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## Value Conflicts Between Local and Global Culture in Adolescent Socialization: A Sociological Review of Norm Shifts and Social Identity Transformation

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### ABSTRACT

*The intersection of global cultural flows and local cultural traditions in the socialization of Indonesian adolescents has emerged as a critical site of sociological inquiry, particularly as accelerating digital connectivity has compressed the cultural distances that previously insulated local communities from the immediate influence of global media, consumption practices, and identity frameworks. This article examines the dynamics of value conflict arising at the intersection of local and global culture in adolescent socialization, with particular attention to the Indonesian context, through an integrative theoretical framework drawing upon Anthony Giddens's structuration theory and theory of late modernity, Arjun Appadurai's concept of global cultural flows and 'scapes,' and Peter Berger's sociology of knowledge and plausibility structures. Through systematic qualitative review of empirical literature and secondary analysis of national survey data on Indonesian adolescent identity and socialization patterns, the study maps six principal domains of value conflict — language, religious and moral norms, gender roles, consumption and lifestyle, civic values, and leisure practices — and traces the processes through which adolescents negotiate these conflicts to construct hybrid social identities that are neither fully traditional nor wholly globalized. The analysis reveals three key dynamics: the domain-specificity of value conflict intensity, which varies significantly across socialization domains; the mediating role of digital platforms, which accelerate global cultural exposure while simultaneously creating new platforms for local cultural assertion; and the emergence of 'reflexive hybridization' as the dominant adolescent identity strategy, wherein global and local cultural elements are selectively combined in configurations that are distinctively generational in their logic and aesthetics. The study contributes to the sociology of adolescence, cultural globalization studies, and Indonesian social theory by demonstrating that adolescent value conflict is not a pathological indicator of cultural disintegration but a constitutive feature of social identity formation in the condition of reflexive late modernity.*

### Keywords

*Adolescent socialization; value conflict; cultural globalization; local culture; social identity; Giddens; Appadurai; Indonesia; hybridization; digital culture*



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## 1. Introduction

In 2023, a viral TikTok video captured what many Indonesian observers regarded as a crystallization of a broader social phenomenon: a group of teenagers in Yogyakarta performing a

traditional Javanese bedhaya dance routine set to a Korean K-Pop soundtrack, wearing modified batik costumes styled after K-Pop idol fashion, uploading the content with bilingual captions in Indonesian and English, and receiving millions of views from audiences across Indonesia and internationally. The clip became the subject of intense public debate — celebrated by some as a creative hybridization of Indonesian and global cultural forms, condemned by others as a symptom of the erosion of Javanese cultural integrity and intergenerational norm transmission. The controversy around this single video encapsulates the broader social dynamics at the center of this article: the collision, negotiation, and hybridization of local and global cultural values in the socialization of Indonesian adolescents.

This collision is not incidental or recent. The encounter between local Indonesian cultural traditions and global cultural forces has been a constitutive feature of Indonesian social life since at least the colonial period, when Dutch administrative culture, Christian missionary education, and global commodity flows began reshaping the social fabric of the archipelago's communities. What distinguishes the contemporary moment — and what gives the current dynamics of adolescent value conflict their distinctive character and urgency — is the unprecedented velocity and pervasiveness of global cultural penetration enabled by digital communication technologies. As of 2024, Indonesia has over 212 million active internet users, 167 million social media users, and the world's fourth-largest TikTok user base, with adolescents (aged 13–24) constituting the most intensive consumers of global digital content (We Are Social, 2024; APJII, 2024).

The consequences of this digital acceleration of cultural globalization for adolescent socialization are profound and multidimensional. Socialization — the process through which individuals internalize the values, norms, roles, and identity frameworks of their societies — has traditionally been structured by a relatively coherent ensemble of primary institutions: the family, the peer group, the school, and religious institutions. These institutions have historically maintained what Berger and Luckmann (2019) term 'plausibility structures': the social arrangements that make particular worldviews and value systems appear natural, inevitable, and self-evidently true. The digital media ecosystem of the twenty-first century has fundamentally disrupted these plausibility structures by providing adolescents with continuous, immersive access to alternative value systems, identity

frameworks, and social worlds that compete directly with the values and norms transmitted by traditional socialization institutions.

A second illustrative case makes this disruption concrete. In 2022, KPAI (Indonesian Child Protection Commission) documented a significant increase in adolescent complaints related to intergenerational conflict over digital lifestyle norms, particularly in the domains of social media use, relationship formation, and consumption practices. Reports from Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) across Java documented growing tensions between santri students' exposure to global digital culture through smartphones — formally prohibited but widely accessed — and the traditional *pesantren* value system of discipline, modesty, and communal religious life. These tensions manifested in increased rates of santri dropout, covert social media use, and what *pesantren* administrators described as 'identity confusion' — a behavioral indication of precisely the value conflict dynamics that this article seeks to theorize.

This article advances three principal arguments. First, value conflict between local and global culture in adolescent socialization is not a transitional pathology that will be resolved through eventual cultural integration, but a constitutive structural feature of adolescent social identity formation in the condition of late modernity. Second, the intensity and character of value conflict is domain-specific: it is most acute in the domains of consumption and lifestyle, gender roles, and leisure, and least acute — though still significant — in the domains of religious identity and civic participation. Third, the dominant adolescent response to value conflict is not passive assimilation to global norms or defensive assertion of local tradition, but what we term 'reflexive hybridization': the active, selective, and contextually sensitive combination of global and local cultural elements in identity configurations that are distinctively generational.

The article proceeds as follows: Section 2 reviews the theoretical literature on globalization, socialization, and adolescent identity; Section 3 details the methodology; Section 4 presents the analytical framework and empirical findings; Section 5 develops the critical discussion; and Section 6 concludes with theoretical and policy implications.

## 2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Globalization and Cultural Flows

Arjun Appadurai's framework of global cultural flows — organized around the five 'scapes' of ethnoscaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, mediascaples, and ideoscaples — provides a foundational theoretical resource for understanding how globalization restructures the cultural environment of adolescent socialization (Appadurai, 2019). For Appadurai, globalization does not produce cultural homogenization but rather complex, disjunctive flows of people, technologies, finance, media, and ideas that intersect in unpredictable ways at local sites, generating cultural formations that are neither purely global nor purely local. This framework is particularly productive for the analysis of adolescent socialization in Indonesia, where the mediascape — the distribution of electronic capabilities and images around the world — has become the primary channel through which global cultural values reach adolescent audiences, often bypassing the filtering capacity of traditional socialization institutions.

Roland Robertson's concept of 'glocalization' (Robertson, 2019) extends Appadurai's analysis by emphasizing the active role of local actors in appropriating and transforming global cultural forms for local purposes. Glocalization challenges the assumption of passive local reception of global cultural flows, demonstrating instead that local communities consistently transform, adapt, and domesticate global cultural products through their own cultural logics — a dynamic clearly visible in the Indonesian case, where global cultural forms are routinely incorporated into distinctively local aesthetic and social frameworks. The K-Pop bedhaya performance cited in the introduction exemplifies glocalization: it is neither pure K-Pop nor pure Javanese tradition, but a creative synthesis that is distinctively Indonesian and distinctively adolescent.

Anthony Giddens's theory of late modernity and the reflexive project of the self (Giddens, 2018) provides the sociological-psychological framework for understanding how adolescents navigate value conflict in globalizing conditions. For Giddens, late modernity is characterized by the 'disembedding' of social relations from local contexts of interaction, the proliferation of competing expert systems and knowledge frameworks, and the increasing imperative of reflexive self-

constitution: the ongoing project of constructing a coherent narrative of selfhood from the multiple and often contradictory options provided by a globalized cultural environment. Adolescence — the developmental period of intensive identity formation — coincides precisely with the reflexive demands of late modernity, making adolescents particularly acute sensors of the value conflicts and identity dilemmas that globalization generates.

## **2.2 Socialization Theory and the Crisis of the Plausibility Structure**

Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's sociology of knowledge provides essential theoretical tools for understanding the mechanism through which global cultural penetration disrupts local socialization processes (Berger & Luckmann, 2019). Their concept of the 'plausibility structure' — the social arrangement that makes a particular worldview appear self-evidently true — is crucial here: traditional socialization institutions (family, pesantren, school, peer group) functioned as effective plausibility structures for local cultural values precisely because they controlled the information environment of adolescents, limiting their exposure to alternative value systems and reinforcing a coherent cultural universe. Digital media technology has fundamentally undermined this plausibility structure by providing adolescents with continuous access to alternative worldviews that challenge the naturalness and inevitability of locally transmitted values.

William Corsaro's interpretive reproduction theory (Corsaro, 2020) provides a further theoretical resource by emphasizing children's and adolescents' active role in the socialization process. Rather than passive recipients of cultural transmission, adolescents are active interpreters and creative transformers of the cultural materials available to them — selectively appropriating elements from both local and global cultural repertoires and combining them in novel configurations that reflect their own generational position and social circumstances. This theoretical perspective is important for avoiding the cultural pessimism that frequently characterizes both conservative accounts of cultural globalization (which see adolescent hybridity as cultural loss) and uncritical accounts of global youth culture (which see it as liberation from parochial tradition).

## **2.3 Adolescent Identity Formation in Digital Modernity**

Erik Erikson's classical theory of adolescent identity formation — organized around the concept of the psychosocial moratorium and the identity crisis as the central developmental task of adolescence — requires significant updating in the context of digital modernity (Erikson, cited in Schwartz et al., 2021). The digitally mediated social environment of contemporary adolescence provides an unprecedented diversity of identity models, social scripts, and community memberships — enabling experimentation with multiple identity positions across different online and offline contexts, but also generating intensified pressures of social comparison, identity performance, and reputational management that were absent from earlier generations' socialization experiences.

James Marcia's extension of Erikson's framework into a typology of identity statuses — achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion — provides a useful heuristic for mapping the diverse ways in which Indonesian adolescents respond to value conflict (Marcia, cited in Kroger, 2022). Identity foreclosure — the adoption of a pre-given identity without active exploration — characterizes adolescents in strongly traditional socialization environments who accept locally transmitted values without critical engagement. Identity diffusion — the absence of a coherent identity commitment — characterizes adolescents overwhelmed by the multiplicity of options and unable to construct a stable narrative of selfhood. Identity moratorium — the active exploration of options without commitment — and identity achievement — the reflective construction of a stable identity through exploration and commitment — characterize the most sociologically interesting responses to value conflict: those in which adolescents actively negotiate between local and global value systems to construct distinctive hybrid identities.

### **3. Methodology**

This study employs a systematic qualitative review methodology integrated with secondary quantitative data analysis. The literature review encompassed peer-reviewed scholarship published between 2018 and 2025, accessed through Scopus, Web of Science, and Google Scholar databases, using search terms including 'adolescent socialization Indonesia globalization,' 'value conflict youth local global culture,' 'cultural hybridization teenagers,' 'Indonesian youth identity digital,' and 'K-Pop influence Southeast Asian adolescents.' Secondary quantitative data was drawn from the Badan Pusat

Statistik Susenas 2024 adolescent module; UNICEF Indonesia Adolescent Digital Behavior Report (2023); KPAI Annual Report (2023); PPIM UIN Jakarta Indonesian Youth Identity Survey (2023); and the We Are Social/Hootsuite Indonesia Digital 2024 Report. The analytical approach integrates Appadurai's global cultural flows framework, Giddens's reflexive modernity theory, and Berger & Luckmann's plausibility structure concept in a multi-domain analysis of adolescent value conflict.

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Analytical Framework: Value Conflict Domains

Figure 1 presents the study's analytical framework, mapping the principal socialization domains in which value conflict between local and global culture manifests, together with the negotiation strategies and identity outcomes characteristic of each domain.

**Figure 1. Analytical Framework: Value Conflict in Adolescent Socialization between Local and Global Cultural Forces**

Socialization Domain	Local Cultural Value (Traditional)	Global Cultural Counter-Value	Manifestation of Conflict & Identity Outcome
<b>Language &amp; Communication</b>	Regional vernacular; Bahasa Indonesia; respectful register (krama)	English-dominated digital slang; Korean loanwords (K-Pop); hybrid code-switching	Heritage language attrition; generational communication gap; hybrid 'Jakesel' language as in-group identity marker
<b>Religious &amp; Moral Norms</b>	Islamic modesty, communal prayer, halal dietary norms; respect for religious authority	Secular lifestyle aesthetics; celebrity culture; permissive gender interaction norms via social media	Religious identity as contested terrain: 'hijab with K-Pop aesthetic'; conservative backlash vs. liberal Islamic youth identity
<b>Gender Roles &amp; Sexuality</b>	Patriarchal family norms; gender role complementarity; early marriage expectation in rural contexts	Global gender equity discourse; LGBTQ+ visibility on streaming platforms; feminist influencer culture	Intergenerational conflict over gender expectations; increased awareness but structural constraint; online vs. offline identity divergence
<b>Consumption &amp; Lifestyle</b>	Communal and frugal consumption (gotong royong); local food; traditional dress for	Brand-oriented consumption; viral food trends; Korean fashion and beauty standards via	Aspirational consumption beyond economic capacity; body image anxieties; local

	ceremonial occasions	TikTok/Instagram	brand stigmatization
<b>Civic &amp; Political Values</b>	Deference to authority (bapakisme); collective harmony (rukun); community deliberation (musyawarah)	Individual rights discourse; political activism through social media; anti-establishment sentiment	Youth political apathy vs. viral political mobilization; tension between civic duty and cynicism
<b>Leisure &amp; Entertainment</b>	Community-based cultural performance (wayang, gamelan, reog); family-oriented recreation	Gaming culture; K-Pop fan communities; global streaming content (Netflix, YouTube)	Displacement of traditional cultural participation; new transnational community membership; creative hybrid cultural production

Source: Authors' theoretical synthesis, adapted from Giddens (2018), Appadurai (2019), Berger & Luckmann (2019), and empirical studies on Indonesian adolescent socialization (Heryanto, 2019; Sukmana, 2022). Value conflict manifestations derived from systematic review of empirical literature (2018–2025).

Source: Authors' theoretical synthesis adapted from Giddens (2018), Appadurai (2019), Berger & Luckmann (2019), and empirical studies on Indonesian adolescent socialization.

#### 4.2 Empirical Patterns of Cultural Influence and Value Conflict

Table 1 presents comparative empirical evidence on the indicators and intensity of global cultural influence and value conflict across different adolescent populations in Indonesia.

Indicator of Cultural Influence	Urban Adolescents	Peri-Urban Adolescents	Rural Adolescents	Trend 2019–2024
Social media usage (>4 hrs/day) (%)	78.4%	61.3%	38.7%	+24.6%
K-Pop/K-Drama regular consumption (%)	71.2%	58.4%	34.9%	+31.7%
Preference: global over local entertainment (%)	63.8%	49.1%	27.4%	+18.2%
Heritage language proficiency (self-rated adequate) (%)	31.4%	48.7%	67.3%	-19.4%
Report intergenerational	68.3%	55.7%	41.2%	+22.1%

value conflict (%)				
Body image dissatisfaction linked to global beauty standards (%)	59.7%	47.3%	29.8%	+16.9%
Participation in traditional cultural activities (weekly) (%)	12.3%	24.6%	48.1%	-14.7%
Identify as having 'hybrid' cultural identity (%)	54.8%	41.2%	22.6%	+27.3%
Source: Adapted from Badan Pusat Statistik Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional 2024; UNICEF Indonesia (2023) Adolescent Digital Behavior Report; KPAI (2023) Youth and Digital Media Study; and PPIM UIN Jakarta (2023) Indonesian Youth Identity Survey. Urban = cities with population >500,000; Peri-Urban = secondary cities; Rural = kecamatan-level communities.				

The data reveals a pronounced urban-rural gradient in global cultural exposure and value conflict intensity that is central to any sociologically adequate account of the phenomenon. Urban adolescents — with 78.4% using social media more than four hours daily, 71.2% consuming K-Pop or K-Drama content regularly, and 68.3% reporting intergenerational value conflict — represent the most intensive zone of global cultural penetration and value conflict. This urban-rural differential is not merely a matter of technological access, though digital infrastructure inequality remains significant; it also reflects differences in the density and authority of traditional socialization institutions, the availability of alternative social identities, and the economic conditions that shape consumption-based identity formation.

Particularly striking is the inverse relationship between global cultural engagement and heritage language proficiency: while urban adolescents lead in social media use and global content consumption, only 31.4% rate their proficiency in regional heritage languages (Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, etc.) as adequate — compared to 67.3% of rural adolescents. This finding documents the concrete mechanism through which global cultural engagement can erode intergenerational cultural transmission, as digital media engagement in English, Korean, and Standard Indonesian crowds out the domestic family-based transmission of regional vernacular languages and the cultural knowledge embedded in them.

The rapid growth in body image dissatisfaction linked to global beauty standards — reported by 59.7% of urban adolescents, up 16.9 percentage points since 2019 — documents a particularly consequential form of value conflict with direct mental health implications. Korean beauty standards, promoted through K-Drama and K-Pop content and amplified by social media algorithms, have increasingly displaced local Indonesian beauty norms among adolescent populations, generating what Giddens (2018) terms 'ontological insecurity': a pervasive sense of inadequacy in relation to externally imposed standards of worth and attractiveness that cannot be satisfied by local cultural resources.

#### **4.3 The Mechanism of Reflexive Hybridization**

The dominant pattern of adolescent response to value conflict identified in this study is neither assimilation to global norms nor defensive reassertion of local tradition, but what we term 'reflexive hybridization': the selective, contextually sensitive, and reflexively monitored combination of global and local cultural elements in identity configurations that reflect adolescents' generational position, social aspirations, and practical circumstances. This concept extends Giddens's notion of the reflexive project of the self by specifying its cultural-sociological content in the context of globalization: reflexive hybridization is not merely individual psychological flexibility but a socially structured and collectively practiced strategy of cultural navigation.

Reflexive hybridization is most visibly documented in the domain of consumer and aesthetic culture, where Indonesian adolescents consistently demonstrate their capacity to combine global and local elements in creative configurations — Indonesian batik motifs applied to K-Pop-influenced fashion, traditional wayang characters reimagined as social media content, traditional culinary ingredients incorporated into globally inspired recipe aesthetics. These hybrid cultural productions are not random eclecticism but reflect coherent aesthetic logics and social strategies: they enable adolescents to participate in global youth culture while maintaining markers of local identity, and to negotiate the dual recognition demands of peer culture (global) and family and community culture (local) through a single integrated aesthetic identity.

In the domain of religious identity, reflexive hybridization takes a more politically charged form. The emergence of what scholars have termed 'Islamic cool' or 'moderate Muslim youth culture'

— embodied in phenomena such as the hijaber community, Islamic music genres that fuse traditional qasidah with hip-hop and pop aesthetics, and Islamic lifestyle content creation — represents a particularly sophisticated form of reflexive hybridization in which the core commitments of Islamic religious identity are maintained while the aesthetic forms and social practices through which they are expressed are transformed through engagement with global youth culture (Heryanto, 2019; Arnez & Husein, 2022).

#### **4.4 Institutional Responses and the Socialization Deficit**

The acceleration of global cultural penetration has generated significant institutional responses from traditional socialization agencies — families, schools, pesantren, and religious organizations — that vary considerably in their sophistication and effectiveness. At one extreme, authoritarian responses — the prohibition of smartphone use, the dismissal of K-Pop fandom as moral corruption, the enforcement of traditional dress and behavioral codes through surveillance and punishment — have been consistently documented as counterproductive, driving adolescent hybridization practices underground rather than eliminating them, and generating increased intergenerational conflict and alienation. At the other extreme, laissez-faire responses — the abandonment of any attempt to transmit local cultural values in the face of global cultural pressure — have been associated with the cultural displacement and identity diffusion outcomes documented in the empirical literature.

The most effective institutional responses documented in the empirical literature are those that adopt a 'cultural gardening' approach: maintaining the core commitments and values of local cultural traditions while actively engaging with global cultural forms, incorporating global aesthetic elements into local cultural expression, and developing adolescents' critical media literacy capacities to enable reflexive rather than passive engagement with global content. Schools that have incorporated traditional arts education within digital media production frameworks — enabling students to create and share traditional cultural content through social media platforms — have reported significantly higher rates of adolescent cultural heritage engagement than those relying on conventional transmission methods (Sukmana & Efendi, 2023).

#### **4.5 Digital Platforms as Dual Socialization Agents**

Digital platforms — particularly TikTok, Instagram, YouTube, and WhatsApp — function as dual socialization agents in the current adolescent value conflict dynamic: simultaneously the primary channels through which global cultural values penetrate local socialization environments and the platforms through which local cultural assertion, heritage preservation, and hybrid cultural production are conducted. This duality means that digital platforms cannot be simply categorized as agents of cultural globalization; they are the contested terrain on which the value conflict between local and global culture is most actively played out.

The algorithmic architecture of social media platforms plays a particularly significant role in shaping this dynamic. Content recommendation algorithms — designed to maximize engagement by serving users content similar to what they have previously engaged with — tend to create what Lim (2021) terms 'algorithmic enclaves': environments of cultural and value homogeneity that reinforce existing preferences and limit exposure to alternative cultural frameworks. For adolescents already engaged with global cultural content, this creates a powerful pull toward deeper immersion in global cultural values. Conversely, for adolescents engaged in traditional cultural activities, algorithms can facilitate discovery of communities of practice and create new forms of peer recognition for local cultural skills — generating the kind of positive reinforcement that is often absent in offline peer culture, where global cultural competency is more frequently rewarded.

#### **5. Conclusion**

This article has examined the dynamics of value conflict between local and global culture in the socialization of Indonesian adolescents, demonstrating the multi-domain character of this conflict and identifying reflexive hybridization as the dominant adolescent response strategy. The analysis has drawn upon Appadurai's cultural flows framework, Giddens's theory of late modernity, and Berger and Luckmann's sociology of knowledge to develop an integrative theoretical account of how adolescents navigate the competing demands of local cultural tradition and global cultural integration.

The empirical evidence presented in this study — documenting the urban-rural gradient of global cultural exposure, the inverse relationship between digital engagement and heritage language

proficiency, the rapid growth of body image dissatisfaction linked to global beauty standards, and the decline of traditional cultural participation — confirms the theoretical argument that global cultural penetration has produced significant disruptions to traditional adolescent socialization processes. Yet the evidence also confirms that adolescents are not passive victims of cultural globalization but active cultural agents who construct distinctive hybrid identities through selective appropriation and creative transformation of global and local cultural elements.

The policy implications of these findings center on three priorities. First, educational policy should develop sophisticated digital media literacy curricula that equip adolescents with the critical and creative tools to engage reflexively with global cultural content, rather than either prohibiting engagement or accepting passive consumption. Second, cultural policy should invest in the digital infrastructures of local cultural transmission — supporting the creation and algorithmic promotion of high-quality local cultural content on social media platforms, ensuring that traditional arts and knowledge systems are represented in the digital cultural environment that shapes adolescent socialization. Third, family and community support programs should develop culturally sensitive approaches to intergenerational communication about value conflict, equipping parents and community leaders with the sociological and psychological understanding necessary to engage productively with adolescent hybridization rather than responding with prohibition or abandonment.

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