

TikTok Effect: Study Of Citayam Fashion Week

Advan Navis Zubaidi

Faculty of Communication Science, State Islamic University (UIN) of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia
e-mail: advan@uinsa.ac.id

ABSTRACT :

This study looks into how TikTok mediated the activities of its users in exploring fashion hobbies, particularly in the street event known as Citayam Fashion Week (CFW). Previous studies looked into TikTok as a social media used for various purposes, including health information platforms, promotion channels, and education resources. This study aims to provide a distinct point of view of TikTok, specifically in the Indonesian context, by looking into TikTok as a social space for people from diverse backgrounds. Further, this study also will investigate how TikTok mediated its users to express their interests or hobbies, and how the fact will impact their social life. In doing so, I employ qualitative content analysis to examine online materials related to CFW. It includes videos uploaded on online platforms such as YouTube, TikTok, or mainstream media outlets. This study found that TikTok dissolves the boundaries between social classes. TikTok users from different backgrounds could express their ideas without the necessity of specific requirements. In addition, TikTok also economically affects people involved in its content, either actors on the TikTok video or people behind the scenes.

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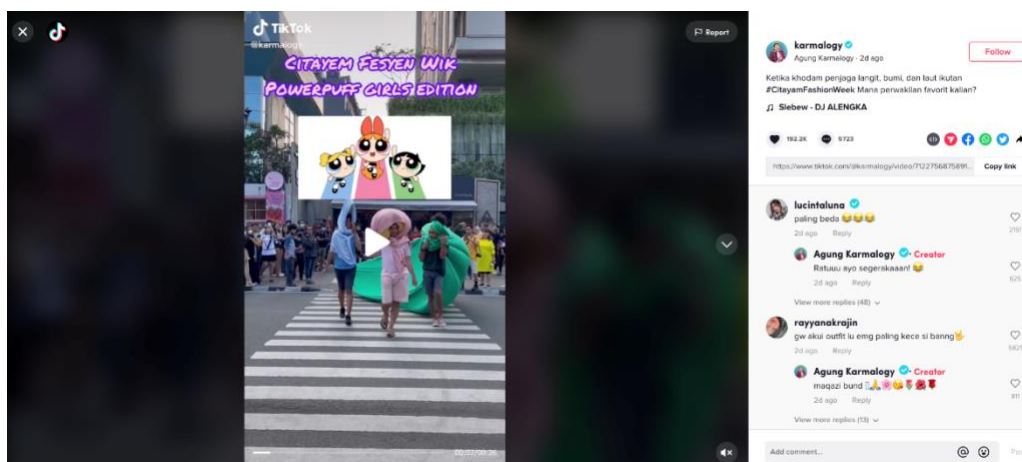
citayam fashion week, content analysis, economic media, social class, tiktok

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on a fashion exhibition hosted by a group of adolescents in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. Most of them come from neighboring areas of Jakarta, including Bojong Gede, Bekasi, Bogor, or Citayam. They connect with individuals from similar hobbies, specifically in fashion, and show their distinctive fashion choices to one another. The event is famously known as Citayam Fashion Week (CFW).

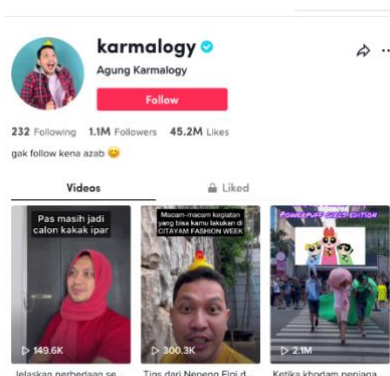
The fashion show attracted the public's attention as its occurrence in a public place and it was carried out by young people, who very likely lacked a formal fashion education background. The media highlighted it as an attractive media content. Among the media

platforms, TikTok has a significant role in exposing those activities. The fashion show's video on TikTok quickly got the attention of its users, with the example of the video uploaded by the 'karmalogy' account on the 21st of July 2022.



Source: (TikTok account @karmalogy, 2022)
Figure 1 Video Citayam fashion show on TikTok

In an article on Forbes, Koetsier (2021) pointed out that TikTok was the most downloaded application that surpassed Instagram and Facebook. Through its exposure, TikTok could swiftly propel videos into virality among its users in seconds. To illustrate, within two days since it was uploaded, the CFW video gained 2,1 million views. The massive number of views caused the CFW to be popular among online media users, particularly among TikTokers.



Source: (TikTok account @karmalogy, 2022)
Figure 2 An account of 'karmalogy'

TikTok has become a public forum that welcomes its users from diverse backgrounds. It has also become a social media platform with massive exposure, particularly among youth (De Leyn et al., 2021; Haenlein et al., 2020; Khansa & Putri, 2022). TikTok users could be able to express their interests, thoughts, or ideas in various forms without specific requirements (Abidin, 2020). For instance, individuals may discuss health issues without needing formal medical credentials. They can also expose fashion creations or put their comments on TikTok, like fashion observers, without being certified fashion designers.

The facts demonstrate that TikTok diverges from conventional media platforms that adhere to strict regulations. In contrast to mainstream media outlets, where content creation requires editorial approval, TikTok allows its users to produce media content without the need for such approval. On TikTok, online users possess an egalitarian entitlement to assume the role of content creators. Moreover, the platform also has a low entry barrier, disregarding individuals' backgrounds, making it accessible to anyone interested in joining.

Unlike the formal shows, in the CFW, participants who are exposed to fashion shows on the side of the road do not have to be someone with experience as a professional model. CFW and TikTok provide a platform for teenagers, enabling them to express their fashion styles. In comparison with other social media platforms, TikTok is more popular because of its advantages in music or sound features (Abidin, 2020; Vizcaíno-Verdú & Abidin, 2022).

It is safe to argue that TikTok users are largely dominated by youth (Kennedy, 2020), teens, or tweens (De Leyn et al., 2021). They are not merely passive consumers of TikTok content but also actively produce it. TikTok is a kind of social media developed with user-generated content (UGC). Its users are connected to create, share, and consume TikTok content (Cooke & Buckley, 2008).

Previous scholars looked into TikTok from diverse perspectives. They examined TikTok as a health information platform (Al Hanif et al., 2023; Chen & Wang, 2021; Zhang et al., 2021; Zhu et al., 2020), explored the popularity of TikTok content (Abidin, 2020; Ling et al., 2022), and investigated TikTok as an alternative promotion channel (Haenlein et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2021).

In addition, other scholars also looked into TikTok as a learning tool for educational purposes (Yang, 2020; Yélamos-Guerra et al., 2022). However, research on the intersection of TikTok and fashion is relatively rare. Most of them come from the area of marketing or business. For instance, Granrot et al., (2008) combined content analysis work and interviews with several informants to look into how luxury fashion brands employ TikTok for product promotion. They found that TikTok did not significantly affect the products since TikTok was not their potential customers' primary social media channel.

In addition, Willman (2021) studied how fashion companies utilize TikTok to positively affect their business. It could be seen from the increasing number of selling products, newsletter subscribers, and TikTok followers. In a similar issue, Oklander & Kudina (2021) examined the relationship between fashion brands and TikTok. They found that fashion industries realize the importance of social media to increase their brand awareness.

TikTok stands as the most popular digital media platform in Indonesia. According to Rizaty (2021), Indonesia has the second most significant TikTok users, with 99,1 million accounts aged 18 and above. Beyond being a social media platform that provides entertainment, TikTok is also an online communal space for its users. In order to offer a distinct point of view in the study of TikTok, this study focuses on TikTok as an inclusive platform for people from various backgrounds to express their hobbies, interests, or thoughts. In the context of the Citayam Fashion Week on TikTok, the fact raises the research question of how the different groups of people socially interact with one another and express their fashion

interests at the event CFW on TikTok. Further, this study also aims to answer the question of how the CFW economically affects people who are involved in it.

RESEARCH METHOD

The data collection was carried out from the period of June to August 2022. The dataset was derived from videos, TikTok content, or articles on online media outlets related to the CFW. In order to analyze the data, I employ qualitative content analysis. It includes collecting relevant images or text on the TikTok account, coding data, developing conceptual structure, decoding the key concept, and writing analysis. Additionally, I also analyze related news on online mainstream media outlets to look into how the exposure of CFW on TikTok affects its users.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The discussion of society cannot be separated from two prominent scholars, Weber and Marx. Their perspectives, specifically in class discourse, diverged. Marx pointed out that class is distinguished on the basis of their means of production, specifically the ability to manage agricultural assets for their existence. According to him, class is strongly determined by means of production. Meanwhile, Weber contends that class is not solely tied to economics but also to politics or knowledge (Burris, 1987).

This study will predominantly draw on the work of Bourdieu, which is mainly cited from the work of Ignatow & Robinson (2017). The discourse on social class has grown along with the development of digital media. Bourdieu responded to the digital life in an information society by introducing the concept of 'digital sociology'. Ignatow & Robinson (2017) explored the idea of Bourdieu on how the three different aspects of 'digital sociology,' field, capital, and habitus, become essential parts of looking into the use of media by individuals.

Furthermore, Bourdieu also proposes the notion of capital within 'digital sociology'. He defines capital as a set of resources that are collected, developed, or transformed to determine the social position of individuals (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017; Yates & Lockley, 2018). This capital encompasses social, economic, and cultural capital dimensions. The three capitals have a similar role in social life. The more capital gained by individuals, the more possibility to increase their power and privilege. A nexus between those three pivotal aspects of 'digital sociology' and the phenomenon of CFW will be served in the following discussion.

Social Class in *Citayam* Fashion Week

The event of CFW serves as a central place for individuals from diverse social classes, ranging from blue-collar to white-collar workers, from middle-low to middle-up class individuals. They come from various places around Jakarta. Dukuh Atas, where the CFW was held, is the downtown area surrounded by high-end office complexes. In contrast, the youthful participants mainly originate from rural or sub-urban areas in neighbouring Jakarta. Therefore, it is safe to argue that CFW is a public area fostering cross-class interactions.

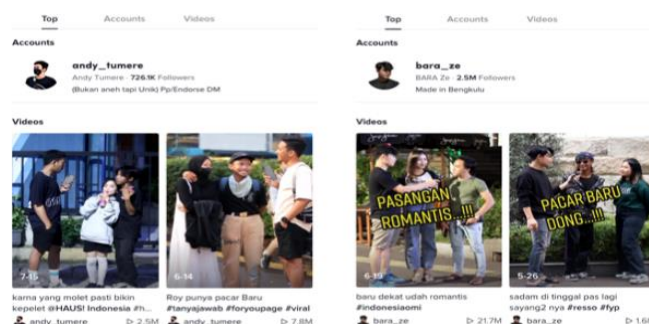
Referring to Bourdieu, CFW could be considered the field, an arena that socially connects actors from different backgrounds (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). Individuals tend to compete with one another to survive by increasing their various forms of capital. Specifically, CFW could also be identified as an 'online field', a concept introduced by Levina & Arriaga (2014) that explained how online platforms engage Internet users to express their interest in specific online objects by producing or consuming digital media content.

In the online field, two important roles exist: content producers and content consumers. Each grapples with distinct challenges in garnering recognition from TikTok users. Content producers expend intellectual efforts and creative ideas to create media content with the objective of increasing viewership, mediated advertising, or fostering affiliation. These factors will be converted as producers' revenue that determines their position.

In addition, TikTok consumers also engage with the platform by expressing their interest, offering comments, or appraising the content. In certain instances, consumers who have a massive number of followers act as expert evaluators, giving feedback or criticizing the content (Levina & Arriaga, 2014). As a consequence, such consumers have greater recognition compared to ordinary consumers, who serve as passive users.

CFW, mediated by TikTok, has surged in popularity on social media platforms since April 2022. Some prominent names surfacing on CFW are Roy, Jeje, Bonge, and Kurma. While these names might not be their actual identities, their profiles have become icons of CFW. Despite the fact that their social backgrounds remain ambiguous, it is safe to argue that they come from the lower middle class, lack of engagement with educational programs, and limited parental assistance during their teenage period. In a TV show at a private TV station, Trans TV, Bonge said that he broke out his study since the third grade of elementary school.

Roy, Jeje, Bonge, and Kurma are not the primary actors who made their names into social media prominence. Instead, their popularity has risen since the depiction of TikTok content creators who look into their activities as content worthy of 'selling'. In the Indonesian private TV station's show, Kompas TV, Bara Ze and Andy Tumere shared their experience on how they initially found Bonge and his friends. Bara Ze is a professional content creator, while Andy Tumere serves as an IT staff at a private company in Jakarta.



Source: (TikTok account of @andy_tumere and @bara_ze, 2022)

Figure 3 The official accounts of Andy Tumere and Bara Ze

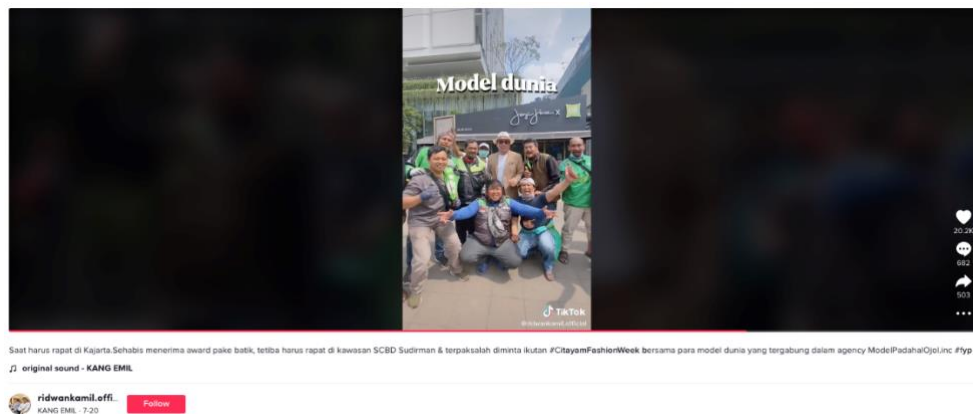
Bara Ze and Andy initially did not expect the interview with Bonge and friends on TikTok to be as viral as in recent days. It became an initial movement of CFW and has been replicated by other TikTok creators, as Bara said:

"Itu video tadi nggak mau di upload sih sebenarnya, karena nggak ada video lain, malah itu yang meledak, karena dilitain kurang, (gambarnya) goyang-goyang."

"(I) Initially did not want to upload the video because there was no other video. It was not good enough because the picture was shaking, but surprisingly, it is viral."

Since then, many TikTok content creators have made similar content. They adopt the concept of interviews and dwell on the topics of fashion or love relationships between them.

The CFW has successfully attracted Indonesian social media users. They have been interested in coming and seeing the CFW and even getting involved in fashion shows. They come from various different backgrounds, such as politicians, actors, content creators, or even musicians. Ridwan Kamil, a West Java governor, joined the youths in Dukuh Atas to participate in the CFW event. Ridwan Kamil is known as a governor with an active presence on social media. In his TikTok account, @ridwankamil.official, he posted his performance on CFW along with several online motorcycle taxi drivers. Despite the rumours of political motivation behind his presence, the fact shows that CFW has successfully attracted the attention of individuals from varied social classes.



Source: (TikTok account of @ridwankamil.official, 2022)

Figure 4 The picture of Ridwan Kamil with online bike drivers

CFW, mediated by TikTok, emerges as a meeting point of cross-class backgrounds: between a Governor and the citizen, musicians and their followers, or actors and their fans. It is what (Levina & Arriaga, 2014) call an online field. Within this online platform, social media users share their interests or hobbies on social media platforms regardless of their social classes. Further, CFW has also served social capital that has a pivotal role in the relationship between powers and society. Bourdieu defined social capital as an asset resulting from the relationship between individuals with the spirit of complementary one another (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017).

In the realm of digital life, TikTok fosters social connection among its users and provides them with social capital as one of the advantages arising from the connection between social

media users. TikTok users may get fashion inspiration by paying attention to the way individuals show their unique styles or social networking through interaction with one another. Further, they may have enough space to put their comments on the content they are interested in.

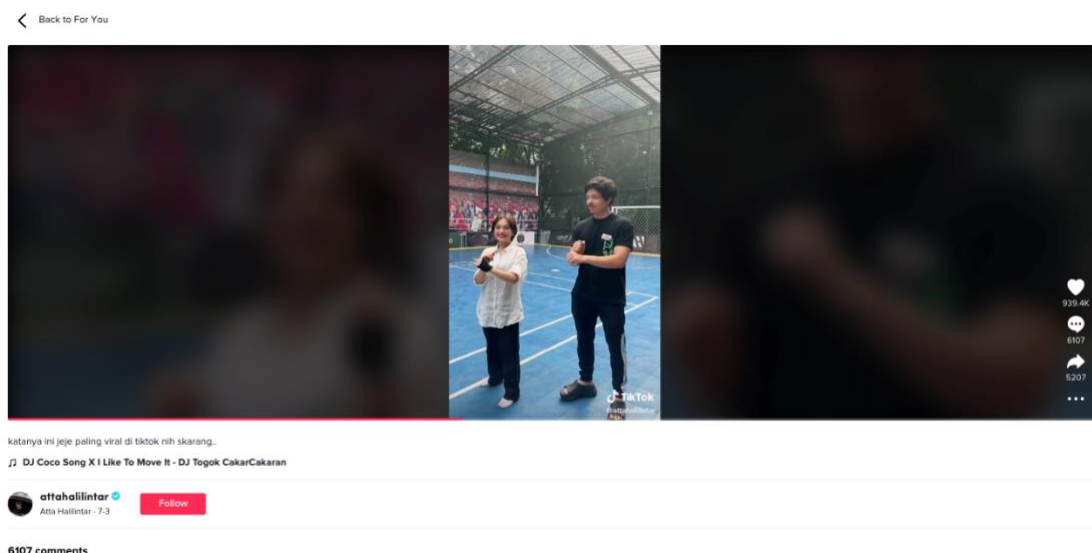
In addition, Levina & Arriaga (2014) also highlight the interconnectivity of several platforms in the online field. Some of the content on TikTok is often linked to YouTube, Instagram, or other social media platforms. It aims to increase engagement with their viewers and help them quickly attract their attention. In the online field, the stratification of Internet users is not differentiated by the degree of education or monthly income. Their position is determined by their participation level, either as producer, consumer, or prosumer (producer and consumer). For instance, a politician who performs on TikTok will not be treated as a politician like he is in actual life unless they actively perform on online media as a content producer.

The fact, on the one hand, shows that the Internet equally treats its users to express their thoughts on the basis of their interests. On the other hand, the Internet remains with the issue of inequality, favoring those users with proficient technical skills or having more economic capital over others. Dijk (2013) contended that individuals with affluent economic backgrounds or proficient technical skills to operate the web tend to experience greater advantages than those with fewer resources. He further revealed that the issue of inequality persists in the domains of high and low access, skilled and unskilled users, educated and uneducated individuals, as well as those motivated by serious purposes versus entertainment motives. In order to minimize the gap, intervention from policymakers is essential, particularly in the enhancement of ICT infrastructure and the development of social capabilities (Dijk, 2006; Kvasny & Keil, 2006).

Regarding the CFW on TikTok, the issue of inequality prominently manifests through cultural capital and social capital. The actors of CFW, Bonge and friends, did not play the central role in elevating CFW to fame and garnering public attention. Instead, they perform as objects of other TikTok users, who possess superior knowledge of the digital media landscape or even decent skills in employing digital media platforms. While all parties involved have equal access to social media platforms, their power dynamic varies. I would characterize this as a phenomenon of pseudo-equality, wherein they share equality in certain aspects but exhibit differences in others.

Bonge and friends may take benefit in the realm of social capital, having garnered recognition on TikTok and establishing relationships with renowned Indonesian artists due to their viral presence in online media. Nevertheless, this social capital does not significantly affect the cultural capital. Bonge and friends have been unsuccessful in leveraging their social capital to enhance their cultural capital. They continue to be depicted as marginalized or less educated groups on both mainstream and online media outlets, serving as objects of actors with greater resources. YouTubers, TikTokers, and Content Creators with a massive number of followers look at them as promising content that potentially increases revenue.

For instance, a TikTok video owned by @attahalilintar, showcased Jeje dancing alongside Atta Halilintar, the account owner. The video reached 13.5M views. Atta Halilintar is famously known as a prominent social media creator in Indonesia. He is also recognized as the wealthiest Indonesian male YouTuber. It is safe to argue that Atta socially and culturally has an established position over Jeje. Through his power, involving Jeje in his video for exposure purposes is not difficult.



Source: (TikTok account of @attahalilintar, 2022)

Figure 5 The picture of Jeje and Atta on Atta's TikTok account

The fact also shows that a nexus between cultural capital and social capital does not always yield mutual advantages, specifically in the case of CFW on TikTok. The influential TikTokers of CFW, Bara Ze and Andy Tumere, may possess a superior cultural capital compared to Bonge and Jeje. They have proficient use of graphic design tools, effective communication skills, or foundational knowledge in search engine optimization (SEO). However, these cultural attributes do not affect their social relations with other social media users. Contrary to expectation, Bonge and his friends enjoy greater social recognition than Bara Ze and Andy Tumere. The fact shows that an individual's recognition or privilege in the online field is significantly affected by an individual's ability to convert various forms for enhanced profitability within the online domain.

TikTok and Its Economic Impact

As a consequence of the popularity of CFW on TikTok, it could be presumed that actors involved in the event are financially affected. Bara Ze and Andy Tumere may not be socially affected but financially benefit from the popularity of CFW. In a TV show at Kompas TV, Andy Tumere admitted that CFW affected their financial income. He claimed that he earned three times *Upah Minimum Regional Jakarta* (the minimum regional wages of Jakarta, UMR), even

more. If the wage is around Rp. 4.452.724 (Anwar, 2022), then the total amount will be Rp. 13.358.172, or even more per video. As Andy said:

"Awalnya kan mikirnya kan, kok TikTok ini nggak ada penghasilan kan. Ternyata setelah konten kita itu mengarah tanya jawab, banyak endorse yang masuk... tiga kali UMR (upah minimum regional Jakarta), bisa lebih sih"

"Initially (I) thought TikTok did not give financial benefit, but then, when the content was going to the moment 'question' and 'answer', many advertising came in.... three times the regional minimum wage, even more."

The fact corresponds with the notion of economic capital. It could be easily understood as material resources typically close to money or other financial forms (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017; Yates & Lockley, 2018). The form might vary in the different types of fields. In the field of the agricultural industry, economic capital could be the owner of the land, while in online platforms, economic capital may include the monetary consequences of content media creation.

The financial benefits are not only directly felt by Bara Zed and Andy Tumere from TikTok, but they also get monetary income from TV stations or podcasts that invite them to share their experiences in creating content on TikTok. Although there is no specific finding of the amount they received in each program, it is safe to presume they got a huge monetary benefit because of their TikTok activities.

While the initial creator of CFW got financial income, other actors of CFW also received a similar benefit. Bonge and friends successfully attracted the empathy of Indonesian citizens. One of the opportunities came from the Indonesian Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Sandiaga Uno. He offered a scholarship for range and friends. However, Roy and Bonge declined the scholarship because they wanted to prioritize their career on social media content creation. Thus far, it remains unclear whether their friends also refused the offer.

From Bourdieu's point of view on capital, it could be argued that the economic consequence resulted from the conversion of knowledge and social capital in the online field. The financial benefits for individuals in CFW stem from their creativity in producing engaging content and the ability to manage their popularity on social media.

The popularity of Bara Ze, Andy Tumere, Bonge, and friends corresponds with what Abidin (2020) called 'Internet Celebrity'. It is a situation where actors on the Internet become the center of attention of other online users. In CFW, the popularity of its actors is instead because of their distinctive fashion choices or unique social backgrounds.

The celebrity notion on TikTok may differ from other social media platforms such as YouTube or Instagram. While fame on TikTok is strongly determined by the frequent and updated posts of its content, YouTube and Instagram rely on the character of the actors on the platforms (Abidin, 2020). The celebrity on TikTok is demanded to keep their eye on the latest trends in music, fashion style, culinary places, or even films.

It is believed that the popularity of TikTok and the number of viewers or likes are typically equal to the economic effect. The more views, the more money, power, or privilege. However,

not all social media users expose their interests for financial purposes. Some of them may have various reasons. They may actively use TikTok to increase their cultural capital, defined as a collection of references or experiences of individuals that may determine their position in social life (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). People with a wide range of experience in specific skills tend to get more recognition than others. In the sense of digital life, cultural capital could be combined with the other two capitals to increase the opportunity for Internet users to acquire wealth, power, or privilege.

The considerations of exploring social media for various purposes are strongly influenced by their internalized digital habitus (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). When habitus is defined as an internalized capital, it could be presumed that different digital habitus may have different purposes for media use. It is a result of a social agreement between individuals. In other words, habitus is an internalized capital in an individual's daily life. Micheli (2015) looked into how students' educational backgrounds affect media use. She found that students of vocational schools were more likely to produce, consume, or share digital media content than students in academic-oriented schools. However, this study, focusing on CFW on TikTok, provides different findings. It shows that academic orientation backgrounds do not significantly influence the crowd on TikTok. The content creator of CFW may have various different intentions. Some of them may come, join, or create TikTok content for leisure purposes, while other TikTok users are actively involved in the event of CFW to increase their economic capital.

CONCLUSION

Bourdieu's concept of 'digital sociology' significantly contributes to the discourse of digital life. The finding of this study shows that cultural capital could be exchanged for different kinds of capital, either economic or social capital. However, the presumption that one type of capital is directly proportional to other forms of capital often exists, but it is not always accepted. The finding shows how individuals with less cultural capital on technological skills gained more social capital than people with more knowledge or experience in the same field.

The fact shows that field, capital, or habitus influence one another. A nexus between them does not always go in a linear process. The social conditions of the community also influence it. The condition of digital sociology in Europe may differ from Indonesia's because they have different historical backgrounds.

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