

The Extended Self: Youth's Identity in the Music Consumption of Indonesian Spotify Users

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Abstract

The music streaming service provider app, Spotify, accommodates users to customize their music consumption to suit their needs. Not only for listening to music, but Spotify also allows users to show off their musical tastes through other social media channels. The process of music consumption in Spotify becomes a tool of identity construction as well as distinguishing individuals by their social circle, and makes individuals feel that they are part of a particular group. This study examined the process of constructing user's identity through music consumption on Spotify, where there is a process of extended self into the social media sphere. This research was conducted with virtual ethnographic method towards Indonesian Spotify users. The results indicated that informants used music consumption in Spotify as a way to construct an extended self in the digital space, primarily through ownership of Spotify profiles and music preferences.

Keywords: digital culture, media psychology, music consumption, self-identity, spotify

Abstrak

Aplikasi penyedia layanan streaming musik, Spotify, mengakomodasi pengguna untuk menyesuaikan konsumsi musik sesuai dengan kebutuhan mereka. Tidak hanya berhenti dalam mendengarkan musik saja, Spotify memungkinkan pengguna untuk memamerkan selera musik mereka melalui kanal media sosial lain. Proses konsumsi musik dalam Spotify menjadi alat konstruksi identitas sekaligus pembeda diri individu dengan lingkar sosialnya, serta membuat individu merasa menjadi bagian dalam suatu kelompok tertentu. Penelitian ini menelaah proses konstruksi identitas diri pengguna melalui konsumsi musik di Spotify, di mana terjadi proses perpanjangan diri ke dalam ruang media sosial. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan metode etnografi virtual terhadap kaum muda Indonesia pengguna Spotify. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan informan menggunakan konsumsi musik dalam Spotify sebagai cara untuk mengonstruksi perpanjangan dirinya dalam ruang digital, utamanya melalui kepemilikan atas profil Spotify dan preferensi musik.

Kata Kunci: budaya digital, identitas diri, konsumsi musik, psikologi media, spotify

INTRODUCTION

Music consumption is one example that is affected by the way of consumption changes in the digital era (Aguilar, 2017; Aguilar & Martens, 2016). Consumption of music was initially done by buying and collecting physical albums, listening to the radio, or collecting

merchandise from preferred musicians. In this digital era, music consumption has been shifting to the ownership of digital music collections provided by various streaming music services. Streaming music services, like Spotify, provide services that largely focus on the experience of listening to music by providing large collections of music to their users and have a variety of features that allow users to curate the music based on their personal preferences. Streaming music services also offer a music experience as a selling point to their users. The experience offers abundant music content, although, in reality, streaming services are working like cable television providers, which is creating content access levels for a variety of different scenarios offered to consumers (Morris & Powers, 2015).

At this time, music streaming services have enabled people to listen to more songs from varied musicians. According to Business of Apps, more than 70 millions of Spotify's songs collection have made it easier for consumers to sort and choose what they want to listen to on the gadget screen (Curry, 2022). This is a contrast to physical albums that only provide a set of music collections with a much smaller number of songs. Streaming music services are also multifunctional. In addition to providing a service to listen to music more practically, Spotify also allows the users to connect to one another in their services. Spotify users can follow other users and receive music feeds from each other.

Users of streaming music services like Spotify are able to share music and playlists they created on social media such as Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. On top of that, the song can be embedded in blog posts. On the other hand, Spotify also has a 'private mode' feature; it allows user's feed to be hidden from their profile's followers. In streaming music services, the social relationships occur in two directions: (1) music sharing, in which is related to providing music recommendations explicitly or implicitly, and (2) users can follow and explore other people's profile pages and find music recommendations (Hagen & Lüders, 2017). In other words, Spotify enables users to interact socially in forms of giving and receiving music recommendations.

The activity of sharing music is increasingly carried out by young people in the digital era when streaming music services allow users to share music they listen to through social media. This was proven by the success of the Spotify Wrapped campaign in 2019; Campaigns that show recapitulation of user habits when listening to songs in the past year. In one of its articles, Forbes explained that the recapitulation was formed in an attractive personalization content format that is easy to be shared again on social media like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter (Swant, 2019).

Spotify Wrapped 2019 successfully gained more than 60 million users to engage in the campaign and amassed nearly 3 billion streams from Wrapped playlists (Swant, 2019). Since then, Spotify Wrapped has become an annual grand program held on every end of the year. It has also become a place for Spotify users to share a recapitulation of their music consumption on Spotify to social media. The success of the Spotify Wrapped campaign is an indication of someone's tendency to share music on social media as a representation of their identity as well as an extension of their digital self. Moreover, many users of streaming music services are found that display Spotify profile links on their social media accounts.

Profiles of the user's streaming music service can show curated music packaged in the form of playlists. The playlist, which can be arranged by the owner, can be accessed by the

public or not. Therefore the activity of listening to music through streaming music services can be both personal and social. The activity of sharing music with friends and others in streaming music services or social media shows how users perceive their social interaction experiences in streaming music services or social media shows how users consider their social interaction experiences in streaming music services to be part of the perspective of self-performance as reflective and social practice (Hagen & Lüders, 2017).

The activity of sharing music itself can be used as one of the signs of a person's identity (Bennett, 2017; Martin & Morel, 2012). The presence of music in everyday life helps the process of framing various situations that are used as the main ingredient in the process of identity formation. The period of adolescence into adulthood is the most vociferous for someone to form and determine their identity (Bennett & Robards, 2014; Gardner & Davis, 2013; Purwaningtyas, 2020b). When youth meet the social world through different cultural tastes, they also gain social knowledge through discourses on music and are able to learn how to perceive the world differently.

In the digital age, it is widely discovered how youth share their interests and passions on the internet, one of which is by sharing music (Gardner & Davis, 2013; Osgerby, 2020). Music can indicate meaning tied to the perception of double codes, namely the internal game of signs in music and references that connect music to socio-cultural entities or personal life. The control users have in Spotify has given them access to share music and make links that can directly connect to their Spotify profiles. Profile's link, playlists, musicians, albums, and preferred music can be shared and displayed on their social media account, even via short message services. The recent phenomenon is that young people posted their Spotify profile's links in their social media bio. In addition to that, the behavior of sharing music or music-related content is also often found on social media, ranging from Twitter to Instagram. Posts made by the youth are one of the ways to show their identity (Purwaningtyas, 2020a). This identity is often shown as extended self through the products they consume.

This paper focuses on youth's digital extended self that is demonstrated through music consumption patterns in streaming service Spotify. In the digital age, the concept of extended self continues to evolve and is progressively affected by virtual influences. Belk updated his conception of extended self in the digital space with five significant changes: (1) dematerialization, (2) re-embodiment, (3) sharing, (4) co-construction of the self, and (5) distributed memory (Belk, 2013, 2014). These five points are an indication that someone's extended self is influenced by many factors, both external and internal, and forms a variety of consumption activities. This is because consumption is not a monotonous process, but rather be the embodiment of varied, complex, and multi-dimensional ways (Huang, 2005, p. 42).

Digital extended self becomes a form of presentation of a person's identity on the internet. Consumption activities can be used to show a person's identity on the internet and make it as their own (whether digital or not) an extension of them. In this way, consumers make their identity present by associating themselves with the products they consume. On the other hand, the digital age and social media provide a constant feeling of being cared for. Belk refers to this as digital gaze which is a feeling of always being watched or perceived by others through posts that someone uploaded on social media (Belk, 2013, 2014). The existence of 'eyes', watching someone in the digital realm causes a person to be more careful in posting

something that they consume on the internet (Purwaningtyas, 2019). The individuals will observe and sort the information that they will share to the digital space, which will then cause an association between themselves and the information. The digital realm provides space for a person to build the construction of a digital collage through symbols and signs to represent and express self-concept (Cover, 2019; Purwaningtyas, 2020a).

Belk argues that models of digital consumption, sharing, and access control can provide a source for identity instruction or at least provide greater opportunities where identities can be controlled and communicated to more people (Belk, 2013, 2014). In the digital space, youth's identity has been defined into two types, namely social/collective identity and personal identity (Bennett & Robards, 2014; Subrahmanyam & Smahel, 2011). Collective identity is centered on the expectations and normative standards of closest people and other groups such as family, community, religion, and country while personal identity is based on personal self-attributes which include personal values, goals, self-knowledge, and unique psychological states (Bennett & Robards, 2014). The concept of identity possessed by a person becomes crucial because it is used as a reference for self-continuity and differentiation of self with others.

In the theory of identity, a person is reflexive, so it can take itself as an object and categorize, classify, or name itself in a certain way to other social categories or classifications (Gündüz, 2017). This is referred to as identification which ends with the formation of identity. Moreover, an identity is formed by self-view that emerged from the reflective activity of categorization or self-identification of membership in a particular group or role (Stokes & Price, 2017). Identity construction can be bridged through a person's set of ownership that they can control even though such ownership takes the form of psychological ownership, such as social media accounts or streaming music services profiles. One source of identity construction can be obtained through their association with the music they consume. Through these explanations, researchers wanted to see how the construction of a person's extended self identity in the digital realm can be provided through music and how individuals access also use music in the digital realm with their own intention.

Consumption can be a behavior that defines identity and self-expression. A person will tend to choose products and brands that are relevant to themselves and can communicate a certain identity (Thompson & Loveland, 2015). This consumption activity can be used as a significant source of symbolic meaning that we implement and maintain for the projected self. Consumers express different feelings about themselves by retelling their stories as a reflection of their identity. Someone often uses ownership as well as consumer goods as symbols to form their identity, to connect with those closest to them, and also to take a greater part in society (Wong et al., 2012). This is because ownership carries cultural and symbolic meaning and is often seen as a communication tool of self-expression to others.

Cultural and symbolic meanings contained in cultural products are used as a medium for a person to communicate self-identity, and music is an example of a cultural product. Music is considered as expressive, yet simultaneously avoids analytic attempts to pin it on semantic consequences. Thus, the meaning of music is socially constructed. Social activities construct meaning, transform sound into music and provide music users with a symbolic and cultural resource to construct their identity (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). Hence, symbolic

consumption refers to the use of symbolic meaning by consumers of a product to construct, maintain, and express identity/self to put them in society.

Identity in a coherent social situation with symbolic consumption is a continuous process in which a unique identity is obtained through social mutual engagement (Davis, 2014). This identity forms a coherent trajectory connecting the past, present, and future, but is characterized by continuous movement as when someone is negotiating its identity through social practice. Therefore, continuity in identity, especially in social situations, can be reflected in symbolic consumption practices. There is a desire to choose music that is known and appreciated by all those who share the experience of listening to music. This could indicate the existence of a social play that is co-designed and available in a practical community, and used by individuals as a resource for the identity construction process (Luna-Cortés, 2017).

Youth are able to use music as a guide to identify the characteristics of fans of a particular style exhibited, and as a way to determine their own identity (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). Somebody can judge other preferences from hidden messages such as values and attitudes embraced by other young people. Youth also use music to sustain their social activities such as 'listening to create self-image', 'listening to be considered cool/trendy', and 'listening to music to please others' (peers for example) (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020).

The presence of social categorization motivates a person to behave with the intention to get a positive response from their group (Gardner & Davis, 2013). Music, which can be characterized as a person's identity, is used to create boundaries between ourselves and others as well as to communicate where we belong in our social landscape (Hagen & Lüders, 2017). Moreover, youth tend to regard music as an important medium in their lives. Youth tend to appreciate the entertainment offered by music, and also use music to deal with the problems of character development within them (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). Music becomes an important cultural product in the formation of personal identity because of the linkages of memory and emotional bonds that exist between music and certain individuals. Moreover, the personal experience that a person goes through with certain music forms a sense of ownership between the individual and the music.

Music consumption also provides youth a medium to construct, negotiate, and modify aspects of their identity and group identity, offering them a set of strategies to know themselves and connect with others (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). The idea that music gives youth the freedom to simply 'be': be themselves, be different, be someone they think they will never be able to, feel comfortable and relax in school and their living environment. The music depicted youth to be able to guide them in shaping their broader sense of self, who they were, and how they can succeed in the world (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020).

The youth has made music an important cultural product to consume because it can fulfill their emotional and social needs and play a role in diverting them from socially inappropriate actions. As well as directing them to maximum self-development. In addition to being a means of self-expression, youth consider music as social glue; a tool to unite them with peers, and as a bridge to build acceptance and tolerance for people of different ages, ethnicities, and other cultural circumstances. In particular, young people regard music in the making of their personal and collective identity as a youth (Hagen & Lüders, 2017).

Music consumption becomes an integral activity for youth where they use music as a medium to form their identity as well as social identity. This consumption activity is carried out symbolically where youth use the meaning contained in cultural products, in this case, music, to utilize it depending on the motives of consumption carried out. There are motives of music consumption, namely: (1) to feel the music, (2) to achievement certain goals, (3) to socialize, and (4) to strengthen the bond with peers (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). This shows that music is not just a medium of auditory satisfaction. Music consumption was originally used to fulfill personal needs as well as regulate mood and coping with stress. But music can also be used for socializing to put oneself within its social sphere.

The motive of music consumption allows someone to form a personal identity of youth and, along with the formation of youth's self-identity, to find their place in the social landscape. Music that sticks as a self-attribute, whether we realized it or not, has become an extended self. Whether it is through the collection of music that they have or through the music they share on social media. The use of music is a means to change self-image in order to change or improve interactions and long-term relationships with others (Aguiar, 2017; Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). This concept will be relevant to research by looking at the emerging correlation between self-identity and the use of music as an element in self-construction.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is conducted by virtual ethnographic method with qualitative approach. Virtual ethnography uses online space as a referenced data source and focuses on the activities carried out by its users, be it from various social networking sites or the internet environment itself. Virtual ethnography refers to case studies of media events to explore computer-mediated communication within/and about the internet and can be applied to individuals/personalities not only limited to virtual communities (Hine, 2015). Hine argues that virtual ethnographic methods refer to the internet as cultural artifacts as well as sites for cultural practices carried out in online settings as an instrument in demonstrating the complex nature of social and internet-based interactions, also allows ethnographers to explore new cultural formations emerging online (Hine, 2017).

The selection of informants was based on the following criteria: (1) actively using social media and active in the digital realm in general; (2) is a Spotify music streaming service user and has been subscribed for at least one year; (3) willing to provide information related to music consumption activities that informants do in the digital realm; (4) Indonesian with an age range of 17-23 years (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 40 Tahun 2009 Tentang Kepemudaan, 2009). Six informants were selected; consisted of three females and three males, in order to provide a balanced gender perspective on the experience of music consumption that leads to the construction of digital extended self. Researchers considered six is a sufficient number of informants for virtual ethnographic research that targets profoundness for the data. Informants have consented to their data being published without pseudonyms.

Virtual ethnographic procedures are generally formed through participant observation where the researchers become part of the activities carried out by informants on related sites. The field site in this study is an exploration of the networked field of exploration conducted with the selection approach from several sites, some of which are Spotify, Instagram, and

Twitter, to be explored and focused on observing and interviewing participants, highlighting participants' understanding and explore different meanings in various sites related to each other (Hine, 2015; Snee et al., 2017).

Table 1. Informants' Profile

No.	Name	Age	Sex	Been using Spotify for	Share Spotify content to
1.	Azira	22	Female	4 years	Instagram and Twitter
2.	Deva	23	Male	5 years	Instagram and Twitter
3.	Juan	22	Male	2 years	Instagram and Twitter
4.	Jordan	23	Male	4 years	Instagram and Twitter
5.	Jasmine	23	Female	3 years	Instagram and Twitter
6.	Bunga	17	Female	2 years	Instagram and Twitter

Source: research data

The active involvement of researchers in a virtual ecosystem where informants are active will make the researchers' observations more authentic, in the sense that they will be identical to the experience of informants. Thus, data collection process is carried out in three ways, in which are observation, interview, and documentation. Data analysis process is carried out by extracting data over polyvocality into the categorization of the framework which later become the result of this study. In the spirit of ethnography, this study does not try to find truth or error, but rather try to search for similarities and differences and why they occur, by explaining the existing context.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The features provided by Spotify become one of the strongest factors for someone to use Spotify as a music streaming service in their daily life. Music streaming services, such as Spotify, have high functionality due to sophisticated recommendation systems, various payment plan options, as well as interactive social media sharing features (Kinnally & Bolduc, 2020). With all the features available in Spotify, users generally have their favorite features for their own reasons. In this study, informants tend to like the variety of features offered by Spotify. They utilize and explore what can be used in Spotify, ranging from the ease of creating a playlist, annual activity reports such as "Spotify Wrapped", personalized playlists generated by Spotify, lyric features, to share features to various other social platforms.

Personalized playlists offered by Spotify are often used by young people because they can discover new music easily according to their music preference criteria. Whether it's through *'liking'* or *'favoriting'* music or mood-based playlists, time-based playlists, personalized recommendation algorithms, music streaming services aim to articulate, understand, and in some cases, shape the listener's sentiment (Morris & Powers, 2015). Although not all personalized playlists will be liked entirely by users, at least some music tracks can be enjoyed by users. This is because personalized playlists are generated based on a track record of songs have been listened to by users produced by the work of Spotify algorithms; Users then make this feature as their alternative in finding and discovering new music.

In this study, one type of personalized playlist is “Release Radar”, which tends to be liked by some informants. This tendency is due to the practicality they gain through the feature, especially when they have formed their own music preferences and are no longer looking for new musicians or music genres to explore. The “Release Radar” playlist feature is then suitable for discovering new music. “Release Radar” becomes a personalized playlist offered by Spotify that contains the latest music from musicians followed by users. That way, personalized playlists practically provide a curated of the latest music from musicians who are favored by users and become an alternative for users to find new music more or less suitable preference criteria.

In addition, the personalized playlist feature "Discover Weekly" is also a favorite of most informants. Unlike "Release Radar", personalized playlists of the type "Discover Weekly" provide users with a curated of music that matches the criteria of music preferences but may not have been heard by users. The informant stated that "Discover Weekly" became one of their sources of knowledge about new music. The music found in the personalized playlist "Discover Weekly" will then be included in a personal playlist if it suits their preferences.

“My favorite feature on Spotify is Discover Weekly. I don’t know if Release Radar is updated every week or not. But Discover Weekly is updated every week, and that’s what makes me like Discover Weekly, first thing first the songs are different every week, then if I listen to this week Discover Weekly, for example, I listen to it all and there must be a song that maybe I don’t like but if there are songs that I like. Well, when there is a song that I like I can directly add it to my playlist. Every week I add a playlist from Discover Weekly because I listen to all that songs one by one which one is good that’s it.”
-Jordan

Personalized playlists can give users an idea of what kind of music they often listen to which then becomes curated in a single playlist based on their Spotify activity algorithm. The quality of music streaming services, like Spotify, is reflected in the mix of content services they offer, i.e. recommendation algorithms, human curation, personalization features, social connections, etc.). In addition, the interface levels of the Spotify app make this feature visible to users in different ways (Morris & Powers, 2015). ‘Control’ then becomes an important aspect in Spotify. Control is defined as what users can and cannot do to the given music and player (including in ease of interface and quality of service), choices that users have about how they discover, sort, organize, and use their music (related to taste), as well as how Spotify contributes to a larger database that shapes the way users discover cultural commodities (Morris & Powers, 2015).

In addition to highlighting personalized playlists and user activity itself which is facilitated through the interface provided by Spotify, Spotify also allows users to connect indirectly. In this study, some informants often monitored the "Friend Activity" column and see what music was listened to by friends they followed through their Spotify.

“I like to see what songs my friends love to listen to through Friends Activity. Just like last night I didn’t intentionally see what’s the name? Friends Activity, is it the right term? Well, my friend was listening to mellow songs, so I asked him "why your Friend Activity shows that you listen to the mellow song?" and he answered. "Yes, I fell mellow", so yeah. He got caught being mellow.” -Bunga

The "Friend Activity" feature tends to be used by informants to explore music because this feature allows informants to see the real-time activities are being carried out by other users they follow through their Spotify profile. The column shows the music that the users are listening to, followed by the playlist or album they are using. This becomes one of the sources for users to curate the personal playlists that they form, as well as to discover new music.

"Sometimes I also use Friend Activity to find a new song. ... But I sometimes listen to a song being listened to by my friends in Friend Activity unintentionally just for fun. It's a hit or miss, but it's fun to see and listen to songs from people you know." -Deva

Furthermore, to analyze the identity construction of digital extended self, this section will explore five aspects of digital extended self (dematerialization, re-embodiment, sharing, co-construction of self, distributed memory) into two aspects of music consumption, which is ownership and preferences.

Spotify Profile as User's Object of Ownership

The concept of consumption is often associated with people being a core part of brand community literacy, where social relationships are structured openly around the ownership of the shared product (Batra et al., 2012). Individuals who find a strong sense of identification and develop considerable emotional connections with certain possessions (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017). Through Spotify's features, users have the control that is utilized to create a music experience that matches their personalization.

With Spotify, users can crave, collect, hoard, and enjoy music within the Spotify app environment. In cyberspace, people prefer to collect lists rather than objects, and the list acts as personal expressions that simultaneously replace collections of notes (Hagen, 2015). This can be seen by how youth curate the music they display in their Spotify profiles. Curated music performed by youth can be categorized in various ways, depending on the theme they adopt to represent their Spotify profile. Like Azira, who likes the "Create Playlist" feature because it makes it easier for her to group songs into the same list.

Spotify also allows users to determine whether playlists are accessible to other users or not, Jasmine mentioned that playlists hidden from her profile are motivated by experiences of people in the past. The more people can manipulate and actively organize their playlists, the greater its value and meaning to them (Hagen, 2015). The curation process is also done by exploring the music available on Spotify, which can be done by playing personalized playlists provided by Spotify to each user. Spotify allows users to create profiles with various features that can be modified by its users. The various modification features and controls given to its users cultivated a sense of ownership of their Spotify profile.

"Yes. I feel that the Spotify profile is part of me and finally, I feel that the Spotify profile belongs to me. Spotify profile describes me because every time I make a playlist there must be a memory that I try to save through the playlist. I feel like there's a part of me that become my representation there." -Azira

Psychological attachment to collections and their self-investment with a particular genre or artist means they feel an obligation or loyalty to maintain the collection they invest

emotionally and financially (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017). In this study, it was found that the informants tend to have attachments to playlists they curated and displayed in their Spotify profiles. This attachment can be confirmed by the energy manifested in the creation of the playlist and various modifications of Spotify profiles. The person's memory that is connected to music becomes one of the factors that reinforce the sense of psychological ownership between the user and the Spotify profile owner. Music and communicating emotions, evoke memories, affects people's moods, and activates brain regions associated with emotion and creativity (Anderson et al., 2021).

Someone's Spotify profile is viewed from playlists that can be seen by other users and also can be shared to various social media in a virtual. The links between social media and the informant's Spotify accounts are important to highlight because social media such as Instagram and Twitter make space for informants to amplify content about themselves to a wider audience. In this context, Spotify which is an extension of the informant's self can be disseminated through the informant's personal social media account. Various social media and different channels can be used by informants to share details from their Spotify, be it a Spotify profile link, the music they listen to, or playlists.

The linking process is then done manually by each informant and they are the ones who control certain parts that can be shared on social media. One part that is often related between social media and Spotify is the playlist of each informant. Playlists can reflect someone's personal experience and can be curated to reflect daily activities and mood, sorting music into one playlist then consolidating someone's personal ownership of music even in the streaming context (Hagen & Lüders, 2017).

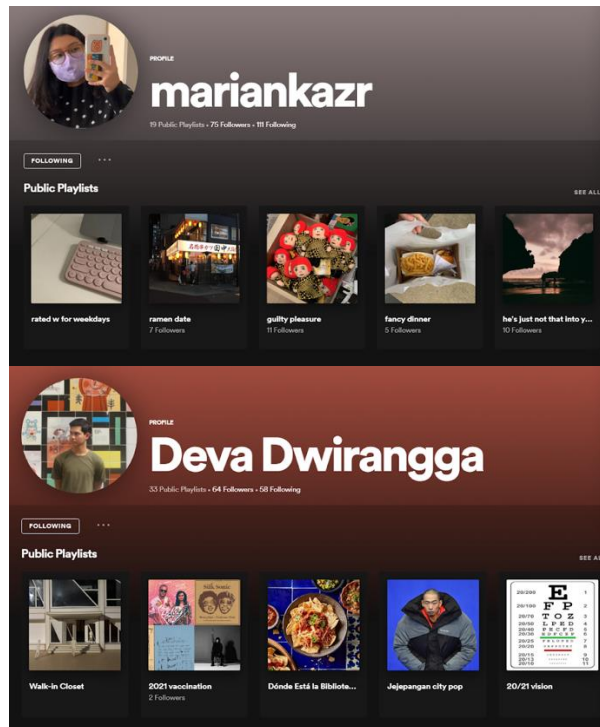
“Playlist can say something about themselves. That particular set of songs represents someone, so when I look at their playlist, I feel like I look into their spectrum. Yes, it's not something I understand right away, like, "You're like this, Nolan is like this", it's not that. Like they can feel through the music, but not the personality, it's not like I know who he is. So, I can feel how it feels to be in your shoes, a little bit, that is.” - Juan

When compiling a playlist, informants tend to have different intentions in each playlist. They assume Spotify profile can be represented by the playlists in it, which then becomes a window to recognize themselves deeper through the curated music within the playlists that they display in Spotify profiles. This sense of ownership then emerges by self-investing through music setting and creativity as well as control in the production of content in the form of a playlist which is easier to share because of the presence of technology and have greater potential in managing and communicating identity through music (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017).

“I feel like my Spotify profile represents me. In some ways, I also realized that interactions in Spotify are limited to looking at what songs your friends are listening to through Friend Activity. But for the choice of songs or playlists that I curate it usually comes from myself, even if there is something that affects my musical preferences it might be my boyfriend.” -Jasmine

The importance of music in someone's life is also becoming a factor that influences how someone has a sense of belonging to the music. In the sense that when the music is

considered important and meaningful, someone will appreciate the music that they curate into playlists displayed in Spotify profile while giving a significant dimension to its meaning (Hagen, 2015). This sense of ownership is also seen by how they use their real identity in their Spotify profile thereby indicating that they mark the profile they manage as their own. The time and effort invested in personalizing your Spotify profile then become relevant. The control that informants have over their music curation and Spotify profiles can facilitate a strong sense of psychological ownership of Spotify (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017).



Picture 1. Azira and Deva's Spotify Profile

In addition, users can also hide playlists they create for personal consumption. Often playlists hidden from their profile have deeper sentimental value for some users. At this level, it was found that informants tend to hide playlists that have deeper personal value for them, such as playlists depicting their relationships with a partner or lover. On the other hand, hiding these playlists from their Spotify profile can be interpreted as a way to set impressions against others who will find their Spotify profile.

The Identity Expression through Music Preferences

Identity is perceived as one unique thing that everyone has and is more or less consistent over time. Someone needs an identity to have differentiation between themselves and others in the social scene. Someone can have multiple identities, and each identity is created through interactions with others, rather than through a single core identity (Bennett & Robards, 2014; Davis, 2014). The formation of a self-identity can be facilitated through music, in the context of this research Spotify helps young people in constructing self-identity and extended self shown through the virtual realm. This construction process is influenced by various

factors, ranging from self-rooted to being provoked by interactions carried out by the environment.

Identity can be used to indicate certain connections with a broader collective or social group where identification with others is important to do and there is an expectation to behave according to the situation or person (Gündüz, 2017). This can be seen from Deva who identifies himself as a fan of dubstep or EDM music who has a 'label' as the genre of music that has specific audience. Deva likes this statement because it indicates he has preferences that are rarely preferred by other young people and it causes him to feel as if he has a unique identity. This identity is also attempted to be displayed through various activities on Spotify as well as social media.

Music preference is one of the factors that influence the informants in everyday life and integrates it in their identity. Someone can use music more intensely in their daily routine compared to others, this leads to someone's perception of the importance of the role of music in their daily lives. Musical preference is a means of differentiating the lifestyles of certain groups of music fans (Weijters et al., 2014). At this stage, music plays an important role for youth because it allows them to show their 'image' to the outside world and satisfy their emotional needs.

Youth tend to consider music as a part of their routine and an integral part of their lives. Azira describes music as her own life. Azira makes music as part of her routine, before she starts to work until her bedtime, music has accompanied Azira's daily life. Spotify has a "Sleep Timer" feature that allows users to limit their usage within a specified time, ranging from 5 minutes to 1 hour. Azira also said that music has a crucial role in mood settings. In accordance with previous research in which reported that youth listen to music to release tension, distract themselves from worries, help pass the time, and cope with boredom (Weijters et al., 2014).

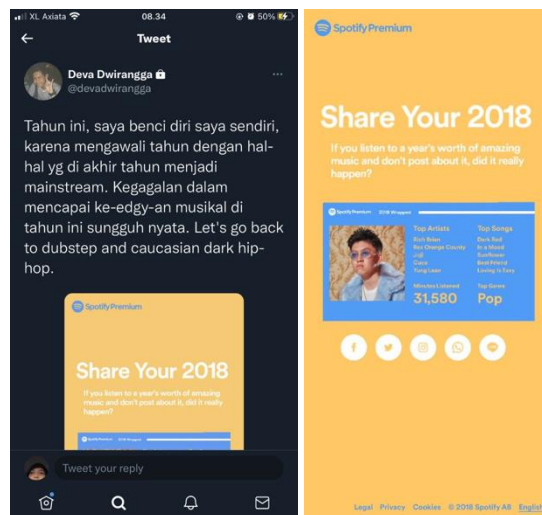
Besides Azira, Deva also considers music to be part of his routine and as one of the alternatives to regulating mood. Deva also mentioned several specific activities, ranging from daily routines such as bathing and working to activities that are only done at certain moments such as consuming alcohol. The importance of music as part of daily routine is also experienced by Bunga who claims to listen to music every day. Interestingly, Juan interprets music as one of the ways to escape from reality. Or at least he can feel the reality of others, meaning that he can feel the reality of the musicians who create related music. Juan also considers music an integral part of his life. One of them he uses music as a background sound in his meditation routine every night. This meditation is to reduce the anxiety that he experiences every day.

On the other hand, Jasmine considers music not an integral part of her life but she admits that music is already integrated into her daily routine. Jordan also had a similar experience when using music.

"First make up the room. The second when I do an afternoon walk I also listen to music. When I am driving somewhere I definitely listening music, and even when I am studying, I listening music. For me, music is a life partner, peace of mind." -Jordan

Preference becomes one of the factors for youth to sort and choose the music they use in everyday life. Youth have diverse musical preferences but, surprisingly, intersect. Like Jasmine, Jordan, Juan, Azira, and Deva mentioned they enjoy the R&B genre. Besides the R&B genre, they have many other genre preferences such as Azira who likes the 70's Soul song genre, Juan who likes classic and modern jazz, Jordan likes the 'bedroom pop' and 'house' genres, and Deva who likes hip-hop and dubstep genre. Bunga, on the other hand, prefers K-op and pop music. This musical preference is said as a medium for youth to show their 'identity label' through musical preferences that can communicate certain values and attitudes as well as opinions towards others (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). This preference can also be seen in Spotify profile through a musician's playlist then liked by the user or it also can be seen from the musicians followed on Spotify.

Moreover, preferences are able to be seen through playlists in youth's Spotify profiles or from their music listening activities in the "Friend Activity" column. It seems reasonable to suggest that someone has a broad pattern of musical preferences, and even what is liked and disliked in music, forms part of our musical identity, even more so when someone who has a higher level of musical engagement perceives music to have a more integral role to that identity (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020; Martin & Morel, 2012). At the end of every year, Spotify has "Spotify Wrapped" which is a flashback of the accumulation of data on listening activities over the past year by its users. This feature can be shared easily to various social media such as Instagram, Twitter, to various instant messaging applications such as WhatsApp and Line. "Spotify Wrapped" is often shared by its users as a justification for their music preferences when using Spotify.



Picture 2. Screenshot of Spotify Wrapped shared on Deva's Twitter

Spotify Wrapped is considered valid to show off music preferences to the public because data is provided directly by Spotify with personalized content to each user and there is a trend to share it on social media. This activity then becomes a space for young people to express and define themselves in the virtual realm about themselves through music that they often consume. Besides Spotify Wrapped, Spotify also has other personalized content such as #OnlyYou that shows the uniqueness of each user from their listening activities. Personalized

content is often shared on social media, for Azira and Jasmine they share it on their second Instagram account because even though the followers of this private account is smaller, it has a closer relationship so they feel more secure when expressing their musical preferences without fear of being judged by others.

Music preferences that appear in a user's Spotify profile as well as personalized content from Spotify that users share is one of the ways for young people to express themselves in the virtual realm. The use of music is involved in the daily life and routine of users is also a window for someone. Music listening activities involve a large number of individual choices (including the type of music to listen to, when to listen to music, how to listen to music) and therefore it has the potential to capture subtle information of someone personal preferences and personal identity (Anderson et al., 2021).

The identity that can be presented through music in the informant's Spotify profile revealed different feelings of themselves by retelling their own stories as a reflection of their identity. The control that informants have when using Spotify provides a stronger sense of psychological ownership by investing themselves in using Spotify in daily routines. The larger the self-investment of youth and the control they take advantage of in Spotify, the greater the sense of psychological ownership is embedded in youth's (Danckwerts & Kenning, 2019). This sense of psychological ownership can be applied not only to music related to the individual but also the associated Spotify profile because the profile subtly becomes a part of self that acts as an extension of them in the virtual realm (Belk, 2013). When a sense of ownership has emerged towards an object, the individual tends to make it a part of themselves and then become an extended self in the digital realm. Youth use Spotify profiles as a window as well as material for others to get to know themselves closer in the context of curating the music they display in their profiles.

The utilitarian factor that Spotify users can take advantage of is an added value. Users become familiar with interfaces and navigation systems, connect with friends who use Spotify, as well as build a social presence through Spotify (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017). Spotify's social features allow users to show their listening activity and share what they're listening to on social media. Spotify is gradually starting to emphasize the social aspect and the ability to help users discover new music. Integrating into various social media ranging from Twitter, Instagram, to short messaging applications such as iMessage, Line, and WhatsApp, allows users to instantly share content on Spotify. The emphasis placed by Spotify on positioning the discovery and music consumption as a social process; Users can listen to what others are listening to and easily share their own listening habits, in person with friends or more publicly (Morris & Powers, 2015).

Youth use social media as a place to show the music they listen to on Spotify. The motivation for sharing music on social media can be varied. Like Azira, who has layered motifs when sharing music on her Instagram. Azira admitted to having two Instagram accounts, namely a public account is known as a 'first account' and a private account is known as a 'second account'.

"The songs I like anyway. Sometimes when I share it to Instagram Story it's a sign that I like the song very much and I want people to know what song I listen to. But that's for the song I shared on my Instagram public account. Meanwhile, when I share songs

on my second Instagram account, the songs are more into something that describes my feelings." -Azira

Azira treats the two accounts differently when she shares music. Public accounts that have more followers will be used to share music that she likes and hope the songs she shares are also listened to by her followers. Even in her public account, Azira has one highlight dedicated to music. The highlight contains music that the majority she shares from Spotify. While the music shared on a private account describes the feeling that she feels. Azira's private account contains close friends, Azira feels her private account can be a place for her to show her emotional side more.

Various content and projecting identities on social media is seen as crucial to attract networked users using the social media to share music with others in pursuit of social rewards (i.e., recognition, status, sense of self) (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017). With Instagram story highlights and songs shared by Azira became one way to show her sense of self to the public. Music shared through the two accounts has two different motivations because the followers of both accounts are divided. Private accounts are used as a way to express feelings or emotional sides toward closer people.

The activity of sharing music on social media is considered by Deva as a show of what music he is listening to. The activity of sharing music on social media is considered by Deva as a showpiece about what music he is listening to. Apparently, Deva feels more satisfied when he can show he listens to songs that are heard by most people on social media. These reasons show that youth tend to build their identity and to increase their self-esteem, identify with certain music they like and stay away from socially underappreciated music (e.g., the pop genre) allowing youth to build a beneficial social and personal identity (Bennett & Hodkinson, 2020). Just like Azira, Deva has one highlight dedicated to music on his Instagram. In some situations, Deva shares music as a way of passively communicating his feelings to the intended person, for example, her partner.

Apart from that, another way that Azira uses to share her music on social media is by adding a Spotify profile link on her Instagram bio, so Instagram users can easily find themselves on Spotify through that link. Similarly, Bunga added her Spotify link to her second Instagram account, this behavior is driven by the trend that she often encountered on social media. Jasmine also has a similar reason as Azira when sharing music on her Instagram. But Jasmine has a deeper meaning about social media. She considers social media as a place to search for validation and a place to represent in the virtual realm.

"I consider social media is part of the validation and a place to represent yourself. So everyone makes the best possible image on their social media. When I share music on my social media, I feel like the things I share are well-curated music. I want to be seen, not looking for validation anyway if I intend to make this playlist. For example, I like to read books, and I like to share my 'reading book' playlist." -Jasmine

In addition to social media such as Instagram, youth also share the music they listen to directly through instant messaging apps to those closest to them. Like Azira, who often sends music to friends who have similar preferences to her. Juan also had similar experiences when it comes to sharing music with people close to him. However, he no longer shares music

because of the different musical preferences that are preferred by each other. Listening to music becomes a communal and personal experience, and sharing music requires an internal calculation of what is worth sharing and what should remain confidential (Hagen & Lüders, 2017).

The Extended Self on Spotify

Digital extended self can be characterized by an individual sense of psychological ownership of their possession. Furthermore, the construction of an individual's digital extended self is influenced by several factors, both internal from the individual and external from outside of the individual self. As a channel for music streaming services, Spotify through its social features allows youth to construct themselves that can be presented in a virtual space. Self-investment through organizing music consumption and creativity as well as control in content production such as playlists is nothing new (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017). However, Spotify makes it easier for youth to manage and communicate their identity through music. The identity they are trying to establish through Spotify then becomes a form of extended self in the virtual realm.

Internal factors begin with the musical attachment that each individual has. Individuals who have a higher level of musical attachment will have a stronger tendency to think of music as part of themselves compared to individuals with lower levels of musical attachment. This attachment to music created a sense of psychological ownership of the music they consume in the minds of users. Second, with the development of psychological ownership of music in an individual's mind, this sense develops a considerable emotional connection to the music they perceive as a home or safe space (Sinclair & Tinson, 2017). The emotional attachment between the individual and the music then incarnates the embodiment of a part of the individual self. The controls and attractive visuals available on Spotify make it easier for youth to navigate Spotify and the music they consume in it. The greater the control exercised within Spotify, the greater the sense of psychological ownership of the informants toward the Spotify profiles they manage.

Through Spotify, a sense of psychological ownership can be channeled by individuals. One of them is through the music curation process in Spotify. The curation process is then carried out with various influences, some of which are youth's musical preferences and the use of music in their daily routines. The musical preferences of each informant will lead young people to form their own musical curation, based on past memories or musical preferences that are continuously formed. The concept of curation is a constructive model that offers solutions to the problem of online information overload to collect, organize, preserve, filter, compose stories, display, and facilitate discussions (Hagen, 2015). Music curation, in this case in the form of a Spotify playlist, then associated by the individual with their daily routine is used based on the daily activities they do. Some playlists are curated based on a memory of the previous emotions due to the close relationship between the two. This musical preference is also a guideline for individuals in curating on Spotify and the close relationship between youth and the music they consume makes this sense of psychological ownership stronger and strengthens their feelings of ownership of the Spotify profile they manage.

The use of Spotify cannot be separated from external influences. First, the music consumption of the closest people more or less affects the individual's music preferences. It doesn't necessarily change someone's musical preferences but rather expands the scope of music preferences that someone already has. Second, various social features within Spotify allow youth to collaborate on Spotify. The collaborations that can take the form of playlists, allow users to align their music preferences in a single unit and indirectly forms objects of ownership shared by the parties involved. Third, the sphere of friendship and the society of individuals involved also influences someone in the consumption of music.

This is related to Bourdieu's assumption that music is a cultural product representing 'pure' knowledge because its presence is less characterized by external appearances (such as culinary and museum visits) and tends to take the form of inner appreciation by of listening to music (Prior, 2013). Apart from the personal needs and preferences of the informant, the curation process is carried out to show the music that youth listen to can give the impression that they are accepted by their surroundings and distinguish themselves from others through the specifications of the music they listen. The influence of the social sphere as well as the circle of friendships then affects the individual in music consumption and influences the construction process of their extended self that continues to be carried out continuously.

CONCLUSION

The extended self of the individual in a virtual space through music consumption is facilitated by Spotify with various social features, one of which is sharing. The curation of music performed by individuals on Spotify profiles can be shared with a wider audience in a virtual space, such as Instagram or Twitter social media. Music that is considered to be part of youth's needs to be communicated and this is possible with the sharing feature provided by Spotify. Because it is considered as an embodiment of self and extended self, youth make a selection of music before it is shared with the public. Customization of Spotify profiles and the various features offered to show and hide activities as well as the curation that users have used utilized by youth to control their representation through the use of Spotify.

The Spotify profile followed by the activity of sharing music on social media becomes a way for youth to present the identity they want to show in a virtual space. In the context of this study, music curation becomes a special biographical playlist. The management of Spotify profiles and music sharing activities is done in conjunction with self-negotiation and identity expression. The characteristics of identity are shown through the tension between the individual's desire to define themselves and the relationship between them and others also their social group, the identity of the individual then becomes the self that is distinguished from others and unique. Spotify with all the control that individual has over their profile allows self-differentiation as well as displaying their identity in the virtual space desired by the individual concerned.

In conclusion, the consumption of music by youth through Spotify is a continuous process in constructing their extended self in the digital realm. Youth on social media use their friends as a means of mediation and are co-constructors of identity within the practice to each other. Spotify then becomes an object that contains a sense of psychological ownership for youth so that they invest themselves in the object of ownership that is their Spotify profile.

Consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, we consider our possession as part of ourselves. Youth's Spotify profiles then become an extension of themselves in a virtual space that is constantly changing and evolving with various impulses from internal and external factors.

This research, nevertheless, is focusing in qualitative approach of the intersection between digital culture and media consumption. It takes the specific case of music and Spotify apps. Hence, in the future, more research in this field needs to be conducted in order to gain more comprehensive and broader view in regards to media consumption and digital culture. Moreover, there are many digital apps that shapes youth's consumer culture in this era, specifically in terms of media consumption, such as streaming apps (Netflix, Viu, etc.), social media apps (Instagram, TikTok, etc.), and many more that could construct the identity of youth through the practice of consumption.

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