

New Mediators in Consumerism Activity on Malay Wedding

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ABSTRACT

The commodification of goods not only transforms traditional wedding commodity into a quantity form that can be assessed through purchasing power but simultaneously change the role and function of the mediator of traditional marriage. This study examines how the influence of a new cultural mediator plays a vital role in shaping the bride's dream wedding ceremony through consumerism activities. This study used a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews with 19 informants who are low-income Malay bride and their families that held a wedding ceremony in Kampung Melayu Sri Wira Damai, Selangor. Qualitative data from the in-depth interviews will be analysed using theme code or 'coding.' The data will be separated into key themes and converted into qualitative study results. Qualitative data findings were analysed using content analysis techniques. This study showed that most of the consumerism activities on commodities and wedding services, practised by most informants in performing their wedding ceremonies, were heavily influenced by direct and indirect new cultural mediators. Although these informants have low incomes, they cannot escape from being influenced and trapped by the culture of consumerism created by the capitalists.

Keywords: Commodification, commodity, consumerism, marriage, mediator

INTRODUCTION

Hosting a wedding feast, or *walimatulurus* in Arabic, is highly encouraged in Islam. Hosting the event is ruled as *Sunnah muakkadah* or 'confirmed Sunnah', meaning that it is demanded to be performed. In Islam, there are a few objectives to the performance of a wedding feast, which are (1) to express thankfulness towards Allah

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s.w.t, (2) to inform the public regarding the marriage that has taken place, specifically, the relationship that enables intercourse between the married couple, (3) to fulfil the *Sunnah muakkadah* demand, (4) to celebrate and commemorate the newlyweds, (5) to strengthen the bond of *silaturrahim*, familial, and Islamic brotherhood between the two sides of the bride and the groom, (6) to strengthen the Islamic bond between the Muslim community and the overall neighbourhood, and (7) to avoid slander and prejudice from society towards the married couple if their marriage was not declared and the wedding feast was not performed (“Berita Harian Online”, 2011).

Performing a wedding ceremony is not only a significant event in one’s life, but it is also a celebration that considers religious affairs (solemnisation) as well as customary demands. Therefore, the performance of traditional Malay wedding ceremonies has highly emphasised the demands of religion and custom to the point where wedding ceremonies are done to sheer perfection in terms of fulfilling both demands. Furthermore, traditional Malay communities have positions such as Buapak (Negeri Sembilan) and *mak andam* (in many Malaysian states), which ensure that a wedding adheres to religious and customary regulations.

However, advancement and social change in accordance with the flow of time have shifted the state of the traditional wedding ceremony. The phenomena of a world without borders have caused the wedding cultures of different societies,

especially the sub-cultures of Western weddings, to seep into the exercise of today’s Malay wedding ceremonies. Such a situation is explained by Argyrou (1996), Edwards (2006), Nik Ahmad (2010), Satoshi (1985), and Timothy et al. (2011), who discovered that the rise in wedding costs and the destruction of local wedding traditions are caused by the implementation of Western wedding traditions which are deemed as modern and ‘up to date’.

The commodification of wedding commodities not only changes the traditional wedding commodity into a quantity form that can be assessed through purchasing power but also transforms the role and function of the traditional wedding mediator. Such a change also subsequently transforms the role of the mediator of Malay culture from an individual well-versed in customs involving the performance of a Malay wedding to the mediator of a new culture. Therefore, this study discusses the various forms of new cultural mediators in introducing the ownership of dream wedding commodities among brides.

METHODS

In this study, the research chosen is aligned with the qualitative method. The choice of research is aligned with qualitative because it involves exploration and description study. The form of description and exploration is used to connect with the lack of literature related to the cultural study of consumerism in low-income Malay weddings, especially in the context of studies in Malaysia. In

addition, this study orientation approach is able to explain the studies that are considered new in the context of research in Malaysia.

Furthermore, this study uses in-depth interviews as its main method, with the exception of literature reviews and observations. The form of interview used is an unstructured interview with the informant. The interview method provides leeway for the researchers to delve into issues in activities pertaining to the consumption of wedding ceremonies. Furthermore, these unstructured interviews allow the researchers to ask a wider range of questions while the informants answer the questions freely. In addition to in-depth interviews, to strengthen the research data, a non-participating observation method is also used as a way to collect data without involving direct communication with informants. On the other hand, informants are observed only in the existing or natural environments. The advantage of using the observation method is that the information obtained in the study is more accurate because it is less likely to be affected by memory, among others.

The analysis unit selected for this study is a low-income Malay family earning below RM3000.00 per month. The selected analysis unit consists of the bride and groom who performed their wedding ceremony in Kampung Melayu Seri Wira Damai from March 2013 to April 2014. Apart from the bride and groom, the parents of the bride and groom were also used as an analysis unit in this study. The choice of the bride and groom

and their parents as an analysis unit is due to the fact that the wedding ceremony on the side of the bride's family is larger and filled with a culture of consumerism on the commodity and wedding services provided by the wedding industry as opposed to the implementation of the wedding ceremony performed next to the groom. In terms of the reliability of the data, the number of informants is not the main issue in qualitative studies. However, the extent to which the data collected becomes saturated with data even if the number of informants is small.

Since the data obtained is in the form of a text (interview), the researcher first rewrites and transcribes the interview session in the form of text. Next, the researchers used the method of manual qualitative data analysis to store text transcripts of interview results with study informants in the form of more structured data banks.

Researchers used the IBM Statistical Analysis (SPSS) version 24 software to produce this data bank. First, all the text of the interview that has been transcribed is included in the SPSS software. These texts are then 'cleaned' and then matched with the concepts that have been operated according to the objectives of this research study. 'Cleaned' means the same texts of meaning (based on the same question number between an informant and another informant) are united without reducing their original meaning and meaning. Texts that have matched the concepts are then issued in presenting a particular issue during the thesis writing.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The fact that past Malay wedding ceremonies were a mixture of customs (most of which were influenced by Hinduism) and Islamic rituals (solemnisation), certain individuals were assigned roles to ensure the smooth execution of the ceremony. Although the solemnisation ritual led by the Tok Kadi can deem a marriage legitimate, it is not the end of the wedding because, in a traditional Malay community, a wedding is not complete without the execution of a wedding reception. The joy of a wedding can be felt at the wedding, which includes various customary practices that the bride and groom must experience.

In performing a wedding reception, some cultural mediators are responsible and instrumental in ensuring the execution of a wedding ceremony proceeds smoothly while also adhering to Malay wedding customs. These cultural mediators normally consist of the head of customs (such as Buapak and Kedim for the traditional Malay communities that practice the Adat Papatih leadership system in Negeri Sembilan as well as several other small districts in the state of Malacca) and *mak andam* (Magiman, 2020; Selat & Hassan, 2014). These traditional cultural mediators are traditional socialisation agents in a traditional Malay wedding.

The head of customs (Buapak) is responsible for (1) handing over the engagement ring, which is when the side of the groom delivers the ring, the Buapak will act as the representative to accept said ring on behalf of his niece and will strike an agreement regarding the amount

for the wedding gift, the dowry, as well as determining the date of which the wedding will take place, (2) delivering customs, which is, to become the representative for the host in confirming the wedding customs and the wedding gift as had been determined during the prior process of delivering the engagement ring, and (3) handing-overs, in which the Buapak will act as the representative for the groom in settling the amount for wedding expense and wedding gift imposed by the side of the bride towards the groom. Therefore, as head of customs, the essence of a Buapak can be witnessed in the cancellation of a wedding ceremony due to the absence of the Buapak at said ceremony.

A Kedim will come into play once a Buapak is unable to attend a wedding ceremony due to several reasons, such as a hostile relationship between the Buapak and the father of the bride or the Buapak being absent from the location where the wedding is taking place. Usually, those elected as a Kedim must possess a profound understanding of wedding customs. Besides understanding the twists and turns of wedding customs, a Kedim also supervises the tasks required to arrange a wedding reception. Therefore, the responsibility of a Kedim as a substitute for a Buapak in a wedding ceremony is to act as the navigator to the implementation of wedding customs (Selat & Hassan, 2014).

In most states in Peninsula Malaysia, a woman known as *mak andam* is in charge of managing matters concerning the execution of a wedding ceremony. The leading role

of *mak andam* is beautifying the bride while ensuring the wedding ceremony goes according to plan. Mak Andam's beautifying role includes (1) uplifting facial beauty, (2) shaving (to observe whether the bride is still a virgin for the process of uplifting facial beauty), and (3) *berlangir* or *berlimau* (warding off misfortunes and mystical forces). Furthermore, some *mak andam* are capable of acting as the bride's 'guardian' throughout the wedding ceremony as they are well capable of curing and healing the bride in a case in which they fall ill or unexpectedly become unconscious due to reasons of exhaustion malicious acts of others or suchlike (Kasimin, 1989).

When the most material culture in weddings of the Malay people had gone through the process of commodification, such a situation also produced new cultural mediators in certain wedding productions or wedding services in the wedding industry that they ventured in. The findings suggest that two forms of new cultural mediators influenced the informants' consumption activities of wedding commodities and services. Among them are (1) direct new cultural mediators and (2) indirect new cultural mediators.

Direct New Cultural Mediator

Direct new cultural mediators are individuals (wedding industry entrepreneurs) who run their businesses directly with the consumers. Through direct business transactions, details and information regarding certain wedding commodities and services were being channelled directly to the consumers. Such

an occurrence was in accordance with an explanation by an informant, which was Ryka:

"...To organise a wedding ceremony, I have to 'deal' with a variety of different salespersons that provide wedding supplies and services needs. It isn't an easy task as I must meet with multiple different people with wedding business backgrounds at different times while also having to go to different places because not all wedding business entrepreneurs that I wanted are in the same area. I prefer meeting directly with the entrepreneurs to get information regarding the supplies and services that I wanted as it's much faster and polite that way...."

Many of the informants also stated how they had received information regarding certain desired wedding supplies through owners, sellers, or shop assistants. Such a case was akin to the one stated by one of the informants, named Ummi:

"...most of the wedding supplies that I had purchased were recommended and advised by the salespersons. It's not that I didn't make a checklist for the wedding supplies, but when I was at the shops, there were multiple different varieties and styles of wedding supplies. To make things easier, I asked the salespersons for advice to pick and choose the best possible wedding

supplies. They were more insightful and well-informed regarding the matter at hand, in terms of quality, prices that followed the budget, supplies' functionality, current trends, and so forth. This helped save my time while finding wedding supplies...."

Based on the statements made by most informants, it was indicated that the direct new cultural mediators varied according to their fields of business. The direct new cultural mediators may consist of wedding boutique owners, catering services owners, *bunga telur* providers, gift-related goods providers, canopy rental providers, beauty spas owners, wedding cake providers, souvenirs providers, *inai* or henna artists, photographers, fast food entrepreneurs, and more.

New cultural mediators were limited to entrepreneurs of commodities and services, as well as workers involved in the wedding industry, such as sales executives, shop assistants, and sales associates. It is because they were also involved in giving out information regarding certain products and services available to the point where a business transaction occurred with the consumer. This situation is aligned with a statement made by Tourine (1985) in that the existence of diverse forms of the new cultural mediators is because of the increase in symbolic goods offered in the market, the demand for the new cultural mediators that possess the ability to change cultural tradition to produce symbolic goods while

also provide new interpretation to those symbolic goods are high.

For many informants, new cultural mediators served as new socialisation agents in addition to trading commodities and services. The purpose of these new cultural mediators was to educate (carry out negotiations, provide advice, counsel, suggestions, and information regarding certain wedding commodities and services offered) and instil fairy tales and fantasies in the usage of certain wedding commodities and services to turn buyers into regular spenders.

In addition to individuals, the actual location is also part of the direct new cultural mediators. An actual location is a location or a place to manifest business transactions between sellers and buyers. Examples of tangible locations include a building, a house shop, industrial areas, and more. In the research field of consumer behaviour, an actual location is a part of the consumers' internally scavenged information. This internally scavenged information is information grounded on consumers' past purchasing experiences, queries of information or advice from friends and relatives, or being influenced by advertisements or sellers (Pantik & Rahman, 2004). The findings from interviews with most informants revealed that the main location that had become their choice for purchasing wedding products and services was Nilai 3, Negeri Sembilan.

The findings showed that many bride informants had purchased items for their wedding ceremonies at Nilai. Two of the

five informants stated that they had prior information regarding Nilai 3 through their group of friends. Such a matter is as stated by one of the informants by the name of Yati:

“...I knew about Nilai 3 through friends who had previously purchased their own wedding items over there, but I myself had been there two or three times in the past....”

Meanwhile, the other three bride informants stated how they had known about Nilai 3 based on their own experiences of purchasing there. Such a matter is evident through a statement made by one of the informants by the name of Laila:

“...I had known about Nilai 3 for a long time as I had been there in order to purchase wedding necessities for my younger sibling’s wedding....”

Based on the statements, the informants utilised the source of information from their friends as well as their own previous purchasing experiences to perform consumption activities in Nilai 3. These study findings parallel Bettman et al.’s (1978) statement that the decision-making process among consumers is influenced not only by the element of the task but also by how said information is prepared in the consumers’ environment. It includes previous consumer purchasing experiences and information obtained through friends, families, sellers or other consumers that had utilised a certain product or service.

It is equally observable that a loyalty pattern existed among the informants when they stated how they performed purchasing activities in said destination two or three times in the past. According to Abu-Alhaija et al. (2018) and Dharmmesta (2009), consumer loyalty can be defined as a consumer’s persistence to continue using the same product from the same place or shop. This loyalty depicts the expected nature of products or services that had previously been purchased or used. The loyalty of consumers will skyrocket once a product is deemed capable of providing the highest degree of satisfaction to the point where consumers refuse to switch to other existing locations or shops. Moreover, the results of this study also fulfil two characteristics of loyal customers in a previous claim made by Griffin (2002), which is that customers who are loyal towards a certain product or service will (1) repetitively perform purchases and (2) purchase the same products or use the same services at similar places or shops.

Besides, the selection of Nilai 3 as the destination for purchasing wedding commodities among many informants was based on the reputation of that specific destination. Nilai 3 was known as the biggest wholesale centre for wedding products in Peninsula Malaysia while at the same time offering comparatively lower prices for said products compared to other sales points. Such a matter is as stated by one of the informants by the name of Ummi:

“...because that place is well-known for the sales of its variety and cheap wedding items....”

This finding is also parallel to the study performed by Benedict et al. (1991), which stated that besides a strategic location that provides ease of accessibility, having various facilities for visitors, different activities that facilitate each other and traditionally possess certain image or reputation can attract more consumers and visitors. Consumers and visitors are important components of business activities. Therefore, shopping centres must have a certain pulling power. It is because such a feature is important in influencing visitors in their decision-making process while selecting their preferred and suitable shopping centre for their next visit (Dennis et al., 2000; Wahid & Ismail, 2000).

This concept of purchasing loyalty was further reinforced by the pricing factor offered in Nilai 3. This finding is also in accordance with the research by Dharmmesta (2009), who claimed that the pricing factor is also linked to the customer loyalty factor. A price is an amount of money that is required to procure a certain amount of combination of products alongside its services. Besides being a source of income for those in the wedding industry, a price is also connected to the quality of the product or service. Those in the wedding industry formulate a strategy that generates profit for them and provides satisfaction to their customers with reasonable or cheaper prices than their competitors while maintaining a high-quality product. Meanwhile, according to Boom and Willem (2010), the pricing factor plays an instrumental role for consumers before proceeding with a transaction. In addition, purchasing a

product with a steep and unreasonable price will be damaging to consumers.

The result of interviews with most of the informants also showed how their purchasing activity patterns on wedding commodities in Nilai 3 were influenced by sellers there. This matter matches a statement by one of the informants, who went by the name of Ryka:

“...It’s quite difficult to make a choice once you are there. I’ll typically inquire with the sellers regarding my desired wedding products. Although it’s obvious that they have the items that I wanted, the multiple different variations of those products necessitated me to ask for perspectives and recommendations from the sellers to obtain the best possible products. They (the sellers) are more knowledgeable regarding their inventories whether in terms of their types (shapes and patterns), material, quality, and price....”

It indicates that sellers had considerable influence on informants’ purchasing patterns. Through negotiations, recommendations, providing perspectives, and persuasion (handing out discounts, promotions, and complementary gifts) regarding wedding commodities sold, informants’ purchasing patterns will consequently be influenced. Sellers from shops in Nilai 3 were also part of the new cultural mediators as they were also involved in marketing activities (supplying information regarding commodities they sell while simultaneously selling commodities

produced by the capitalists). This matter is parallel to a statement by Bourdieu (1984), which is that 'new cultural mediators may consist of those who work in mass media, involved in the field of fashion designing, advertising, and various other professions that consider information regarding production, marketing, as well as symbolic goods.

Besides acting as the new cultural mediators, sellers in Nilai 3 were socialisation agents to many informants. Through the process of negotiations, providing perspectives and suggestions to many of the informants regarding certain products they sell, they will consequently become an essential source of information to most of the informants in their decision to purchase the absolute best wedding products for their wedding ceremonies.

The existence of Nilai 3 as the largest centre for purchasing wedding commodities in this country was not only to provide wedding necessities but also to exhibit how capitalists (wedding industry players) had provided a special business site on a large scale that had become a shopping heaven for future married couples across Peninsula Malaysia. The term 'shopping heaven' is used here to indicate how Nilai 3 can not only offer varieties of wedding commodities because of the use of capitalists' commodity logic but also, at the same time, offers wholesale prices for the commodities. Therefore, it is undeniable that the existence of Nilai 3 as a special one-stop centre for all things related to wedding commodities was an initiative by

the capitalists themselves to materialise a relationship directly between them and the consumers, ultimately inevitably generating such tremendous profit.

Apart from creating a consumption activity relationship, Nilai 3 was also responsible as a centre for the spread of the source of information regarding wedding commodities to consumers. The source of information regarding certain commodities, whether an existing symbolic item or a new symbolic item in accordance with current trends at that location, was obtainable through observation or clarification by the sellers. To put it simply, although Nilai 3 was a shopping centre for wedding commodities, it functioned simultaneously as a consumer socialisation agent. This finding, by implication, had refined a theory made by Stallybrass and White (1986) concerning the existence of carnivals, exhibitions, and supermarkets that those places play two main roles, which are (1) as a spot for product marketing, and (2) as venues for amusement.

Thus, the existence of Nilai 3 as Malaysia's largest shopping centre for wedding commodities can be argued to be one of the new cultural mediators' initiatives to not only sell wedding products and commodities but also to plant a desire through the use of the wedding products and commodities that they had sold. It was, without a doubt, to guide consumers to become fanatics to the point where extravagance and wastefulness were deemed reasonable actions to achieve fairy tale dreams seeded by none other

than themselves through purchasing and enjoying purchased items. Hence, it can be concluded that the purposes of Nilai 3 are still consistent with a statement made by Bakhtin (1968), Featherstone (1991), and Stallybrass and White (1986), which are (1) to increase and expand their production to create a new market for capitalists and educate the mass to become devoted consumers, and (2) to spread various images regarding consumerism that emphasises on amusement and desires that is alternative where consumption activities are considered reasonable activities even though performed in an extravagant and wasteful manner.

Indirect New Cultural Mediator

The indirect new cultural mediators are the flow of information resources through mass media groups that capitalists used to sell wedding commodities or services that they manufactured. Magazines, newspapers, programmes (print media), the internet, television, and radio are among the various types of mass media (electronic media). However, in the context of this study, most of the informants used only two types of mass media to gather information about current wedding commodities and services: (1) magazines (print media) and (2) the internet (electronic media).

Most female brides said they used magazines as a reference source to gather information about current wedding commodities and services. It is similar to a statement made by one of the informants, by the name of Laila:

“For the purpose of gathering information regarding wedding supplies I did use magazines because now, there are a lot of magazines focusing on the topic of weddings available in the market. It’s also convenient to use magazines as all information related to the topic of weddings nowadays can be obtained in only one magazine....”

These findings showed how magazines became the choice for most of the informants among the female brides because information surrounding the current sphere of a wedding can be obtained through only one medium. It is parallel to Barnes and Yamamoto (2008), although the development of information and communication technology (ICT) is deemed to have started to challenge the position of the conventional forms of mass media such as magazines, we can nonetheless still see now that magazines are still providing positive impact towards advertisement due to its broad and extensive reachability and accessibility towards a heterogeneous target. According to Bara et al. (2021) and Barnes and Yamamoto (2008), magazines are the most significant and effective form of mass media for advertising products to influence female consumers.

Apart from magazines, two other informants among the brides also stated that they had utilised internet social media such as Facebook and blogs to gather information regarding wedding supplies. Such a case can be seen in the one stated by one of the informants by the name of Yati:

“I chose to use ‘fb’ because online sellers will try their absolute best to provide verified information regarding the products they are selling. They also include photographs, videos, and testimonies from those who had previously used their products apart from just the information....”

Based on the statement, the use of the internet as a source of information relied on the validity of information regarding the commodities and services they provided. That information was reinforced by providing photographs, videos, and user testimonies from those who had used the wedding commodities and services they provided. According to Mew (2009) and Omar and Hasim (2021), social networking pages have become the modern social platform that considers mass involvement that no longer work only as tools or facilities for distribution, archiving, and low-cost while based only on texts. However, it changes to the social media that are utilised anytime and anywhere besides providing social networking facilities and interaction between readers and writers.

The use of magazines and the internet to gather current information on wedding commodities and services served only as a vessel or platform for capitalists to create a market and sell wedding commodities and services to consumers. The direct new cultural mediators were still creating a market using the indirect cultural mediators to gain profit. Such a situation is like the one mentioned by Bourdieu (1984), in

that these mass media groups are known as ‘new cultural mediators’ which consist of those who are working in mass media, those who are involved in fashion designing, advertising, and various other professions that consider information related to production, marketing, and symbolic goods. Therefore, this showed that mass media were a part of capitalist agents that had a role in constructing consumerism activities among consumers.

Those two forms of mass media also showed that they were not only capitalist agents in constructing markets and consumerism among consumers but also functioned as socialisation agents towards the consumers. Through these groups of different mass media, various information regarding wedding commodities and services was displayed to the consumers. This situation directly brought about two scenarios, which were (1) mass media educate consumers to accept a ‘new culture’ in wedding ceremonies, and (2) visualise and construct fairy tales regarding wedding commodities and services to turn consumers into avid spenders.

In the field of consumers, the activity of purchasing is unlikely to occur in the absence of influence from cultural intermediaries. Cultural intermediaries play a role in disseminating various images of consumerism that focus on the pleasure and desire of an alternative nature where consumption is seen as excessive and wasteful activity. The existence of popular cultural intermediaries such as carnivals, exhibitions, and festivals has inadvertently

created a liminal space in which the world's life is distorted, prohibited, full of fantasy, and from a wonderful dream, and in which the use of a certain product is about to be realised. The existence of supermarkets and hypermarkets is also the result of the 'dream world'. The phantasmagoria of a wide range of commodities displayed on a large and continuous basis will be renewed as part of the capitalist and modernist factions driving toward the sophistication that is the source of the dream mentioned above image. Items on display are fed a semi-conscious illusion that constantly changes until the object appears to be separated from the context and subject. All dreams are collected half-consciously and shaped into desires in commodities. Finally, purchasing and enjoying the purchased commodity or service fills those dreams. Through photographic images, new cultural intermediaries such as mass media, the internet, and social networking sites have further enhanced the 'dream world' in consumption activities, allowing us to remain hardcore users.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the commodification process created various wedding commodities and services. These distinct types of wedding services and commodities brought along multiple forms of new cultural mediators. Cultural mediators can be subdivided into two categories, which are (1) direct new cultural mediators (boutique owners, catering service providers, photographers, henna artists, make-up artists, *kompang*

service providers, announcers (DJ), sellers, and Nilai 3, and (2) indirect new cultural mediators (magazines and the internet).

Despite the fact that there are two new cultural mediators, the findings of this study indicated that many of the informants leaned towards utilising direct new cultural mediators. Furthermore, this inclination to use direct new cultural mediators was strictly linked to most informants' convenience and belief in conventional business transactions. Nonetheless, regardless of the form of cultural mediators that exist currently, they are unquestionably capitalist agents whose primary goal is profit.

The new cultural mediators' role was to sell wedding commodities and services provided by capitalists and act as socialisation agents on their behalf, educating consumers to accept the 'new culture' in wedding ceremonies. Examples of new cultures in Malay wedding ceremonies include (1) wedding theme, (2) wedding bouquet, (3) souvenirs, (3) catering, (4) photo booth mask, (5) flower carrier, (6) guest book, (8) wedding arch, (9) wedding cake and more. The new cultural mediators educate consumers to accept new cultures and continue being avid spenders. Being extravagant in their expenditures is considered reasonable to live inside the fairy tales implanted in them. Therefore, the role of the new cultural mediators is to spread various images of consumerism that emphasise fun and desire in an alternative nature where consumption activities are deemed as reasonable activities. However, they are done in an extravagant and wasteful

manner. Capitalists increased and expanded production through new cultural mediators is deemed necessary to create a new market and act as socialisation agents to educate the public to become avid consumers continuously. Thus, although the informants are categorised as low-income individuals, it is impossible for them not to be influenced and clutched by the capitalists' consumerism culture.

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