

Physical Products and Their Digital Representations: Social Media Interaction via School Bags

Şerife Zeynep Özcan¹
Damla Tonuk²

Abstract

This study explores the role of digital representations of products with respect to reproduction mechanisms of designed objects, including doings with objects – practices – and the user subjects. To understand these relationships, *practice theory* that explains objects, subjects and practices as co-constituted is instrumental. The study builds on the concept of *digital habitus*, an appropriation of Bourdieu's *habitus* that includes digital technologies within the reproduction patterns of social practices and so designed objects. Focusing on school bags as physical objects and their digital representations on social media, data is collected by *social media harvesting* and interviewing 23 high school students. The ways in which designed objects, digital environments, and the user reproduce one another is analysed. It is found that in some cases digital representations are actively utilised to interfere with the *real* world and in some cases the effect of digital representations on the real world is rather obscure and passive. What catches attention is that these moments of interactions are not designed into these products, rather they are enacted as users live in the *digital habitus*. Hence, the study aims to provide insights to guide product designers in contemporary product ecosystem that includes digitalized circulation of meaning, by pointing out the ways in which digital representations circulate in the physical realm of our interaction with designed objects.

Keywords: Digital habitus, Digital representations, School bags, User subject, Object-Subject

¹ Arş. Gör., Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Endüstriyel Tasarım Anabilim Dalı, ORCID NO: 0009-0003-3929-814X, zeynepoz@metu.edu.tr

² Dr. Öğr. Üy., Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Endüstriyel Tasarım Anabilim Dalı, ORCID NO: 0000-0001-9320-4288, dtonuk@metu.edu.tr

Fiziksel Ürünler ve Dijital Temsilleri: Sosyal Medyada Okul Çantaları ile Etkileşim

Öz

Bu çalışma tasarım nesnesi, kullanıcı özne ve sosyal pratiklerin türetilmesi bağlamında ürünlerin dijital temsillerinin rolünü araştırmaktadır. Tasarım nesnesi, kullanıcı özne ve sosyal pratiklerin oluşturduğu bir ekosistemde var olur. Dijital teknolojilerin yaşamın her alanında yaygınlaşmasıyla birlikte fiziksel ürünlerle etkileşimimiz, yani onları edinme, kullanma, anlamlandırma süreçlerimiz, fiziksel olmayan çevrimiçi dijital temsillerden geçmektedir. Tasarım nesnesinin ve dijital ortamların birbirlerini ve dolayısıyla kullanıcı süjeyi ve pratikleri yeniden ürettikleri anların incelenmesinde, Bourdieu'nun *habitus* kavramının, *dijital habitus* olarak uyarlandığı, dijital pratikleri de sosyal üretime dahil eden kavramsallaştırması temel alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda günlük yaşam pratiklerinde fizikselliğiyle temel bir role sahip okul çantaları ve çantalar üzerine sosyal medya paylaşımlarına odaklanılmıştır ve dijital iletişimin içine doğmuş Z kuşağını temsil eden 23 lise öğrencisi ile mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kimi durumlarda kullanıcıların çevrimiçi ortamları aktif bir şekilde fiziki, *gerçek* olan dünyalarını şekillendirmek için kullandıkları görülmüştür. Bazı durumlarda ise dijital ortamın nesnel dünyaya etkisi daha saklıdır ya da kullanıcılar aktif bir şekilde bunu aramadan gerçekleşir. Çarpıcı olan aslında bu etkileşimlerin ürün tasarımcıları tarafından öngörülmemiş olmasıdır, ancak dijital ile entegre yaşamlarda kendini göstermiştir. Bu çalışmada işaret edilen fiziksel ürünler ve dijital temsillerin arasındaki ilişkiye dair çıkarımlar, ürün etkileşiminin farklı ve güncel bir boyutunu tasarım sürecine dahil etmek adına faydalı olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dijital habitus, Dijital temsil, Nesnellik, Okul çantası, Sosyal medya, Süje

Digital technologies are increasingly becoming a part of the product ecosystem. Consequently, design research needs to understand the role of digital representations on the reproduction mechanism of physical products. This study explores the role of digital representations on reproduction of objects, by considering the relationships among objects, practices and the user subjects. More specifically, this study explores the relationships between physical products, namely school bags, and non-physical digital representations of these products on social media in terms of their effect on the user subjects and their daily life practices. At its core, the study aims to alert designers to the fact that physical objects circulate in the *real* world with their online non-physical digital resonances. In other words, this study shows that our interaction with objects, the ways in which objects are used, adopted, and acquire their meaning are navigated through a non-physical medium - social media communication. As such, while designing physical products designers would benefit from considering material circulation alongside its immaterial resonations.

Design profession has responded to technologies relevant for the digitalisation and globalisation of the world by expanding its expertise in service design, UX and UI fields (Kolko, 2005; Kolko, 2011; Kiernan & Ledwith, 2014; Oxman, 2006; Wei, 2011). Design research on the other hand has explored the role and impact of such technologies, such as AI, IoT, augmented reality on design practice (Gök, 2021; Güneş and Güneş, 2018). This study aims to show that there is a constant iteration between the two worlds -physical and digital - in terms of the relationship between the user subject and their real-world practices,

in that one reproduces the other, in a mutually constitutive way, i.e. the digital resonances of physical objects are implicated in the reproduction mechanisms of subjects, designed objects and practices. This research does not seek for the ways in which designers can adapt to the digital world but rather, it aims to explore the ways in which physical products and user subjects are in relation to the digitised world.

At the outset the study explains the odds at place there is school bags that are very physical parts of daily lives on the one hand, and on the other hand there is the user group Generation Z addressed as digital natives. Bags are positioned as physical items of everyday lives used in the daily life practices of subjects. In contrast the user group, Generation Z, is portrayed as digital natives living in a digital habitus and their social media communication that is digitally based.

At this point it is useful to emphasise the physicality and utilisation of objects in daily actions to be able to navigate between the physical and non-physical worlds. As such, two theories in particular enable us to grasp the materiality of products. The theory of materiality outlined by Daniel Miller (2005) rests on Hegelian dialectics to resolve the object-subject dilemma in favour of a mutual constitution. And practice theory, within cultural theories, enables us to position objects as inseparable parts of social lives (Reckwitz, 2002). The study builds on these two theoretical foundations in explaining the concept of *habitus* and *digital habitus* to understand the relationships between material objects, subjects and their social practices and online digital representations.

Then the study moves on to the analysis on the iterations between physical and non-physical, digital worlds, where it is shown that users create practices and communities through the material-immaterial iterations, immaterial content over materiality of the bags nurture personal relationships, where immaterial creates content for material *real* lives and vice versa, materiality of the bags creates immaterial content. The study concludes by pointing to the diversity of the ways in which immateriality - online digital resonations - can be designed to be part of materiality - circulation of physical products.

In this way, this research contributes to the design field by opening a new direction in studying material-immaterial relationships, and in exploring digital resonances of material objects.

School Bags and Digital Natives in a Digital Habitus

Bags are mundane everyday objects, owned by most individuals, carried around shoulders, stuffed, zipped, tossed around, and entangled with daily life practices. They are there with their very physicality (Miller, 2005) enabling or limiting action (Shove et al., 2007; Reckwitz, 2002). Bags as physical products have close relationships to our bodies and they have a direct influence on the way we conduct daily practices. Bags enable students to carry their school material, or extracurricular material, sports material and literally enable them to accomplish and organise their busy day schedule.

To be able to explore the relationships between materiality and immateriality the study is grounded on theory of materiality (Miller, 2005) and practice theory that foregrounds objects and bodily actions to explain social relationships (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2010; Shove et al., 2007). Due to their emphasis on physicality and bodily interactions, these studies seem to be in stark contrast to the immateriality of the digital interaction in digital worlds. However, their emphasis on co-constitution of objects-subjects give room for inclusion of immateriality in terms of understanding their effects on materiality and subjects.

In explaining our relationships to objects these scholars have emphasised a departure from consumerism (Miller, 2010) towards embracing objects in a process of co-constitution. In his theory of materialism Miller (2005) assigns agency of subjects and objects to their correlation, where agency is not a quality of either subjects or objects, rather they are mutually constituted as they interact. As such, Veblen's (1967) *conspicuous consumption* has evolved towards a co-evolution of objects and subjects (Shove, et al. 2007), where the object and subject cooperate creating an *arrangement of hybrids* (Latour, 1993, p. 73).

The interaction between objects and subjects in performing practices is the core focus of practice in explaining social order. A practice is "a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250). In this way objects, bags in this case, are fundamental to our beings and doings in the world.

Scrolling back in history to revisit the concept of *habitus* by Pierre Bourdieu (1984a) is relevant to theorise practices in and relationships to the digital world in order to explain the ways in which digital practices shape Generation Z's daily lives; their practices, routines, habits, ways of interacting with others, and ways of understanding the world. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is regarded as a starting point by many sociologists and anthropologists and new materialism scholars to explain the material and practical foundations of sociality. More recently, with the expansion of digital media and social media practices scholars have used Bourdieu's ideas to understand the effect of digital technology on our lives (Ignatov and Robinson, 2017; Boyd, 2011).

According to Bourdieu (1984b, p. 139), "the habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification of these practices. It is in the relationships between two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of lifestyles, is constituted." In explaining our relationships to objects, Bourdieu (1984b) moves from conspicuous consumption to *taste* as a distinction, where he defines taste as "a forced choice, produced by conditions of existence" (p. 142). Conditions of existence which he phrases as *structuring structure*, so the doings and tastes of the group we are born into is the habitus. However, "the habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure" (Bourdieu, 1984b,

p, 139). We can see that in explaining habitus, the practice and its valuation is at the core, but practices are also constructed as they are enacted, meaning they are made on the making. "In constructing the social world, ... agents are, in their ordinary practice, the subjects of acts of construction of the social world" (Bourdieu, 1984a, p. 467). Bourdieu emphasises subjects and their physical bodies as actors in creating socialness.

Adding on to this very material foundation of society we want to briefly explain the digital native Generation Z, who are the current high school students. Born between the mid-1990s and mid-2010s, Generation Z is the first generation to grow up in a dominant world of digital technology (Twenge, 2017). The widespread use of smartphones, social media, and other digital platforms have fundamentally altered the ways in which Gen Z interacts with each other and the world around them; an astounding 91% of its members actively participating in social media (Kahraman, 2020, p. 132). On average, users under the age of 24, manage 8.7 accounts across multiple social media platforms, where they spend at least three hours per day navigating the digital landscape (Kahraman, 2020, p. 129). 18- to 24-year-old young adults check their smartphones 86 times per day, surpassing all other age groups (Kahraman, 2020). They use these platforms to connect with others, consume and create content, and navigate their daily lives (Twenge, 2017).

William Gibson's term, Cyberspace, is relevant to explain digital communication as a site of sociality. Cyberspace "is a fictional term ... to describe a virtual reality where people log their minds into computer technologies capable of entering, perceiving, and exploring the data matrix" (Waskul and Douglas, 1999, p. 378). Waskul and Douglas (1999, p. 379) claim that "by dislocating the significance of time, space, and physical barriers to human interaction, on-line environments are transformed into new social situations that are simultaneously a medium and an environment in and of itself." Internet users, also known as citizens of Cyberspace (Gibson, 1997), partake in both consuming and creating content related to their daily lives, thoughts, and interpretations of cultural and social events on digital platforms.

Scholars of communication studied the effects of this changing digitised world on communication and individual and societal relationships (Turkle, 1999; Baym, 2010; Waskul & Douglas, 1997). Internet and social media communication have become central to the socialness of this new generation. Creating online profiles and experimenting with their identities have become central to adolescence development (Turkle, 1999; Waskul & Douglas, 1997). Davis and Weinstein (2017) have revealed that children feel pressure to join to maintain contact via social media.

There are different terms to define this group that are explanatory on their own. One such term is the *digital native* that refers to young individuals who are fluent in the use of digital devices and platforms, such as computers, video games, and other technologies (Prensky, 2001). The *internet native* generation, on the other hand, refers specifically to the cohort of young people who were born into the internet culture and have been both shaped by it and are active participants in its construction (Prensky, 2001).

One particular definition is directly relevant to structuring structures of the habitus as it reveals the close relationships to doings, so practices, and digital doings, the *app-generation* (Davis and Gardner, 2013). Today's high schoolers are dependent on apps for their daily life practices. Simply, communication goes over WhatsApp, and they have social media apps, like Snapchat, and TikTok installed on their phones. But they also organise their daily lives with certain scheduling apps, or they track their health with apps that warn them to get moving, or to drink water.

The digital world offers a new context for the formation of habitus, with individuals navigating and negotiating the rules and expectations of these digital spaces just as they do in physical spaces. As the internet continues to shape our social interactions and practices, it is likely that our habitus will continue to adapt and locate in digital systems, as a way of communication closely related to the reproduction of culture. to the study adopts the term *digital habitus* to refer to the ways in which young people's social and cultural dispositions, practices, and ways of thinking are developed via engagement with digital technologies.

To sum up, material and immaterial are not so far apart if we consider them as mutually constitutive mechanisms, digital and physical are both reproduction mechanisms of socialness. Research suggests that internet and social practices should not be studied as separate from each other since practices and their digital context are intertwined (Vieta, 2005). Similarly, our online identities are not a departure from our real lives but rather a space where we can experiment (Turkle, 1999) where digital identity cannot be separated from the physicality of our bodies (Roth, 2014). The apparent firm materiality of school bags brought about by the daily life organisation of students as a consequence of having to carry around their stuff, is not in contrast with the digital lives of the Gen Z. Rather, as this research will detail, they are reproducing one another.

The data presented in this study is part of a broader study that is a result of a year-long data collection process consisting of observations of high schoolers in their daily lives, *social media harvesting* (Liang and Zhu, 2017), and semi-structured interviews with 23 high school students during 2021-22. First of all, to familiarize ourselves with the research field, social media channels were searched with the #schoolbag topic revealing millions of videos posted online that display bags, their contents and bag modifications, such as pinning badges, painting and sewing patches. This showed that although bags are physical items that enable certain daily tasks there is a variety of digital content through which their meaning and place in daily lives are negotiated.

Secondly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 23 high school students. This sample group belongs to the age group that is associated with Generation Z, who are defined as digital natives; they are born into internet and digital communication. As such this group presents members of a *digital habitus*. Snowballing technique was used in selecting the participants, with the criteria that they should all be active users of social media. During the interviews, students were encouraged to elaborate on the modifications they did on their bags and what they share and why on social media.

Thirdly, Grounded Theory was used to categorise and make meaning of the findings, where with the themes that came up during the interview process were grouped and categorised further in terms of their role in reproduction. Data was analysed based on the themes appearing in terms of the interconnections between subjects, their everyday practices, bags and digital content; construction of subjects, aspects of self in relation to objects and their digital representations, changing practices or new practices, effect of digital content on practices and self.

Social Media, Immaterial Self, and Bags

It was revealed in the interviews that participants are actively creating content to represent themselves in particular ways, or to use Vitelar's (2019) expression as an "instrument for personal branding" (p. 260). What is specific in these cases is that they use materiality, so content related to their bags, as a means of creating immaterial selves, an immaterial image.

How the self-navigates in cyberspace has been of particular interest to sociologists of communication where they emphasise a dimension of exploration and experimentation with aspects of self (Turkle, 1999; Baym, 2010; Waskul & Douglas, 1997). Social media in particular presents a "rehearsal stage" (Ditchfield, 2020, p. 929), an opportunity to rehearse selected self-presentation (Huang et al., 2021), creating an "online identity" (Lee, 2011, p. 359). As such they are considered to be "identity nomads" (Hoefel & Tracy, 2018, p. 4). The self that circulates in cyberspace is defined as cyberself: "an emergent set of transient and situated meanings temporarily associated with a screen name... a cyberself is the meaning of personhood (or experience of personal identity) ..." (Waskul and Douglas, 1997, p. 387). The cyberself navigates the digital habitus. In this way individuals construct themselves by navigating the digital realm and being fed by the digital content.

Social Media is a medium through which students represent themselves, and we explored dimensions related to their school bags, so to an external materiality. They used materiality to create their selves in the immaterial world. For example, Rachel explained her process of creating a content about her bag and the associated concerns she has in terms of representing herself as follows:

"Sometimes I want to record one of those "What is in my bag?" videos but they don't work out the way I want, so I hesitate. Once I recorded something, but then I didn't like it at all. I deleted it all. Because I recorded without even proper nail polish. Even if it doesn't show my face, after all it's in my profile, so I couldn't risk people saying nasty things."

In Rachel's explanation it can be seen that how she is presented in the digital realm is critical to her real personal relationships. MacKinnon (1995) exploring online identity expression has a cunning approach where she modifies the phrase of Descartes (1637) *I think, therefore I am*, and reconstructs it appropriate for cyberspace as: "I am perceived, therefore I am" (p. 119). Rachel is who she is as who she is perceived to be. She is concerned about representing herself the way she thinks appropriate, or perhaps it is rather about portraying a "glammed up" version of themselves that refers to presenting oneself in a polished or attractive manner (Davis & Weinstein, 2017, p. 6).

Rachel portrays an immaterial self through the material environment, by representing herself with materiality to create the self in immateriality. This highlights the interaction between physical and digital realms in terms of their relationships to subjects.

Styling Self Through Mirror and Screen

The previous section elaborated on material content informing immaterial self. The current section will detail the ways in which the immaterial content is directing a material repertoire.

Mary illustrated her way of cultivating and producing taste through social media: *"I have seen similar bags on Instagram before. At school, there is a teacher I adore, it was on her Instagram [...] I bought it right away."* This quote shows that social media cultivates what can be phrased as a *material repertoire* and when students get a chance, they acquire material objects according to the material repertoire their social media channels have cultivated. Annie for instance, exemplified the ways in which social media content creators are feeding her material repertoire. She explained: *"There is an influencer, [name of the influencer], I follow her, in my closet I have clothes similar to hers. She always posts "what I wore today" videos."*

Matilda had a similar explanation as she follows the profile of someone she knows and admires: *"I first came across it [the bag] while scrolling through Instagram. A girl I know to be hardworking whom I admire had it. She is attending University, so she has less things to carry. But it looked pretty good. I thought my stuff would fit too."*

Similarly, Tom mentioned that he follows content creators with similar tastes in fashion to his. Therefore, he already feels a connection with their posts. He explains as follows: *"I came across these on the internet, on Instagram. But I also saw them on the profiles of my friends. When I found them I bought them all."*

Some participants are actively searching social media to form their material repertoire. This is comparable to window shopping on a street lined with retailers. Matilda explains: *"Especially in summer, I get too lazy to go out to buy something myself. I follow people who have similar tastes to mine, and I buy what they own. I'm browsing TikTok the same way too."* In some cases participants actively seek content and in some cases without aiming at it social media forms a material repertoire, a set of tastes and dispositions that direct material acquisitions of participants.

Creating Communities & Practices

The interviews revealed that social media content over bags can bring communities together and reproduce daily practices in the real world. So, an immaterial content over the materiality of the bag reproduces relationships, practices and materialities in the real world.

Next to acting as conversation initiators, Mary's explanation below shows that social media correspondence over the materiality of bags are what unites like-minded people and keep community culture strong:

"To be able to find interesting and unique outfits, I check what people I follow have shared on social media accounts. If I find something I like, I immediately ask them questions. "Where did you get it? Drop the link." I message them right away. If anyone wants the shopping link for my accessories, I send it to them without hesitation. Because our tastes in design are the same, after all, we are all swimmers."

By utilizing digital technologies and social media platforms, individuals can express and emphasize different aspects of themselves, and communicate with others who share similar interests or beliefs. This can lead to the formation of online communities and the strengthening of offline social ties (Boyd, 2011). Mary's explanation shows that first digital content over materiality initiates conversations, as she starts questioning the source of acquisition. Secondly, sharing in digital media creates a community profile, as she exclaims: *"After all we are all swimmers!"* Digital communication over materiality unites groups of people over shared material dispositions.

Kate provided an example of a social media influencer who likes sharing her tips on modifying bags. She stated that the content creators' posts inspired her to consider new materialisations of her own:

"Once I came across on the internet that a person has added straps to the bottom of the bag. She has made that strap herself, and it looked pretty handy. [name of social media account] designs sports equipment herself. It was she who added that yoga mat holder to this bag. I really enjoy watching her content and creating something of my own."

In this way by modifying her own bag, and being able to attach her Yoga mat, Kate has reproduced practices related to her bag, i.e., sewing straps etc., the digital content has informed her daily practices and the materiality of her bag.

Distinction Wars Online

The previous section has shown how the immaterial content has had resonances in terms of building communities and practices. This section will show how immateriality is used to create *social distinction* in the sense of Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1984b) usage of social groups keeping themselves distinguished.

The interviews revealed that some social media content creators aim to establish their uniqueness in their digital channels. These individuals on the one hand create a social media content over their bags and on the other hand try to keep it specific to themselves by obscuring their sources. In response, some others choose to expose the source to give credit to the original creators or highlight their brand. This tension between covering up and exposing the source is an immaterial conflict through which some participants accomplish themselves. Mathilda explained one such conflict as follows:

Some are doing gatekeeping so that we do not find the same thing as if that badge was made only for them. So that nobody owns the same, they lie and tell stuff like, it was a gift; a friend of mine crafted it. But of course, I'll find it when I do my research. I find them and buy them and

on top of that I post them by sharing the shopping link as well. Here! purchase it if you want as well.

It can be seen that both participants who share and do not share the knowledge are aiming for distinction through immaterial content over the material.

Fostering Relationships

This part reveals the ways in which sharing content related to bag materialisations can sustain and nourish relationships. Edgar uses social media content over his bag to express his affection to his girlfriend and to please her. He explains as follows: *“My girlfriend studies at another school, that’s why I posted a photo of the plushie she gave to me and tagged my girlfriend. [...] She loves it when I publish this sort of content and it makes her very happy.”* In his explanation it is seen that posting on social media a plushie hanging on his bag, is a way for Edgar to nurture his relationship. The complex arrangement of social media sharing, posting and materiality of bags is a way of nurturing one’s relationships. Frank shared a similar example of how him and his best friend solidified and nurtured their friendship over sharing their bag modifications on social media:

“I posted a photo showing my friend’s gift on my bag. I had the badge with Lightning McQueen from the animation, the Cars. And my friend had the sidekick, Mater, on his badge. I took a photo of it and tagged him before posting it on social media. He did the same with his, we kind of communicated through those.”

Edgar and Frank, both used the immaterial medium of social media to strengthen their *real-life* relationships.

Creating Content in Real Worlds

The last part of the analysis shows that immaterial posts on social media over bags can create content for *real* lives and bring people together, by providing them with a content to share and communicate. This part exemplifies how sharing content related to bag materialisations can create content for daily life and trigger social relationships.

Peter used the material qualities of his reversible backpack to create a social media content and shared this story online: *“Once, I posted my reversible bag on Instagram. I acted as if I was changing my outfit in less than a second. My friends had a good laugh watching it. Even one of the girls told me that I looked like Clark Kent, the Superman. I enjoyed these types of comments.”* This explanation showed that the immaterial social content created real life connections and content for Peter and his peers. Next to forming online communities, social media content enhances face-to-face interpersonal interactions (Boyd, 2011). And in this case social media content over bags has brought the friend group closer through shared humour.

Tom has discovered this effect of online sharing in terms of creating connection and real-life interaction and uses it on purpose to attract a particular person’s attention. He explains as follows: *“I have a Metallica badge on my bag. There is this girl I like, she sometimes comments on it or asks me to lend it to her. So, when I want her to text me, I post the badge by placing some Metallica track in the background.”* Instead of directly getting in contact, he

created a way of communicating through the badge, and a pattern of practice was created out of this interaction, where his online content triggers real life interaction.

Conclusion

The above examples showed that physical and digital worlds of bags are entangled, reproducing one another in numerous ways, as material keeps resonating in the digital immaterial world. Digital representations circulate in the physical realm of interaction with designed objects, social practices, and subjects. In some cases, the user subjects were actively making use of social media content to inform their material world, such as online window shopping, or purposefully tagging a certain music group to initiate romantic encounters. In other cases, they were passive and not intentional, as the Superman video attracted an unexpectedly pleasing audience, or users unknowingly formed a product repertoire through scrolling through social media content.

We can group these active and passive interactions under 6 headings: 1. Making use of the material to create an immaterial image, such as the representation of self in what is in my bag video. 2. Immaterial content forms a material repertoire, such as figures followed by students dictating their bag choices. 3. Digital content brings groups together in real life and produces practices, such as the swimmer group and modification practices of sewing a mat holder strap. 4. Digital content on physical products are a source of distinction, such as the information on source of the badges. 5. Digital representations of physical objects nurture relationships, such as sharing friends' matching badges. 6. Digital representations trigger real life actions, such as image of a badge starting a romantic lending practice.

The study does not claim that this is the final list nor it is the final interpretation of relationships around the subject matter. What is stressed here is the entanglement of material and immaterial worlds and that this entanglement consists of the subjects, practices, meanings and relationships. We feel the detailing here is connected to the discussion Güneş (2022) started in his questioning of the creation of the user subject. These instances show the moments the pre-imagined or created subject narrate their doings through digital representations of products.

These interactions were not designed into the bags that these high school students owned. Yet the digital environment of social media presented a similar real world in which meanings were made, practices were reproduced, relationships were nourished. The significance of school bags or products in general is reproduced in the interconnections between both the digital and physical worlds. The study detailed some of the ways in which the material and immaterial environments reproduce one another by showing the ways in which material content informs immaterial self, the immaterial content directs a material repertoire, immaterial content has resonances in terms of building communities and practices, immaterial content over materiality creates distinction, and sharing content related to bag modifications can sustain and nourish relationships. It is a good idea to keep in mind these resonances of physical products in non-physical social media tools, for

designers to curate more encompassing stories and lives for the physical products they design.

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