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### Cover Page Footnote

I would like to thank Dr. Inaya Rakhmani, Faculty of Social and Political Science University of Indonesia, for guiding and providing feedback during this research process.

# Cultural Consumption and Citayam Fashion Week: Study of Meaning of TikTok Content

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## Abstract

This study aims to understand the Citayam Fashion Week participants' cultural consumption and their meaning of the contents trend on TikTok. This study argues that Citayam Fashion Week participants appropriated fashion through cultural consumption practices and the meaning of TikTok content about Citayam Fashion Week. This study will contribute to academic literature in the communication field concerning fashion cultural consumption practice by the working class in Indonesian context and their appropriation towards dominant groups through their meaning of TikTok content. This study also gives a practical significance that provides a space for the Citayam Fashion Week participants' perspective. The study is also expected to contribute to encouraging society and media players not to marginalize a group based on assumptions of cultural taste.

## Introduction

This thesis analyzes the fashion cultural consumption patterns of Citayam Fashion Week participants and their interpretation of TikTok contents about Citayam Fashion Week trends. Through an analysis of them, this thesis argues that Citayam Fashion Week participants appropriate fashion through cultural consumption practices and the meaning of TikTok content about Citayam Fashion Week. The term Citayam Fashion Week refers to the phenomenon of suburban youth groups from the outskirts of Jakarta who enliven the Dukuh Atas area, Central Jakarta, with a particular style of fashion (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022) or called street fashion (Damaledo, 2022).

The popularity of Citayam Fashion Week began when one of the TikTok creator's videos, BARA ZE (@bara\_ze), interviewing teenagers named Nadia and Tegar went viral among netizens (Baktora, 2022). BARA Ze asked them the questions that lead to romantic relationships, such as the time they have been together, how they called each other, and how much they spent on dating. The video got high engagement. As of October 29, 2022, the number of views of this video has reached 119.1 million times (Bara Ze [@bara\_ze], n.d.). Therefore, the term of Citayam Fashion Week content trends on TikTok used in this study refers to interview content related to love relationships with suburban teenagers who gather in the Dukuh Atas area, Central Jakarta, otherwise known as Citayam Fashion Week teenagers.

Although the interview questions focused on romantic relationships (Baktora,

2022), the public attention towards the trend tends to focus more on the participants' fashion style. As the result, the content trend was named Citayam Fashion Week by the dominant group, in this case the upper class who have high capital (Permana, 2022), to make fun of the fashion style of suburban teenagers playing in the Dukuh Atas area, Central Jakarta (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022). Meanwhile, the suburban youth of this group do not try to identify their activities through a particular name. However, they accept and legitimize the name Citayam Fashion Week for their activities (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022). This condition indicates a hierarchy practice of the dominant group towards the suburban youth through fashion taste. A similar argument was expressed by Liza Betts, a researcher at London College of Fashion, when talking about the working class's appropriation through a brand called Burberry. According to *Dazed*, Betts said, "When hierarchies can't be maintained through things like position and economics, the symbolic idea of taste comes in to maintain control." (Rodgers, 2022).

Hierarchies that arise through differences in tastes have been discussed by various scholars under the cultural consumption theory (Bachmayer et al., 2014; Bourdieu, 1984; Gemar, 2020; Peterson, 1992; Wu, 2021). Bourdieu (1984) argues that different social classes produce different cultural consumption patterns that are formed through differences in tastes. Cultural tastes then form the basis for the formation of consumption patterns which are used to determine class position symbolically and structurally (Gemar, 2018; Wu, 2018). The dominant group tends to favor bourgeois cultural practices and hedonistic aesthetics, while the working class tends to associate more with popular or mass culture (Bourdieu, 1984). In the Citayam Fashion Week context, the participants came from the lower-class group (Permana, 2022) and some of them dropped out of school (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022). If viewed through the cultural consumption theory by Bourdieu (1984), Citayam Fashion Week participants are a group with low cultural capital because they come from the lower class or working class and have a low level of education. However, the classification of class positions in Indonesia is different from the West (Jones, 2018). For this study, the term of working class refers to Yasih (2022), the group that belongs to the working class in Indonesia are informal workers or temporary workers who experience vulnerability and do not have protection from trade unions.

Previous studies on the fashion consumption in Indonesia show how the middle class tends to consume fashion to push their group's lifestyle up a class (Agustina, 2015; Sokowati, 2016; Suyanto et al., 2019). Meanwhile, in this study, based on an initial review of research, a Citayam Fashion Week participant admitted that he was increasingly proud of displaying his class's fashion style (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022). However, Citayam Fashion Week participants' appropriation of fashion mode is treated as aliens. Beside the labeling of 'Citayam Fashion Week' that intended to make fun of the suburban youth group's fashion mode (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022), hierarchical practices are also shown in how the dominant group tries to invade the phenomenon. For example, professional models Valerie and Veronica, who participated in Asia's Next Top Model (AsNTM) cycle 5, joined the catwalk with Citayam Fashion Week participants at the zebra cross area in Dukuh Atas, Central Jakarta (Hakim, 2022). In addition, a celebrity couple Baim Wong and Paula Verhoeven tried to register 'Citayam Fashion Week' as Intellectual Property Rights (*Hak Kekayaan Intelektual* or HAKI) to Ministry of Law and Human Rights Republic of Indonesia through PT Tiger Wong on July 20, 2022 (Permana, 2022). Some sociologists also try to identify the Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon as shown in media coverage. They called the suburban youth in Citayam Fashion Week as a new subculture that breaks the dominance of the class bias that has been established (Nurhakim, 2022; Permana, 2022; Triana, 2022). The culture of Citayam Fashion Week, which features a certain

fashion style, is considered a small bud of a previously developed fashion subculture, such as Harajuku in Japan (Triana, 2022).

Previous studies have already shown the class-hierarchical practice in cultural consumption (Bachmayer et al., 2014; Gemar, 2018; Wu, 2021). As for fashion cultural consumption, some scholars challenged Bourdieu's argument of class hierarchy. They argue fashion mode consumption is not only about social class but also has a diversity in the consumption practice itself (Partington, 1992; Rocamora, 2002). Consumers actively produce their own meaning and value while consuming fashion culture as well as create a new mode in their own way (Partington, 1992). Thus, this study wants to examine the Citayam Fashion Week's cultural consumption to see their appropriation towards fashion mode.

On the other hand, Citayam Fashion Week's appropriation of the dominant group's culture is also shown through the meaning of Citayam Fashion Week's content trend on TikTok. Preliminary review of research found different receptions from the Citayam Fashion Week's participants, one said he likes the popularity of the phenomenon (Nurhakim, 2022) while the other feels annoyed by the public exposure towards him due to the Citayam Fashion Week content popularity on TikTok (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022). This finding shows that the Citayam Fashion Week participants' appropriation towards the dominant group's culture is also expressed by their meaning of the Citayam Fashion Week contents trend on TikTok. Thus, this study also examines the participants' meaning of the Citayam Fashion Week contents trend on TikTok.

Some scholars found that TikTok is able to form a communication pattern and users' behavior (Hurley, 2022; Zeng & Abidin, 2021; Zulli & Zulli, 2022) as well as media players (Peterson-Salahuddin, 2022; Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2022). Other studies also show how TikTok can become a platform that provides space for marginalized groups to speak out (Verma, 2021), includes marginal groups by social class. However, in the Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon, the participants' representation is presented by the actors outside their group. That means the perspective on the contents is not the Citayam Fashion Week participants' perspective itself. Meanwhile, the audience can produce their own meaning of the contents they consume (Long & Wall, 2012). Purnamasari & Tutiasari (2021) argue the audience's meaning is influenced by their knowledge and experiences from their daily lives. Hence, this study is trying to explore the participants' meaning of the Citayam Fashion Week contents trend on TikTok to show the Citayam Fashion Week participants' appropriation towards dominant group.

Based on the explanation above, this study analyzes the Citayam Fashion Week participants' cultural consumption and their meaning of the contents trend on TikTok. This study will contribute to academic literature in the communication field concerning fashion cultural consumption practice by the working class in Indonesian context and their appropriation towards dominant groups through their meaning of TikTok content. This study also gives a practical significance that provides a space for the Citayam Fashion Week participants' perspective. The study is also expected to contribute to encouraging society and media players not to marginalize a group based on assumptions of cultural taste.

### **Literature Review**

Pierre Bourdieu (1984) proposed that there are differences in the way culture is consumed between different classes. Different consumption patterns show the relationship between cultural capital which is then used to determine class position symbolically and structurally (Gemar, 2020; Wu, 2021). Bourdieu (1984) argues that the formation of cultural consumption is influenced by one's habitus. Habitus supports cultural selection which then affects the homology of class-based cultural tastes

(Gemar, 2018). Bourdieu (1984) also revealed that the level of education affects cultural capital. Bourdieu (1984) surveyed 1,218 people in 1963 and 1967-1968 to see the cultural consumption patterns of different classes. The findings show that the dominant class, which has a higher level of education and social class, shows legitimate taste preferences or high-class culture. The dominant class is oriented towards cultural practices that are bourgeois in nature and tend towards hedonistic aesthetics. Then, the middle class shows middle-brow taste preferences. Meanwhile, the lower-status or working-class population tends to be more associated with popular or mass culture.

Bourdieu (1984) also observed cultural consumption in the fashion domain. In this domain, the homology of consumer cultural consumption is influenced by the class position of the dominant consumer group, which automatically aligns with the dominant position of fashion designers. Dominant groups are forced to adopt new fashion styles to maintain the primacy of their difference (Partington, 1992). This argument is also reflected in the Indonesian context. A number of studies on fashion consumption in Indonesia show that the consumption of fashion culture is dominated by the middle class, especially the Muslim middle class (Agustina, 2015; Sokowati, 2016). Middle-class cultural consumption aims to build, express, and maintain social status and differentiate the group from the social classes below (Suyanto et al., 2019). For example, the consumption of Muslim middle-class fashion in Indonesia tends to drive the lifestyle of Muslim groups by competing with high-end brands, such as Chanel and Louis Vuitton, as is done by the Dian Pelangi brand (Agustina, 2015). However, such fashion products only involve the middle class and alienate the lower-class groups (Agustina, 2015).

As for the working class, Bourdieu (1984) argues that this group's consumption of fashion culture is pragmatic and realistic. It is assumed that the working class can only like what they can afford depending on its economic value. The working class is also expected to only imitate the tastes and preferences of the dominant class (Partington, 1992).

However, some scholars have challenged Bourdieu's ideas regarding the consumption of fashion culture. Rocamora (2002) argues that Bourdieu only focuses on the production aspect and does not consider consumers as active culture makers. Rocamora (2002) also highlights Bourdieu's argument that elite groups create certain symbols to emphasize differences in taste with working groups, for example through fashion shows, which are considered to be exclusive ceremonies of bourgeois self-worship (Rocamora, 2022, p. 354). In addition, Rocamora (2002) also argues that Bourdieu's theory of cultural consumption does not take into account the dual role of objects as symbols because it only focuses on the role of objects as a means of class distinction. Similarly, Partington (1992) also criticizes Bourdieu's concept of fashion consumption which sees that fashion automatically works only for the benefit of the dominant group, excludes the middle class, and emulates the working class. According to Partington (1992), Bourdieu's argument only understands the idea of culture as a mere expression of socio-economic relations, not a place of active production of value and meaning by consumers and is unable to explain how consumers skillfully reproduce fashion culture. Bourdieu (1984) also states that working-class women do not have time to take care of their bodies due to economic conditions so for them fashion is only to cover up body flaws. This argument is refuted by Rocamora (2002). She argues that working-class women are able to dress stylishly and express their identity through the clothes they wear even though they are under a contemporary economic situation that limits fashion consumption. The working class is considered to be able to combine aesthetics, function, and pragmatic needs in developing their fashion creativity. This is done by utilizing limited resources, buying second-hand

clothes, or saving money to buy certain clothes (Rocamora, 2002).

However, scholars argue that working-class appropriation of fashion aesthetics will continue as long as the gap between the upper and lower classes remains (Rodgers, 2022). Cultural appropriations that differ from dominant consumption are treated unfamiliarly by the media. According to Betts, working-class groups are well aware of mainstream ideas about acceptability. However, their ideas about fashion, what looks good and what is appropriate to wear, are still often ridiculed. This is because symbolic ideas about taste perpetuate the control of class and economic position by dominant groups.

In the context of this study, the study suspects that the dominant group's control over working-class fashion tastes is reflected in the Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon. Even so, there are Citayam Fashion Week participants who appropriated fashion tastes (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022). Not only that, but there are also participants who appropriated the dominant class through the interpretation of TikTok content about Citayam Fashion Week. Scholars believe that audiences have the will to produce meaning from the media content they consume (Long & Wall, 2012). Meanings can influence or instruct audiences with very complex perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological, or behavioral consequences (Hall, 1980). Hall (1980) argues that audience reception practices cannot be understood through simple behavioral terms. In identifying meaning, there are aspects of social and economic relations involved. Ultimately, this process shapes the reality of reception and allows meanings in discourse to be transposed into practice or consciousness to gain social utility or political effectiveness.

Hall (1980) revealed that implied meanings need to refer to the social order of life, economic and political power, and ideology. For this reason, Hall (1980) suggests three conceptualizations of meaning positions, which are dominant, oppositional, and negotiated. The dominant position will take a big-picture view of global issues and demand a preferred reading by ratifying certain ways of seeing the world (Hall, 1980; Long & Wall, 2012). Dominant readings refer to situations when audiences interpret the connotations of messages according to the framework of the code offered. The preferred domain of meaning has the entire social order embedded as a set of meanings, practices, and beliefs about everyday knowledge of social structures. The dominant domain of meaning also plays a role in determining the pecking order of power and interests as well as the structure of legitimacy, boundaries, and sanctions. The legitimacy of the dominant meaning of social order tends to appear natural, inevitable, and taken for granted (Hall, 1980).

The negotiated meaning refers to a meaning that recognizes the legitimacy of hegemonic definitions to make great meaning, but at the same time, also makes its own ground rules (Hall, 1980). Thus, the negotiated version of the dominant ideology is shot through with contradictions. Then, the last meaning position is opposition. Unlike the dominant and negotiated meanings that consider the hegemonic legitimacy of meaning, oppositional reading does not make room for it. In oppositional meaning, audiences decode messages in a globally contradictory way (Hall, 1980).

In this study, Hall's (1980) meaning position is used to understand how Citayam Fashion Week participants position themselves when interpreting content that leads to the representation of their group. An initial review of the research found that there were participants who interpreted the content with positive sentiments (Nurhakim, 2022) and participants who interpreted the content with oppositional attitudes (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022). Therefore, this study explores participants' meanings of the Citayam Fashion Week content trend on TikTok to find out their appropriation practices of the dominant group culture.

## **Research Methods**

This study uses the critical constructivist paradigm by Charmaz (2014). Critical constructivists believe that the construction of human reality is built collectively but needs to be legitimized first by the dominant group (Quist-Adade, 2017). This study uses Charmaz's (2014) constructivist paradigm because I suspect that there are construction results under certain conditions that are not explicitly realized in the content of Citayam Fashion Week on TikTok. This study uses a qualitative approach with a grounded theory research strategy initiated by Charmaz (2014). Grounded theory seeks to understand the world through the perspective of the research subject (Charmaz, 2006). For this reason, this study will collect data through observation and unstructured interviews or convenience sampling (Robinson, 2014). Sampling in this study uses purposive sampling techniques. The purposive sampling technique in grounded theory studies selects samples not based on a priori criteria. That is, the criteria are intentional, theoretical, and depend on the categories developed from the initial data of the study (Hood, 2007).

In this study, the research sample taken was Citayam Fashion Week participants who came to the research location when data collection was conducted. Based on the initial research review, Citayam Fashion Week refers to the phenomenon of groups of teenagers who enliven the Dukuh Atas area, Central Jakarta, with a particular style of dress (Ibrahim & Leba, 2022) or street fashion (Damaledo, 2022). For this reason, I visited the Dukuh Atas area twice, namely around 16:20 Western Indonesia Time (WIB) to 20:00 WIB on October 8, 2022, and 17:30 WIB to 20:00 WIB on October 15, 2022, to collect data. I first observed the participants who were at the location. Then, I selected teenagers who I considered to use a distinctive style of dress or tend to adopt street fashion, namely from the bottom up (Crane, 1999). In addition, I selected participants from various locations in the Dukuh Atas area, namely the Dukuh Atas MRT exit near All Seasons Jakarta, the MRT exit near BNI City Station, the Sudirman Station tunnel, and the Dukuh Atas TOD park. I chose participants from different location points because I found differences in participant characteristics at each location. Participants who wear flashy clothes tend to be at the Dukuh Atas MRT exit point, both near All Seasons Jakarta and BNI City Station, and the Sudirman Station tunnel. Meanwhile, participants who stayed at the Dukuh Atas TOD park tended to wear less flashy clothes than participants at the other three points. By selecting participants at various locations, I hope to find more diversified research data.

This study conducted interviews with 13 Citayam Fashion Week participants who were met during data collection. I interviewed the research informants about the informants' background to understand the informants' cultural capital, how they consume their fashion, and how they interpret the Citayam Fashion Week content trend on TikTok. In looking at how they interpret the content, I started the question by mentioning whether they had been involved in the production of the popular Citayam Fashion Week content on TikTok. This question aims to confirm that researchers and informants have the same view of the Citayam Fashion Week content trend in question, which is the content trend of teenage dating interviews in the Dukuh Atas area, Central Jakarta. Then, I explored questions about their views on the Citayam Fashion Week content trend on TikTok without showing the video.

The collected data were then analyzed using coding as expressed by Charmaz (2014). Grounded theory coding includes initial coding, focused coding, and theoretical coding (Charmaz, 2006). Initial coding involves naming each word, line, or segment of data while remaining open to all possible theoretical directions indicated by reading the data (Charmaz, 2006). After conducting the initial phase of coding, grounded theory studies can continue the coding process to a more focused phase in order to



synthesize, analyze, and conceptualize larger segments of data (Charmaz, 2014). Finally, the study conducts theoretical coding to determine possible relationships between each category that has been established in the focused coding (Charmaz, 2006).

**Results**

Based on the data collected from the interviews, it is known that some of the informants have jobs but are classified as informal workers or non-permanent workers who do not have protection from trade unions. This condition is in line with Yasih's (2022) argument regarding the working class. This means that research informants can be categorized as the working class in this study. The interview results also show that some informants do not have a high educational background. On average, the informants studied up to the elementary or junior high school level. This information about the informants' backgrounds shows that the research informants come from groups with low cultural capital. Information on informants' cultural capital needs to be known because cultural capital, which is formed from habitus, is the basis for Bourdieu's (1984) argument in seeing the homology of class-based cultural tastes. When referring to Bourdieu's (1984) classification of cultural capital, Citayam Fashion Week participants who became research informants belonged to a lower status group.

Broadly speaking, this study found three patterns of cultural consumption among research informants, namely active consumption that explores fashion, pragmatic consumption, and passive consumption. As for practices, the study found different types of fashion consumption practices among the research informants. Details of the research informants' cultural consumption patterns and practices are listed in the Table 1.

Table 1. Research informants' fashion culture consumption practices

<b>Cultural Consumption Patterns</b>	<b>Informants</b>	<b>Fashion Consumption Practices</b>
Active consumption by exploring fashion modes	Sarah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reproducing fashion with aesthetic creativity</li> <li>- Pursuing authentic fashion</li> <li>- Reproduce fashion according to economic ability</li> <li>- Seeking alternative ways to acquire fashion by saving money</li> </ul>
	Putri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reproducing fashion with aesthetic creativity</li> <li>- Pursuing authentic fashion</li> <li>- Reproduce fashion according to economic ability</li> </ul>
	Lala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reproducing fashion with aesthetic creativity</li> <li>- Exploring fashion inspiration by utilizing social media</li> <li>- Reproduce fashion according to economic ability</li> </ul>
	Wulan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reproducing fashion with aesthetic creativity</li> <li>- Exploring fashion inspiration by utilizing</li> </ul>

Table 1 (Continued)

<b>Cultural Consumption Patterns</b>	<b>Informants</b>	<b>Fashion Consumption Practices</b>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>social media</li> <li>- Reproduce fashion according to economic ability</li> <li>- Prioritizing fashion suitability with the body</li> </ul>
	Alif	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Realizing fashion is a cultural product</li> <li>- Reproducing fashion with aesthetic creativity</li> <li>- Exploring fashion inspiration through the trend of Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon</li> <li>- Reproducing fashion as a means of forming group identity</li> <li>- Not taking the elite group's fashion sense as inspiration</li> </ul>
	Olive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reproducing fashion with aesthetic creativity</li> <li>- Explores fashion inspiration and makes it an active production site of value and meaning</li> <li>- Understand the distinctive features of fashion fashions that she wants to express</li> </ul>
Pragmatic consumption	Tio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Consuming fashion for pragmatic purposes only</li> <li>- The fashion used is not influenced by trends</li> <li>- Does not see fashion as a class distinction tool</li> </ul>
	Anita	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Consuming fashion for pragmatic purposes only</li> <li>- The fashion used is not influenced by trends</li> <li>- Does not see fashion as a class distinction tool</li> </ul>
	Mariska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Consuming fashion for pragmatic purposes only</li> <li>- The fashion used is not influenced by trends</li> <li>- Does not see fashion as a class distinction tool</li> </ul>
Passive consumption	Zain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Consuming fashion passively</li> <li>- Accepting the fashion given to her by the elite group</li> </ul>

As for the meaning of the Citayam Fashion Week content trend on TikTok, this study found that there are three positions of meaning as expressed by Hall (1980). Even so, there are differences in the number of informants in each interpretation position (Table 2). Based on Hall's (1980) explanation, the dominant reading refers to the situation when the audience interprets the connotation of the message according to the code framework offered. In this case, TikTok content about Citayam Fashion Week contains elements of entertainment. Thus, the dominant meaning in this study refers to the reading that likes the content. Meanwhile, negotiated meaning refers to a reading that does not question the content, but informants provide additional answers that tend to show contradictions. The oppositional meaning in this study refers to the reading that does not like the content. From the results of the research coding, the number of participants who were in the dominant interpretation was two people, negotiation was five people, and opposition was three people.

Table 2. Informants' meaning position towards TikTok content about Citayam Fashion Week

<b>Position</b>	<b>Informants</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Dominant	Mariska	Positioning herself in the preferred reading
	Zain	Liking the content
Negotiation	Tio	Feeling okay with the content if he is just a spectator. However, feel uncomfortable with the content if he is a source because he is worried about the audience's response.
	Anita	Not bothered by the content but bothered by the behavior of people visiting the Dukuh Atas area, Central Jakarta.
	Putri	Feeling uncomfortable with content, but want to produce her own content
	Olive	Not bothered by the content and used to public exposure, but worried about the audience's response to her and the Citayam Fashion Week content.
	Alif	Not bothered by the content, but refuses to be part of the content due to concerns about audience response
Opposition	- Maya - Dara	Feeling uncomfortable with the content
	Wulan	Feeling uncomfortable with the content and refusing to be perceived as one of the famous Citayam Fashion Week participants

## **Discussion**

This study shows that Citayam Fashion Week participants consume fashion culture in specific ways, namely by active consumption that explores fashion, pragmatic consumption, and passive consumption. The findings of this study do not fully reflect Bourdieu's (1984) argument that the working class tends to consume only popular culture and disregard aesthetic values due to limited cultural capital and is expected to only imitate the tastes and fashion preferences of the dominant class. When referring to Bourdieu's (1984) cultural consumption argument, research informants

from the working class are expected to consume fashion passively, ignore aesthetics, and tend to submit to the preferences of the dominant class. However, most of the research informants' answers during the interviews showed an appropriation of this argument.

Some informants show active consumption practices of fashion culture by exploring ideas about fashion, optimizing fashion expressions according to their economic capabilities, and combining aesthetic creativity with the pragmatic function of the clothes themselves (interview, 2022). This finding refutes Bourdieu's (1984) argument that the working class has limited power in terms of fashion culture consumption. In addition, although there are informants who seek inspiration through social media as argued by Crane (1999), they are more concerned with their own needs and purposes of expression when consuming fashion (interview, 2022). This finding indicates that the research informants appropriated Bourdieu's argument that fashion works automatically for the benefit of the dominant group and workers only imitate the tastes and preferences of the dominant class (Partington, 1992).

However, this study found that there were research informants who received grants from dominant groups in fashion consumption practices, both in the form of money and fashion products themselves (interview, 2022). Bourdieu's (1984) homology of cultural consumption thesis discusses cultural consumption practices in each class, but I have not found a theoretical explanation of how cultural consumption practices interact across classes. Therefore, I argue this finding as a research novelty in the study of cultural consumption, that dominant groups can also play a role in the cultural consumption practices of the working class. In this context, the dominant group directly contributes to constructing the consumption practices of working-class fashion. Then, the research informant also admitted that he was a content talent who worked with content creators who gave him grants for fashion products (interview, 2022). Referring to this informant's statement, I argue that the dominant group's involvement in the consumption practices of working-class fashion is influenced by economic motives. In this case, informants who come from the working class receive wages and clothing grants for being content talents.

Another finding in this study shows that a research informant who has a higher level of education is able to elaborate on her fashion consumption practices. Bourdieu (1984) reveals how education affects an individual's cultural capital in fashion consumption practices. In this case, groups with higher cultural capital show preferences that tend to be more bourgeois and artistic. However, I have not found any theoretical explanation on how the level of education plays a role in an individual's level of understanding of their cultural consumption practices.

Another research finding shows that the role of marketplaces or e-commerce platforms supports the consumption of fashion by the working class through the democratization of access. This argument is based on the answers of a number of informants who admitted to buying their fashion products through marketplace platforms to target discounts and low prices (interview, 2022). In contrast to Muslim middle-class fashion consumption that uses religious symbols to compete with high-end brands (Agustina, 2015), research informants in this study indicated that they consume fashion products at low prices. Related to this finding, I argue that they use fashion culture consumption practices to maintain their class.

Through the interviews, the study also found that marketplaces and social media platforms are also driving the shift in fashion consumption trends among consumers. Therefore, fashion industry players need to keep up with trends on social media in order to understand the products needed by consumers. This means that this finding challenges Bourdieu's (1984) argument that the position of fashion designers is homologous with the position of the dominant group. Now, fashion designers need to

understand cross-class fashion tastes to adapt to the decentralized fashion diffusion process (Crane, 1999).

These findings show that the research informants, in this case Citayam Fashion Week participants who come from working-class groups with low cultural capital, are able to optimize various existing resources to consume fashion that can express themselves in their own way and adjust their abilities without being bound by the culture of the dominant group. However, as Betts revealed in her interview with Dazed, the appropriation of working-class fashion that differs from the dominant group's consumption patterns is often still treated as something foreign. According to Betts, this is because symbolic ideas about taste have perpetuated the control of class and economic position by dominant groups. The study argues that this practice is reflected in the efforts to attach subculture identities to Citayam Fashion Week participants that are carried out by parties outside the participants' world. The main argument of these dominant groups when identifying Citayam Fashion Week as a subculture is that their fashion, which comes from the working class, is considered to challenge the fashion of the elite class (Nurhakim, 2022; Permana, 2022; Triana, 2022). This attitude shows that the dominant group uses the tastes of the elite class as a benchmark in viewing fashion. When Citayam Fashion Week participants display fashion that is different from the tastes of the dominant group, the participants' fashion ideas are treated as something foreign that needs to be identified, in line with Betts' argument (Rodgers, 2022).

On the other hand, the impact of the dominance of class hierarchy is also felt in the popularity of TikTok content itself. The study found that the interview content that started the popularity of Citayam Fashion Week (Baktora, 2022) was fabricated by the content creators. This means that the representation of participants in the content is the result of deliberate construction. The content creators used their control to construct the identity of Citayam Fashion Week participants, in line with Quist-Adade's (2017) argument. Even so, some research informants showed appropriation of the dominant group's culture through the interpretation of the Citayam Fashion Week content trend on TikTok. Some informants stated that they did not like the content (interview, 2022). There were also informants who did not oppose the content, but gave contradictory meanings, namely concerns over audience perceptions and feeling disturbed by the public invasion in the area where the Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon took place (interview, 2022). The study argues that these concerns show how informants think about the possibility that they will be ridiculed by the public. When linked back to the analysis of cultural consumption, the working class is still often ridiculed about the fashion they consume (Rodgers, 2022).

As for the dominant meaning, the study found that there were informants who followed the legitimacy of public interpretation of the content. The study also found that economic factors were involved in the research informants' interpretation of the Citayam Fashion Week content trend on TikTok. The study argues that this condition reflects the scholar's argument that symbolic ideas about taste are used to perpetuate control over class and economic positions by dominant groups (Rodgers, 2022).

## **Conclusion**

This study argues that Citayam Fashion Week participants appropriated fashion through cultural consumption practices and the meaning of TikTok content about Citayam Fashion Week. This study has two derivative research questions. To answer the question about Citayam Fashion Week participants' fashion cultural consumption practices, this research refers to Bourdieu's (1984) homology thesis that cultural consumption depends on class-based cultural tastes. As for the consumption of fashion culture, Bourdieu (1984) argues that working groups consume fashion culture pragmatically and realistically. Meanwhile, the study found that Citayam Fashion

Week participants consume fashion culture specifically even though they come from the same cultural capital group, namely the working class. The consumption pattern itself is divided into three, namely consumption that reproduces fashion culture with aesthetic creativity, pragmatic fashion consumption, and passive fashion consumption.

The study shows that Citayam Fashion Week participants appropriated fashion by utilizing various resources-such as social media, local market platforms, and alternative sources of economic income-to maintain their class. However, this research only focuses on the consumption practices of working-class fashion culture. Therefore, future research can further explore the consumption practices of fashion culture of various classes in the Indonesian context. Then, the research found that there is a dominant group's share in the construction of working-class fashion. Future research can further analyze this finding. This study also found that the level of education plays a role in an individual's ability to elaborate on their cultural consumption practices. Thus, future studies on fashion cultural consumption practices, especially in Indonesia, can take this perspective.

As for answering the second research question, the study found three positions of meaning as argued by Hall (1980) among research informants. Regarding the dominant meaning, the study argues that informants who are in this meaning position follow a more dominant meaning because the interpretation of liking the content has become a reality of acceptance that is formed and then transposed into the practice of consciousness on social values (Hall, 1980). In addition, the study also found that there are economic factors involved in the process of interpreting content by research informants. I see this finding as a form of dominant group hierarchy that makes Citayam Fashion Week participants submit to the hegemonic legitimization of the meaning discourse towards the content trend.

Even so, there are research informants who appropriated the culture of the dominant group through the interpretation of the Citayam Fashion Week content trend on TikTok. They are in an oppositional interpretation position that clearly rejects the hegemonic interpretation of the content and a negotiation position that does not reject the dominant hegemonic legitimacy but provides a contradictory view. The form of contradiction is the informants' concern about audience perceptions and reactions. I argue that these concerns show how informants think about the possibility that they will be ridiculed by the public.

Based on the explanation above, I conclude that there is a social hierarchy in the Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon. The form of social hierarchy control involves fashion and TikTok content trends about Citayam Fashion Week. Fashion tastes are used by the dominant group as a benchmark in viewing the Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon. While their fashion appropriation is treated as something foreign that needs to be identified. This behavior shows that the symbolic idea of taste perpetuates the control of class and economic position by the dominant group. Control also takes place in the TikTok Citayam Fashion Week content trend. In this case, the dominant group has the power to present representations and identify Citayam Fashion Week participants. Based on these findings, I argue that Citayam Fashion Week participants are in an inferior position compared to the dominant group. I argue that Citayam Fashion Week participants receive marginalization treatment due to elite group control over the hierarchy of fashion culture consumption and Citayam Fashion Week content trends on TikTok.

On the other hand, the study only looked at the point of view of the suburban youth group who participated in Citayam Fashion Week. Meanwhile, the study found other actors involved in the phenomenon, such as content creators. Therefore, future studies can examine the Citayam Fashion Week phenomenon by looking at other actors'

perspectives. Future studies can also use Actor Network Theory as an analytical tool.

This study also provides a number of research implications. This study suggests that media actors and social media users should not produce content that has the potential to marginalize working-class groups in general. Instead, in producing content, media actors and social media users need to be balanced in presenting the reality of a particular group, instead of constructing reality for the sake of content. Researchers also recommend that the public should not necessarily underestimate the tastes and realities of working-class groups based solely on the narratives presented by media content.

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