it also looks good.' So I got it. It was like black and gray and very dark so like you couldn't even make out what was over there. I wore it like a lot..like I wore it almost 4 or 3 times in a week until it was small for me...my parents have said you shouldn't wear big faces and everything and it will affect like your praying and everything"*

The solution here is again to interpret Islamic logics literally though, using the very precision of the logic to find a 'loophole' rather than to actively resist or deny it. Characters are unacceptable, but symbols that *represent* a character are not specifically banned by religious practice in Pakistan. Symbolic substitution therefore earned the participant simultaneous legitimacy under the Market and the Islamic institutions, but maintained them as separate.

Single logic practices

Finally, we note that the work to maintain both logics in different times and spaces can produce a burden on Muslim Tweens that prompts further reflection. The result is the possibility to avoid institutional complexity through the use of just one logic to legitimise practices. When only one institutional logic influenced the choice of wearing character T-shirts, it was Islam. Prior to rejection, though, Muslim tweens may explore other resolutions, but ultimately reject them. For example, having revealed a range of clothes preferences in the videography, Osman confessed:

"When my [Quran] *teacher came, he said: 'What is this? What are you wearing? Shorts and cartoon T-shirt!'…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"*

Osman's account at first recognises the limited authority of the Islamic logic (the prohibition on the use of human icons) as it is only in the presence of a religious teacher that character T-shirts are made visible to the Islamic logic, and then removed following instruction by the agent that carries it. However, over time Osman experiences a discomfort in repeated changes, i.e., in the necessary work of responding to an institutionalised sense of institutional complexity. His solution is to give up character T-shirts. We might recognise that being 'uncomfortable and a hassle' represent more than just expressions of mood, physical state or complexity of tasks. Osman comes to recognise that his teacher's instructions represent a specific religious demand, i.e., that to be a good Muslim, he must not wear such items. Under the gaze of friends or family, and outside the spatially, temporally and visually defined logics of the religious institution, there is no discomfort in wearing character T-shirts, but knowledge of this inevitability results in the rejection of the Market practice. Osman's 'happiness' in rejecting T-Shirts comes from reconciling his behaviour and his understanding of his teacher's representation of Islamic logics.

Halal consumption and asymmetrical institutional complexity

As the tweens in our study undertake daily activities they encounter times and spaces that are under the influence of different logics (Islam and the Market in our focus) recognizing the boundaries between them through the socialising carriers of these logics (friends, parents, or religious teachers) and their own reflections. Operating within what to them is a normalised sense of these different demands, or what Smets et al. (2015) refer to as an institutionalised sense of institutional complexity, they wear character T-shirts based on developing temporal-spatial, visual, symbolic, or single logic practices that maintain Islam and Market logics as separate. As they do this, they develop new forms of *halal* consumption that recognise the asymmetry of the legitimating power of Islam and the Market where Islam dominates, but where tweens may still contaminate Islamic practices with Market logics. This does not reduce Muslim consumption to simple *halal/haram* classifications, as Jafari (2012) notes is the case in many previous studies, but rather recognisess how *halal* is an idea taken from the institution of Religion and used by the participants themselves to establish a comfortable clothing

practice under the influences of institutional complexity. Participants themselves construct *halal* practices.

None of the tween participants expressed struggle or frustration in coping with the competing demands of the Market and the Islamic logic. Although children expressed an understanding of Western consumer sentiments – for example a desire to express themselves through the media characters that they enjoy – this was accepted as only possible when they were first good Muslims. The institution of Religion was naturally understood to be dominant in shaping consumption practice. There was no attempt made by tweens to drift away from, challenge, or reconfigure a Muslim lifestyle, and indeed where one logic was adopted, it was the Market that was rejected. Again, however, as Jafari (2012) notes, this is not a rejection of consuming practices, or even desirable Western style clothes. Rather, there was manoeuvring to incorporate the Market logic in domains where Islamic logic did not have a clear or strict jurisdictional control. Figure 1 illustrates the approaches taken.

[Insert figure 1 here]

We can contrast the emergence of these practices with previous studies of Muslim consumption, and those that highlight the outcomes of institutional conflicts and entrepreneurship. Previous research has noted consumption practices emerging from struggles for legitimacy and conflict or resistance (Wong 2007; Giesler, 2008; Jafari and Suerdem, 2012; Karatas and Sandikci, 2013; Wilson et al., 2013). Here however, we notice an absence of expressions of struggle. Unlike observations of how logics may be used in the maintenance of Islamic lifestyles (Navaro-Yashin, 2002; Fischer, 2009; Sandikci and Ger, 2010; Ismail, 2013), our tweens experience daily life dominated by Islamic logics that they largely accept. Yet, despite this, the jurisdiction of Islam is incomplete as the socialising agents (parents, teachers and religious tutors) carrying it may narrowly limit its domain to their own practices (at schools, Mosques, or tutorials) and interpretation of Islam, allowing times, spaces, visual solutions, and symbolic substitutions to be available for Market logics to take hold. However, tweens do not combine logics as they form these practice, for example as has previously been reported in the Turkish practice of veiling (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010), the Iranian branded hijabs (head scarf) (Balasescu, 2003), or Scaraboto and Fischer's (2013) plus sized women fashion. Given the asymmetry between the legitimising power of Market and Islam, we

might also recognise that this means there is limited scope for transformation of meanings, unlike those reported by Humphrey (2010) in the legitimisation of casino gambling through a Market logics, for example. Rather more like Smet et al.'s (2015) study of Lloyds banking, Pakistani tweens work to keep logics separate, recognising them as such, and compromising Market logics where necessary to ensure consumption practices remain *halal*.

There are therefore differences between adult identity projects that emerge from institutional complexity and reflect adults' ability to enter into struggle or combine logics, and children's socialisation and acceptance of a dominant logic, but creative solutions incorporate a subordinate logic that is also part of their socialisation and of which they become carriers. Tweens are forced to reflect on these logics that structure their daily lives at their boundaries, and then must decide to modify behaviour if appropriate. This means reconciling something that they perceive as contradictory. However, the religious domination of everyday life in Pakistan is evident in the discursive task of assigning meaning to character T-shirts.

As these tweens primary concern is to 'be a good Muslim', in at least some cases, a solution to the tensions experienced is to abandon Market logics when deciding what to wear. Having learnt the importance of clothes as visible carriers of Islamic logics, participants may reject the apparent pleasures afforded by Market invitations to express identity through popular media characters. Yet, our participants report satisfaction from this single logic solution that favours their Islamic practices. Elsewhere, their solution is to avoid those T-shirts that have faces, especially eyes, in favour of symbolic substitutions such as logos, or artefacts that represent a liked character but subtract from the practice those aspects that conflict with Islamic logics. This does not mean that character printed T-shirts with faces and eyes are not worn by Muslim tweens. Rather, other boundary practices may be developed; mechanisms to move between different logics as participants move between the times, spaces and gazes governed by each whilst maintaining their separation. The approaches we noted were either spatial-temporal (changing clothes between times and spaces governed by different logics) or visual (covering/uncovering or inverting clothes as tweens move from one institution to another so that they conform to appropriate logics).

A further implication of this is that it is problematic to think of one Muslim consumer segment, even in these participants (Jafari and Sandikci, 2015, 2016), and so

also any conceptualisation of Islamic Marketing based on a universalistic sense of Islamic principles (El-Bassiouny, 2014).

However, even as boundary practices aim to maintain separation between Islam and the Market, religious practice *is* subtly transformed. This is an important observation because it demonstrates the value of considering non-Western consumption practice. Our examination of 'Islamic consumption' doesn't merely describe the routines of consumption practice in a new content, but reveals how institutions interact through the embedded agency of the actors that negotiate them. At the start and end of payer, or religious study there may be conscious clothing acts that become incorporated in practices along with the necessary reflection on the institutions involved. Agencies are directed not to one specific logic, but to reducing institutional complexity by creating new practice through the act of reflection, i.e., simply thinking about the need to change, or cover up a T-shirt that now accompanies prayer. In doing so, there is also a contamination. Pakistani tween may now think in terms of Market logics - a desire for self-expression, for personal taste, and for the display of identity symbols - immediately before and after undertaking Islamic prayers. The specific metaphorical understanding of logics is also revealed. For example, Islamic logics are carried through the imagined gaze of God, but the tweens then consider that hiding a T-shirt from the gaze also defeats the logic. Teachers, parents and religious tutors must also ask themselves what is 'wrong' with character T-shirts when children wear them, and give accounts to children of their conclusions. The necessary interpretation, then very precision of these rules allow spaces and times to open up that are not subject to them. Logics are therefore reflectively interpreted by children as they develop new practices. They are told they can't wear such T-shirts during prayer, but interpret this as an indication that outside prayer they are not prohibited; they are told that *Allah* may see characters, but consider that covering them up prevents this. The routine process of socialisation, itself involving the local presentation of logics to children, creates gaps that create an environment in which new practices emerge.

The practices we see are not the result of a combination of Islamic and Market logics, but rather the result of their attempted separation. Nor do we recognise a struggle for legitimacy, largely because it takes place through the socialisation of children enabling them to develop meaningful practices and identities through their understanding of the institutions with which they are embedded. There is a dominant logic, and a subordinate logic finds ground where it can in the always incomplete

application of the dominant logic. As new practices are adopted however, they contaminate the dominant logic through boundary practices.

Conclusion

Jafari (2012) and Jafari and Sandicki (2015, 2016) have noted both limitations in previous work on Islamic marketing, and approaches to address them. Specifically they consider the need to avoid essentialising Islam as a universal transcendental force that is opposed to consumerism, or as a resource for segmentation and targeting, instead calling for local studies that represent the multiplicity of interpretations of Islam and how these produce consumer cultures. Here, we have considered the specific practice of children wearing character T-shirts in Pakistan. Our analysis certainly suggests some of the themes at the heart of current debates about Islamic marketing (possible conflict between Islam and Market logics, and the reference to halal/haram as a meaning-making structure, for example), however we consider these in a local context, where both market and Islam carry local meaning for participants.

Perhaps more important than this is the need for studies of Islamic consumption to add to marketing theory. At worse, Islamic marketing carries the risk of an orientalist orientation that limits its scope to reproducing (or actually imposing) Western theory in an exotic context (Jafari, 2012; Jafari and Sandicki, 2015, 2016). Here, we instead focus on institutional complexity and its resolution, something that is revealed by the specific context we study, and adds to marketing theory through our presentation to strategies of separation and symbolic substation, and the resulting contamination of practices as an alternative to the more widely recognised role of institutional entrepreneurs.

What Pakistani tweens wear is under the jurisdiction of asymmetrical institutional complexity. Dominant Religious logics determine what can be worn at certain times, in specific places and under whose gaze, but emerging Market logics invite identification with popular media characters, Western styles of clothing and related sentiments of individual expressions of 'cool' and 'style'. Muslim tweens use their agency to make the consumption of character T-shirts possible within this institutional complexity. They either devise ways of maintaining the logics as separate, or adopt a single logic solution to *halalize* their consumption.

We also need to be cautious that in our own explanations of the legitimising role of Islam and the Market we do not appear to reproduce celebrations or critiques of

either logic. We might note instead that as Pakistani tweens devote effort to negotiating these logics their potential agency is increasingly bounded by both of them. As we noted in our introduction, Islamisation has intensified socialisation into Islamic logics, and globalisation - especially through media consumed via personal electronic devices - is seeking to embed its own logics into the practices of everyday life. Pakistani tweens then find themselves subject to a dominant institution, but develop new practices from an alternative institution that also seeks to dominate. And their expressions of creative agency are limited to the movement between these two institutions, contaminating one as they restrict the other.

The boundaries of institutions' jurisdiction (i.e., where a visible carrier of one logic in noticed by an actor carrying a different one), become the location for the generation of new practices. These may reveal new market strategies for character T-shirts (market abstract logos, avoid printed eyes, ensure easy inversion), and no doubt those wishing to sell to Pakistani tweens can reflect on such insight, just as religious teachers may reflect on issues of contamination. However, as noted earlier, the fanciful idea of a Muslim consumer segment and Islamic Marketing (El-Bassiouny, 2014; Jafari and Sandikci, 2015, 2016) is challenged by our data as it assumes a singular interpretation of *halal* and *haram.*

Our institutional interpellators may also point to how new institutions, with new logics may be successfully incorporated within daily life through those times, spaces and gazes where existing jurisdiction is low, because of the way carriers of dominant logics may precisely, but narrowly, articulate their jurisdiction. The result is creation of new practices without struggle or conflict. This may be readily transferable to other institutionally plural contexts and provides a framework for investigating them. For example, we might recognise that in much of the West, it the Market that is dominant and other ways of being, thinking and doing that are more socially responsible, or environmentally sustainable that must increasingly find non-market times, spaces and symbols to reproduce themselves and contaminate the dominant ways of thinking and being. Here we might also consider the precision with which carriers of the Market present its logics, and on how young Western tweens create new practices outside them.

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