Tiktokers Contest on Reaching Popularity: Study on Indonesian University Student TikTokers

Rakhmat Hidayat[1*], Yuanita Aprilandini Siregar[2], Etin Prihatina [3], Afdhal[4]

[1,2,3]Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia
[4]Universitas Pattimura, Maluku, Indonesia

Abstract
This study aims to describe of TikTok social media as a contestation arena for five content creators of IPB University students in achieving popularity status. The research method uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. Data collection techniques were carried out by observation, and digital interviews through the Zoom Meeting, Instagram, YouTube, Whatsapp and Line platforms, documentation, and literature studies. The conclusion shows that TikTok has become a contestation field for five IPB University student content creators based on capital ownership, habitus and differences in practice. Distinction and taste are the reinforcing factors for every content creator in contesting as the hallmark of creators and class markers in TikTok. The dominating capital includes cultural capital, symbolic capital which is influenced by economic capital, as well as a friendly environment that forms the habitus of content creators.

Keywords: *contest, popularity, TikTok, habitus, capital.*

Paper type: *Research paper*

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INTRODUCTION

Information technology that is growing rapidly has succeeded in creating various digital products, one of which is social media. Social media is a means or place in the form of applications or web that can be used to interact between individuals, groups, organizations and the public, and requires the internet to access it. Social media has uses and impacts on people's lives today. One of the most popular social media is TikTok. TikTok is one of the social media whose user statistics have skyrocketed, especially since 2020. Indonesia has become the country with the largest number of downloaders and active users of TikTok social media after India and the United States, with the percentage reaching 8.5% with 30.7 million users as of July 2020 (Akbari et al., 2022; Yuliana, 2022). In line with this, research results from "We Are Social and Hootsuite" show that TikTok in Indonesia occupies the first position, overseeing Facebook and Instagram with the category of the most social media downloaders in 2020 (Kemp, 2021).

TikTok is a social media based on 15 seconds to 3 minutes of music videos originating from China. TikTok attracts the attention of individuals to become a forum for creating and developing talent through music videos with the term content, so that currently TikTok is the domain of developing and channeling individual talent interests, media giving and distributing various information. Users who often create content regularly are called TikTok content creators (Praswary and Darma, 2021; Roese, 2018; Susilowati, 2018).

Indonesia as the country with the most TikTok downloaders and users of social media cannot be separated from the consequences of the pandemic which has made all activities move their workspaces into virtual spaces. The speed of transmission of fluids that come out of the body, resulting in limited activities to meet physically. So the government issued a policy of working in a virtual (digital) space called #WorkFromHome, while for educational institutions using Distance Learning. This encourages an increase in TikTok users regardless of people's boredom, the unique algorithm through the for your page (FYP) feature and other interesting features also motivates many people to download and use TikTok social media ranging from students, parents, celebrities, even to officials to exchange information, interact, and seek entertainment. Research results from We Are Social and Hootsuite show that the presentation of TikTok social media users in Indonesia

is aged 16-64 years, reaching 38.7% as of January 2021 (Kemp, 2021; Riikonen, 2019).

In addition, with TikTok downloaders and users in Indonesia skyrocketing from time to time, there are also more content creators who channel their cultural capital with content in their own unique ways and follow various trends. TikTok social media is currently a competitive arena for individuals, community groups and various agencies to get engagement in the form of likes, viewers, comments on the content they upload to support the achievement of popularity. Because the more engagement you get, the more highlighted your account will be, and it's more likely that the uploaded content will enter other users' FYP main pages (Shullenberger, 2020).

TikTok apart from being a medium for interacting, carrying out economic activities, is also a realm of contestation at this time. The contest itself is a struggle, a fight, a competition for a dominant position or a prize that is the goal of the actors. TikTok's social media as a contestation area is characterized by TikTok's uniqueness in its algorithm and the offer of speedy content distribution that triggers a huge potential for popularity through TikTok. In accordance with the realm of contestation which is analogous to Bourdieu, namely as a playing field, in which it has interesting potential and special interest for actors who choose to participate in a field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In contesting to achieve popularity status, content creators create content as a capital to attract the attention of other TikTok social media users. The realm according to Bourdieu is also called the field, is a system of power that exists between these various positions, it is structured internally in terms of power relations (Jeong and Seol, 2022; Nitzky, 2022).

In the realm of actors fighting over "gift", namely the status of popularity as a dominant position which will later dominate in a realm. Capital distributed in terms of content will have an impact on content creators as contestants, namely in the form of increasing capital. The term capital in the realm refers to several important characteristics, namely: (1)Capital is accumulated through investment, (2)Capital can be given to others through inheritance, (3)Capital can provide benefits according to the opportunity for the owner to operate the placement (Santoso, 2017).

Five IPB University students are part of the content creators on TikTok social media who channel their cultural capital, starting from demonstrating skills,

providing information, to random content that follows the trend of TikTok music videos. To achieve popularity status, content creators certainly need creative, innovative ideas through their content on TikTok social media in order to attract the attention of other users from various circles. Five IPB University students as content creators competed with other users through their capital, habits and practices to enter the main page or FYP (For Your Page) with the aim of getting engagement in the form of viewers, likers, comments and even account followers as prizes in the realm of (field) TikTok social media. In addition, differences and tastes as characteristics and class markers become the researchers' analysis in this study. Of the many social media, currently many individuals including five IPB University students choose to contest on TikTok social media, with the hope of maximizing their habitus, practice and various capitals in this realm.

This paper has the following objectives: first, to describe the context of TikTok social media as a contestation area for five IPB University student content creators in achieving popularity status. Second, to describe the habitus and capital contestation of five content creators of IPB University students in the realm of TikTok social media in achieving popularity status. Third, to describe the implications of contestation in the realm of TikTok social media for five content creators of IPB University students. The author argues that TikTok as a contestation area certainly has something that attracts netizens' attention. The five creators of IPB University student content conducted a contest based on habitus, capital and practice in the realm of TikTok. Habitus is formed from the family environment and friendship environment, then the ownership of cultural, economic, symbolic and social capital that supports the practice of the five content creators. In addition, there is a form of differentiation through the tastes of each content creator as a characteristic and class marker in the contestation process. Some of Bourdieu's concepts above become the researcher's analysis in this study, where later there will be differences in the results of the contestation in the form of an increase in the creator's economy (economic capital) and the development of relationships or networks (social capital) as implications in the contestation.

METHODS

The research approach used is a qualitative approach, with a case study method. The case studied is the contestation of five TikTok content creators in achieving popularity, with the main speakers being five content creators from IPB University students. Data collection was carried out by observation and digital interviews through the zoom meetings, line, Instagram, whatsapp, and YouTube platforms to five IPB University students as key informants. Data triangulation was carried out on two active TikTok users, two active followers of IPB University student TikTok accounts, two passive TikTok users and social media strategists.

Clear information was obtained by the researchers through five key informants, namely the content creators of IPB University students. The five informants had the initials AAH, KB, HFA, WA, and IDA. The five key informants were obtained by the researcher using a purposive sampling technique, because they were related to the researcher's considerations and the informants were considered to know about the problems in the study. This technique makes it easier for researchers to explore information about the problems studied. The five informants are content creators with different content focuses, and the five have different activities. So that with these circumstances the researchers conducted interviews after finishing their busy lives, of course making an appointment in advance. Interviews were conducted in a relaxed manner through zoom meetings and line calls, so as not to feel too formal.

The researcher confirmed the information conveyed by the informants through triangulation of this study with the initials BA and FR (active followers of the IPB University Student TikTok account), NSP and MAK (passive users of TikTok) and GA (social media strategist). This triangulation of data aims to confirm the results of field findings on the five key informants through observation and in-depth interviews. Especially on social media strategists whose dominant job is to look at the development of social media to explore the occurrence of contestation and the dominant capital used by every content creator in general.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social Media as a Field for Struggling for Dominance

Social media is a medium on the internet that allows users to represent themselves and interact, collaborate, share, communicate with other users, and form

virtual social bonds. Social media is a medium or means for individuals and groups to represent themselves by sharing text, audio and audio visuals, as a means of interacting, collaborating and establishing virtual social relationships. Social media has many types, one of which is the type of social network and content community (Biały, 2017).

TikTok is a social media type of social network and content community that currently dominates the world of social media. TikTok provides a number of interesting features that are easily accessible to its users. TikTok has a unique algorithm based on a recommendation base that recommends and distributes every user upload on the FYP (for your page) feature or the main page of social media, this feature is the axis of the popularity of TikTok social media. Through its algorithm, TikTok offers popularity status by creating creative content that is distributed on TikTok social media. The unique TikTok algorithm attracted the attention of five IPB University students as content creators to contest to achieve a dominant position, namely popularity status.

TikTok is not only a field for interaction, but also a field of competition by fighting for a dominant position in the form of popularity status or a popular content creator. This is in line with Bourdieu's thinking that the realm is related to the struggle for legitimate positions and authorities that have regulations to regulate the struggle, namely the logic of capital. Popularity is called a dominant position, because the actor who reaches the dominant position will dominate activities in a field, namely the social media field of TikTok. Bourdieu makes an analogy with the mechanics of the field like a "playing field", where there are players who need to have a sense or logic of the game (a competence) to determine the player's ability to master the game even though basically the ownership of the logic of the game is uneven (Lizardo, 2014).

Bourdieu put forward the concept in several of his books that the field is not just a vacuum, but within it there is a dynamic force as an arena of struggle for actors (Grenfell and James 2014; Miller 2016). In accordance with the field concept according to Bourdieu, TikTok social media is called a contestation field because it consists of actors who compete and fight for popularity status as a dominant position. In addition, a field will be meaningless if there is no habitus and capital that supports the practice of content creators to strengthen their contestation.

The For Your Page feature which is the main algorithm provides space and opportunity for creative content to get popularity status as stated by AAH, HFA and WA. They choose to be content creators on TikTok compared to other social media, because of the potential of TikTok social media that can increase content and engagement of their TikTok account. TikTok has rules and regulations for content creators through its algorithm and For Your Page feature. In accordance with what Bourdieu said that each field has a sub which also has its own logic, rules and regularities (Grenfell, 2008).

Meanwhile, IDA feels that it is very interesting to be a content creator, because any action will spread quickly and it will be easy to access various editing features. Similar to KB who stated that she really likes the world of social media and content creators, her desire to motivate other young people on TikTok with the provision as a student exchange she wants to use that to build her personal branding on social media, especially on TikTok. In this case, social media is a place to influence. IDA, WA and KB use TikTok's social media to build self-image and economic practices in the form of increasing income.

Popularity status or in this case popular content creators has become a dominant position in the digital world in the millennial era. Various privileges and advantages as a content creator who has many followers on TikTok social media, can have an influence on netizens, and of course make it easier for individuals to get greater engagement which will have an impact on creator branding to attract cooperation from certain companies.

In addition, popular content creators can dominate with their content that can easily enter the For You Page feature because it is based on user interactions on each uploaded content. This is related to the TikTok algorithm, the more interactions on the content, the faster content will be distributed on the For You page of citizens. According to Bourdieu, this dominating position is of course the need for strong and dominant capital ownership in the form of economic capital, cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). However, as it is known that to become a popular content creator on digital media today, the need for dominant capital in the form of cultural capital and symbolic capital which is influenced by economic capital in the form of production tools for each content creator to produce their content.

The Content Creators Practices Contestation, Habitus and Capital

Practice for Bourdieu is, in short, the product of the relationship between habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1984). Practice is in the dimensions of space and time, for Bourdieu practice does not occur by chance by actors but because there are underlying things such as habitus and capital (Jenkins, 1992). Therefore, Bourdieu wrote a generative formula for the concept, namely (Habitus x Modal) + Field = Practice where practice occurs or is created as a result of habitus together with capital and field as a place for practice to occur through the use of habitus and capital.

The practice of contesting content creators for achieving their popularity status cannot be separated from the initial practice of building self-image or personal branding as content creators that is consistent with the focus of the content. Content creators also try to interact with audiences who provide engagement in comments column and share their content. To attract the attention of the online community and get good engagement, of course, it is necessary to build personal branding that gives a distinctive image of each content creator. In the practice of contestation, strengthening is needed by building personal branding that has these characteristics: (1) Distinctive, there is a different (typical) action seen by the audience. The more distinctive the action, the more assertive and clear the personal branding to audience. (2) Relevant, strong personal branding must have a relationship that can be considered important by the audience, in other words what it stands for must be relevant to the audience. (3) Consistent, it meaning that what is unique and relevant is done continuously and repeatedly (Pertiwi and Irwansyah 2020).

Friendship and Dominant Habitus

According to Bourdieu, habitus is a set of dispositions created through a combination of the objective structure and the history of the agent, which also includes the agent's knowledge and understanding of the world (Kirby, 2017; Wilterdink, 2017). Furthermore, Bourdieu explains that habitus is an open mechanism that is acquired continuously through experience and in the same way can be changed by these experiences, in other words experience can change habitus (Burke, Emmerich, and Ingram, 2013; Kirby, 2017; Stone, Underwood, and Hotchkiss, 2012). The habit of an actor is not formed in vain and comes quickly.

However, through a long process with the existence of socialization, experience, inheritance and internalization of values that are instilled and form an action such as ways of thinking, language, lifestyle and skills, both from the family environment and the circle of friends (Stone et al. 2012).

Researchers analyzed the habitus of the family environment from two capitals, namely economic and cultural backgrounds, which led to differences in practice and the results of the contestation of five content creators of IPB University students. While the circle of friends includes social background. In the research conducted, habitus formed from a friendship environment dominates more than habitus formed from a family environment. The background of the HFA and KB friendship circles have similarities, because both are included in the IPB University Ambassador group. Their friendship circle has many friends who are content creators as a result of their participation in Duta IPB University, where the group has many members as content creators on *TikTok* social media. This forms content creators who tend to study the world of content creators by sharing with other members of the IPB University Ambassadors, and tend to study the world of *TikTok* social media and its algorithms.

The other three content creators, that is AAH, IDA and WA, do not have a fairly complete habitus like HFA and KB. The friendship environment of AAH, IDA and WA is also not strong enough to form habitus as content creators. However, apart from not having a content creator's circle of friends, the three content creators want to make a difference in their friendship environment. When his circle of friends is just an ordinary *TikTok* user, then he becomes a differentiator with the desire to become a popular content creator or have popularity. This habit is the basis for the practice of content creators in contesting and influencing the results of their contests.

Dominance of Cultural Capital and Symbolic Capital in the Contestation

Habitus is closely related to capital, because both are Bourdieu concepts that cannot be separated from fields. According to Bourdieu, capital does not only lead to the economy, ownership of the means of production, but also includes cultural, social and symbolic competencies that strengthen the position of actors in the field of contestation (Grenfell, 2008). In other words, capital is a resource owned by actors. In Bourdieu's thinking about the field as a "playing field" capital is also

called player competence (Julien, 2015; Kisida, Greene, and Bowen 2014). Habitus, modal, and field become the basis for the practice of content creators in contesting as described in the previous sub-chapter.

HFA and KB use their economic capital to fulfill content creation facilities, such as the Iphone 11 and Iphone XR, Ringlight, Tripod gadgets. Economic capital can be the main capital and source of exchange of all types of capital, for example, economic capital can be exchanged with cultural capital (Erel, 2010; Kisida et al. 2014; Xu and Hampden-Thompson, 2012). Furthermore, there is cultural capital which is quite influential on the practice of contestation because it includes the potential of the content presented. Cultural capital is intelligence or in the form of education which includes experience, skills and knowledge as legitimate cultural ownership, cultural capital will provide more value for its owners, especially if the cultural capital is rare or rarely owned by other agents in the contestation arena (Grenfell, 2008). The two content creators are also the dominant assets used, their skills in applying *TikTok* social media, writing and public speaking skills, and of course having an understanding and knowledge of the *TikTok* algorithm.

Then there is social capital which is associated with individual networks or individual participation in a group including family name, class in society, ethnicity and community (Grenfell 2008). Social capital is also defined as the participation of actors in social groups to increase their network in gaining knowledge and understanding about the world of content creators, as well as the TikTok social media algorithm. Both of them have a background of friendship that greatly shapes their habitus to become a content creator, namely their participation in the IPB University Ambassador group where the dominant member is a TikTok content creator.

In addition to the three capitals above, as for symbolic capital which according to Bourdieu is generally designated as prestige, authority can also be distributed as a way of life (Grenfell, 2008). Bourdieu's in his work provides an overview of symbolic capital, namely capital in the form of symbols such as position, branding, status and others (Driessens, 2013; Knox, 2014). The symbolic capital of HFA and KB have something in common, namely as an Ambassador of IPB Batch VI and as a student exchange. Although there are differences in the student exchange experience, the two of them recently became IPB University

students who took part in the student exchange program to South Korea, namely at Chonnam National University.

It is different with AAH, a content creator whose economic capital is strengthened in contesting by creating content using Sony cameras, which is indeed the target of content creators, especially editing creators like AAH. In addition to cameras, AAH also uses various content production tools such as softbox lamps, greenscreens, reflectors, computers, ringlights that support the clarity of the content. In addition to economic capital, AAH is strengthened by its cultural capital regarding skills in using several software such as adobe premiere, and adobe after effects for its content. Because basically not all content creators can use the software, AAH produces its content using a computer that he got from his parents. AAH's cultural capital also understands and has knowledge of the world of content, AAH's habitus develops not only through family but through the media and his tendency to seek out various content ideas from the most popular people at first.

Currently, AAH has many followers who appreciate their content, because of the difficulty of being a creator of editing content. As explained by one of AAH's followers, Fathur, he really likes AAH as a creator of editing content because there are many things that AAH shares in creating content. This is one of AAH's strategies to attract attention by building personal branding that is close to followers or people who comment on its content.

In contrast to WA and IDA, both of which are only strengthened by cultural and symbolic capital. IDA's contestation practice is strengthened by cultural capital that leads to public speaking, editing and language skills to strengthen its contestation with other content creators in the *TikTok* social media field. IDA often creates content at night, as a strategy in contesting by consistently uploading content on *TikTok* social media. Symbolic capital also strengthens IDA in its contestation practice, using its status as a Mojang Jajaka in Regency/City level occasionally as its content on *TikTok* social media.

Similarly, WA is strengthened by its cultural and symbolic capital in the practice of contesting on TikTok social media. Her skills in the world of make-up as well as public speaking gave her the opportunity to participate in contesting on *TikTok* social media to achieve popularity status with good engagement from online community audiences. In addition to cultural capital, WA also strengthens its

contestation with symbolic capital. WA gets prestige and has its own brand as a make-up brand ambassador, where WA's current content is about beauty.

The explanation above relates to the use of capital owned by content creators and the habitus of content creators in the contestation process. The capital and habitus of content creators determine contestation practices on *TikTok* social media. The researcher analyzed that in general, the dominant habitus in the contestation process of the five content creators of IPB University students was the background of the friendship environment. As for the capital that dominates in the contestation process, namely cultural capital and symbolic capital. Of course, these two capitals cannot be separated from the economic capital of the content creator.

The Distinction of Content Creators in the Contestation

Distinction is often interpreted as a distinction from one individual to another, which is related to differences in the social space of society. Bourdieu in his book entitled *Distinction: A Social Critique of The Judgment of State* that distinction tends to be made to show the efforts of a group in a field called the field of struggle to develop its cultural characteristics, in other words to distinguish itself and mark itself to get out of other actors. This self-difference is referred to as a symbolic struggle, namely a struggle in the field of contestation to differentiate oneself from other actors. Bourdieu in his book emphasizes that the distinction can be made including the volume of capital which shows the overall accumulation of capital, and the composition of capital in the form of strength in economic and cultural capital which unconsciously shows the class structure (Go, 2013; Julien, 2015).

Bourdieu explains that distinction is the science of cultural taste and consumption. Taste is an acquired tendency to distinguish, appreciate, and explain differences through a process of sorting (Bourdieu, 1984). The concept of distinction can be seen from the difference in lifestyle of actors from the upper middle class with actors from working class habits, for example with the lifestyle of using branded goods used by actors (Bourdieu, 1984). Taste for distinction becomes a marker or representation of its class. This is in accordance with the field of fighting for the dominant position on *TikTok* social media that there is a difference through the tastes of content creators who have a relationship with

habitus and field. Researchers will more clearly discuss the differentiators through the tastes of content creators in their contests and explain the relationship between tastes and social class.

The distinctions made by content creators include content creation, identity representation to the content they create into a taste that is linked to the development of personal branding as a characteristic of content creators to be a differentiator. KB as a content creator who focuses on life in Korea, student exchange, and fashion and beauty has a taste for creating interesting and unique content. Often shoot videos in certain places such as aesthetic cafes, and in particular make some TikTok video content using Korean background music and include the Korean state symbol.

HFA has the same content focus as KB but differs in certain tastes. Una tends to record videos for her content only at home, namely in a special studio room devoted to the creation of her TikTok content. Then, Una also tends to use the same font in every video for the nicety and aesthetics of her content feeds. As for one of the followers of the two IPB University student accounts, he explained that he prefers KB as a creator of his favorite content based on his tastes, where KB video content tends to be more aesthetic, colorful and looks more communicative. It's no wonder that in the end, followers on TikTok KB's social media accounts dominate more than HFA.

Furthermore, AAH which has significant differences between other IPB University student content creators and other editing content creators, AAH tends to imitate foreign content creators and there are not many 3D editing content creators in Indonesia like AAH. The differentiator owned by AAH cannot be separated from its taste, AAH makes its content in a studio with all adequate facilities to get clearer results and can be enjoyed by other users. Furthermore, IDA as a fashion and beauty content creator makes a difference in taking videos for their content. IDA tends to shoot videos on the home page with the aim of getting natural lighting that will beautify its content and provide motivation for each content. Finally, WA as a fashion and beauty and relationship creator has a differentiator in the form of response content with the stitch feature of content that is currently popular, but this makes WA content disorganized and unfocused.

In addition, content creators have an interest or taste in an item that is consumed and represented. Bourdieu argues that actors in social spaces that place more emphasis on aesthetic values often indicate that actors are from the middle

class, in contrast to the working class who are more concerned with use value or usefulness (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Three content creators like branded products that tend to be expensive, representing that they come from the middle class. While the other two content creators prefer ordinary products as long as they can be used. This explanation is in accordance with Bourdieu's thinking about the effort to differentiate through tastes, that the lower class or workers have a tendency to be frugal in economic terms (Bourdieu, 1984).

Implications of Contestation on TikTok Social Media Field

The social media TikTok has a unique algorithm that gives many users the opportunity to be popular by simply creating creative content on the digital platform. The unique algorithm that was driven by the pandemic outbreak by forcing all activities to be done at home, became the main factor that TikTok social media eventually became a social space in which there was competition, the struggle of content creators to gain popularity status which is currently often referred to as TikTokers. The five IPB University students chose to be TikTok content creators because of their unique offerings through their algorithms on the FYP feature and as a place for distributing cultural capital. Every content creator can make their content included in the for your page feature, but TikTok itself has an effort to filter out content that is eligible to be distributed on the for your page feature. The five content creators are KB, HFA, AAH, IDA and WA.

Popularity as the goal of contestation to dominate position is obtained by the efforts of content creators, which is strengthened by habitus, dominant capital ownership that supports the practice of contestation and characteristics through differentiating content. Each content creator has a habitus, modality and practice that is quite different from one another. This has an impact on the contestation results obtained and achieved by the five TikTok content creators of IPB University students. The habitus and dominant capital of content creators are used to achieve popularity status which will have an impact on their socio-economic life, such as getting various offers, either endorsements or speakers for certain activities, which means an impact on defense and increasing economic capital.

In addition, social capital is characterized by ownership of content creator relationships, and collaboration with other popular TikTok content creators. It is

nothing but the process of contesting content creators starting with personal branding (self-image development) for the sake of economic capital gains. In accordance with the journal written by Sussie Khams et al that personal branding, is closely related to the development of self-image in the public by distinctive individuals for commercial gain or economic capital (Khamis, Ang, and Welling, 2017).

Each contestation field, it encourages actors to make efforts in the form of practice to win the contestation. In Bourdieu's book On Television, each field has a market share as in the field of television journalism which gathers a particular set of forces that affect the universe and translates into increasing market share. This is the practice carried out by a television to increase its audience as its market share.35 In line with this, the practice carried out by content creators aims to attract the attention of netizens as their audience and target market which will support the achievement of its popularity status. Practices based on habitus and capital will give different results of the contestation, moreover it is strengthened by the distinction through taste as the hallmark of content creators.

Social media, which was previously considered a social media with negative connotations, is now the fifth place for IPB University student content creators to achieve popularity status because of their unique algorithm. This unique algorithm is marked by the For Your Page feature, which distributes various creative content to users filtered by TikTok by prioritizing original, creative content that is different from other creative and relevant content. In the end, TikTok social media, which is currently a contestation field, makes TikTok content creators have a difference in achieving the results of their contestation. Although basically the popularity status is obtained, there are differences from the results of the contestation in the form of economic capital or in this case an increase in income, as well as social capital in the form of network development or relationships.

Taste and Social Class

Each individual has different tastes from one another, which are usually associated with lifestyles in the social world. Bourdieu's thinking is broader than that, he sees that taste is not just a matter of lifestyle and is not pure because tastes are constructed by actors in socially concrete historical spaces. As previously explained, this taste is a form of self-differentiation from actors to other actors and

becomes a class marker for actors. Bourdieu emphasizes on aesthetic taste which shows the difference between the tastes of the upper middle class and the tastes of the lower or labor class (Bourdieu, 1990).

In addition, the TikTok social media used by actors to contest is a medium that is consumed by the public according to their tastes. Content creators consuming TikTok social media which is used as a contestation field cannot be separated from taste, based on the subjective structure possessed by each content creator, namely habitus and modal, as well as the field as an objective structure. Because habitus, field and modal as dialectical relationships are the basis for unconscious taste formation (Bourdieu, 1984).

Lifestyle as a taste that is represented by content creators in their content can be a marker of which class the content creator belongs to. In addition, the choice of clothing, the choice of words, the choice of language represented in a content can also be a marker for content creators as to their tastes. In accordance with the explanation above, TikTok social media is a medium that is consumed in the form of taste. The existence of differences in tastes as a marker of social class, provides cultural reproduction in the form of consumption between students in urban areas and students in rural areas.

Cultural reproduction can be carried out through social mobility, which will create new cultural values for each actor (Bourdieu, 1993). Where content creators were initially only students of social media users or students of content creators. Finally status as a popular content creator. This process results in what Bourdieu calls cultural reproduction, an active process that clearly shows its existence in the life of the social world, thus necessitating a process of interaction and adaptation for social classes with different cultural backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1993).

Social Media and Educational Challenges

Being a popular content creator is not easy, and anyone can become a content creator. However, of course there must be efforts in the form of practices that involve capital ownership and habitus. In connection with the narrative, this research can be an example of a case in the subject of sociology of learning social mobility, namely the transfer of status or position of individuals. The shift from being an ordinary user to being a popular content creator. The displacement that

occurs cannot be separated from the dominance of capital ownership and the habitus of each individual, in this case cultural and symbolic capital which is influenced by economic capital.

Content creator is one of the professions that is presented because of the development of social media, this profession has also become an independent profession and is in demand by *zillennials* - millennials who can be done independently without being tied to an agency like the profession of employees in a company, educators in an educational institution. This is a challenge for educational institutions, especially schools, which must be able to adapt to the development of social media to be creative and innovate, especially a subject teacher who must create an interesting learning atmosphere by using social media. In addition, it can form and create students who understand and are able to enter the digital world according to their era for professional projection.

Websites or online portals owned by every school seem dead and less active, this is due to the existence of social media based on video and image content that attracts the attention of millennials and millennials, especially TikTok social media. Under these circumstances, schools need to re-create the content uploaded in the form of text on the website into an attractive display to be presented to students and netizens. However, there are many things that become the weakness of social media, starting from the physical inability to replace the role of a teacher. Indeed, innovating on social media is creative, by creating content in the form of videos containing learning material. But of course students will feel the difference between physical learning and learning that is only done through video shows in the virtual world. In addition, in Indonesia there are still many remote schools that are not even close to digitalization. In contrast to urban communities who easily access all digital technology, this is certainly a big challenge for educational institutions that oversee schools and universities, namely the Ministry of Education and Culture.

CONCLUSION

The contestation in the TikTok social media field occurs because of the impetus from the pandemic outbreak that has an impact on many sectors of human life, the TikTok algorithm, the desire to become a popular individual and the desire to develop potential as cultural capital. In the contestation, there is a habitus and capital that is utilized in the form of habitus formed by the circle of friends, and the

family environment. While the capital is cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Habitus formed by the environment of friendship, cultural capital and symbolic capital becomes the dominant habitus and capital that cannot be separated from being influenced by economic capital to be utilized by content creators. The process of differentiation through taste becomes the hallmark and class marker of one content creator with other content creators in contesting. Content creators with a well-formed, relevant habitus and have a strong accumulation of capital are likely to win the contest.

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About the Author

Etin Prihatina, S.Pd is a sociology teacher in Islamic High School (MAN) 2 Kota Bogor, Junior High School Humanika and Primary Islamic School (MI) Athfaliyyah, Bogor. She got her bachelor degree from Department of Education Sociology, State University of Jakarta.

Dr. Yuanita Aprilandini Siregar is a lecturer from Department of Sociology, State University of Jakarta. She received her sociology education since bachelor, master to doctoral degree from Department of Sociology, University of Indonesia. Her research area on Urban Sociology, Sociology Ethnicity and Social Movement.

Rakhmat Hidayat, PhD is a senior lecturer from Department Education Sociology, State University of Jakarta. He received his PhD in Sociology of Education Universite Lumiere Lyon 2 France. His research field is the sociology of ethnicity and Indigenous peoples in Indonesia. He was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar, and based at the University Wisconsin-Madison between July and the end of December 2021. He is affiliated with the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, and his host supervisor is Prof Dr. Ian Baird. He was also Visiting Scholar in Academy of Korean Studies (AKS), Visiting Professor at Department of Law and Society in

Asia, University Torino (Italy) and Visiting Professor of University of Seoul (South Korea).

Afdhal, M.Si is a lecturer at the Department of Sciology, Pattimura University. He teaches sociology of education and sociology of communication. He is carrying out research and publication in the area of sociology of education, theory of education, sociology of communication and social media, and theory of sociology.

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