



Skenaoutfit As Digital Rituals:Tribal Branding In Kalcer Culture On Tiktok

Amartya Citra Kevina Soepangat ¹⁾; Siska Armawati Sufa ²⁾; Iwan Joko Prasetyo ³⁾
Zulaikha ⁴⁾

^{1,2,3,4)} Faculty of Communication Science, Dr. Soetomo University, Indonesia

Email: ¹⁾ kevinakevin655@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of digital rituals and tribal branding within the #SkenaOutfit phenomenon on TikTok, focusing on how Indonesian youth express cultural identity through symbolic practices. Employing a quantitative approach with Social Network Analysis (SNA), the research examines user interactions surrounding the hashtag #SkenaOutfit from 2022 to 2025. The data, extracted from publicly accessible TikTok content, includes posts, mentions, duets, and hashtags. Analysis reveals a low-density, high-modularity network, indicating fragmented yet symbolically cohesive communities. Influential accounts such as @zuceiy and @kaaarsa serve as central nodes connecting stylistic subgroups. Although user connectivity is limited, interactions such as tagging and posting function as digital rituals that reinforce Kalcer identity. The findings demonstrate how TikTok users participate not in dialogue, but in symbolic performativity that strengthens subcultural bonds. By integrating Ritual Theory, Actor-Network Theory, and Social Network Theory, this study uncovers how fashion, algorithms, and platform design co-construct collective identity. The research contributes to understanding digital tribalism and the symbolic infrastructure of online communities, offering implications for marketers, content creators, and cultural analysts interested in youth subcultures and algorithm-driven branding practices.

INTRODUCTION

Social media encompasses internet-based platforms and technologies that enable users to create, share, and engage with content within virtual communities and networks. These technological advances have not only facilitated interaction, but also ushered in a new era of communication through the emergence of new media (Soekiman et al., 2025). These platforms

facilitate communication by allowing individuals to establish profiles, generate and distribute user-created materials such as text, photographs, videos, and live broadcasts, and connect with others through social networking functions. Social media serves multiple purposes, including social interaction, networking, entertainment, information dissemination, marketing, and professional engagement (Yang et al., 2025)

Between 2024 and 2025, social media usage among teenagers reached unprecedented levels in both intensity and scope. The most dominant platforms are YouTube, TikTok, Snapchat, and Instagram, with approximately 90 percent of teenagers active on YouTube, 63 percent on TikTok, 61 percent on Snapchat, and 59 percent on Instagram. The number of Instagram users in Indonesia has been increasing in recent years. According to data from Business of Apps, Instagram users globally reached 1.96 billion people in the first quarter of 2022 (Ratnasari et al., 2022).

Daily engagement is also substantial, with 73 percent of teens accessing YouTube, 60 percent frequently using TikTok, and nearly half remaining active on Instagram and Snapchat each day. Around one-third of adolescents report being almost constantly connected to at least one platform. Usage patterns vary across gender, race, and ethnicity, with female adolescents showing greater activity on TikTok and male adolescents dominating YouTube. Moreover, Black and Hispanic teens exhibit higher participation rates on TikTok, YouTube, and Instagram than their white counterparts (Anderson Monica et al., 2023).

The number of Indonesian consumers who turn to online shopping, makes competition for online entrepreneurs. The current viral online shopping center is TikTok (Murni & Salim, 2024). TikTok, a short-form video-based social media platform, allows users to create, edit, and share videos enhanced with music, visual effects, and text. The platform's content is curated through the "For You" page, an algorithmic system that recommends videos beyond those from followed accounts. TikTok's distinctiveness lies in its brief video format, mobile accessibility, and participatory culture, which thrives through trends, hashtags, audio reuse, and collaborative features such as Duet and Stitch that foster creativity among users (Martinez et al., 2023).

Furthermore, TikTok supports diverse forms of social interaction, including likes, comments, following, sharing, direct messaging, and live streaming. Its creator discovery system facilitates the development of communities centered on shared interests such as education, hobbies, entertainment, and business. The platform functions as a medium for networking, self-expression, rapid learning, and marketing, while also encouraging public engagement through challenges, campaigns, and collaborative content (Sheikh-Oleslami et al., 2025).

The dominance of TikTok has profoundly transformed how young people construct and express their cultural identities in the digital era. In Indonesia, the emergence of the hashtag #SkenaOutfit exemplifies this transformation, functioning as a performative digital space where fashion, identity, and culture converge. Rooted in Kalcer culture a youth subculture characterized by aesthetic self-expression and symbolic belonging #SkenaOutfit transcends mere fashion and operates as a digital ritual (Zubaidi, 2024)

Tribal branding, or brand tribalism, refers to a marketing strategy that fosters deep emotional connections between a brand and a community of consumers who identify as members of a "tribe." This collective emerges from shared values, beliefs, and lifestyles, forming a loyal subculture that extends beyond product consumption. Such branding leverages the human desire for belonging and identity, resulting in enduring loyalty and resilient word-of-mouth promotion even under economic strain. Essential elements of tribal branding include lifestyle congruence, passion, social inclusion, and public visibility. Tribe members often act as advocates, reinforcing collective loyalty even when adopting an "us versus them" mindset. Prominent examples include Apple and Nike, where the brand itself symbolizes the tribe's shared identity and ethos.

According to the Theory of Ritual developed by Durkheim, Turner, and Bell, ritualistic practices on TikTok can be interpreted as repetitive symbolic actions that cultivate social cohesion and collective meaning (Jarnkvist, 2020). Acts such as uploading, tagging, dueting, and sharing reaffirm users' sense of belonging and cultural identity within a broader community. These repetitive engagements transform everyday interactions into ritual performances that sustain communal values and shared narratives.

This process aligns with Tribal Marketing and Consumer Tribe Theory, which conceptualize consumer behavior as an expression of collective belonging rather than individual preference (Fuschillo & D'Antone, 2022). Within the #SkenaOutfit movement, participants exhibit loyalty and emotional attachment similar to brand tribalism, forming digital communities that replicate traditional tribal structures through shared aesthetic codes, linguistic styles, and cultural values (Aji & Muslichah, 2022). Their collaborative participation in fashion-based content functions as both community building and emotional solidarity, reflecting broader patterns in online consumer tribes (Schee et al., 2020).

Relational dynamics in the TikTok ecosystem can also be analyzed through Actor-Network Theory (ANT), which posits that human and non-human entities such as users, algorithms, hashtags, and interfaces collectively construct meaning (Hossain & Fahad, 2024). In the #SkenaOutfit context, ANT helps explain how cultural expressions emerge from the interplay between technological mediation and human agency. Complementarily, Social Network Theory (SNT) illuminates how relational connections among users form distinct network structures that influence identity, behavior, and communication (Troup & Zhang, 2022).

By integrating SNT with ritual and cultural analysis, digital interactions surrounding #SkenaOutfit can be understood not merely as communication patterns but as meaningful social rituals embedded within networked systems. Consequently, #SkenaOutfit represents more than a transient fashion trend; it embodies a sophisticated system of digital ritualization where tribal branding and identity coalesce within interconnected networks, symbolizing modern Indonesian youth culture.

Kalcer, derived from the word "culture," is a colloquial term that resonates with youth language yet carries profound meaning. It reflects self-expression through lifestyle, fashion, musical preferences, and social spaces. Kalcer signifies identity performance individuals convey who they are through their choices in attire and habits. Initially associated with niche subcultures such as skate, punk, and indie communities, Kalcer has evolved into a broader term representing diverse youth lifestyles distinguished by unique aesthetics and character (Dewani et al., 2024).

Kalcer youth, often referred to as "Kalcer kids," are recognized for their distinct fashion choices, including oversized clothing, popular sneakers like Adidas Samba, and their preference for riding Vespa Matic motorcycles. They are commonly found in artisan coffee shops working on laptops adorned with stickers and accessorizing with necklaces, rings, and minimalist tote bags.

The relationship between youth and social media continues to deepen as digital connectivity accelerates cultural transformation and identity negotiation. In this context, uploading content on social media functions as a ritualized practice (Sujibto et al., 2025). Indonesian teenagers use TikTok as a medium to construct and manage their virtual identities by controlling the aspects of self they wish to present in the digital public sphere. This identity formation involves usernames, visual appearance, and content choices, all contributing to the emergence of collective identity within digital communities (Mahmudah et al., 2023).

Social networks provide a valuable framework for analyzing the dynamics of information dissemination and opinion formation within Indonesian social media (Irwanto et al., 2025). Despite the cultural prominence of #SkenaOutfit on TikTok, limited research has examined the structural organization of its digital rituals or their contribution to collective identity formation. Prior studies on ritual theory, tribal marketing, and social network analysis have typically been conducted in isolation, leaving a conceptual gap in understanding the intersection of these frameworks within Indonesian youth subcultures. Although existing literature recognizes the

significance of brand tribalism in fostering emotional attachment and community engagement, the precise mechanisms through which these connections evolve within TikTok's visual and algorithmic ecosystem remain insufficiently explored (Schee et al., 2020)

This study identifies four primary clusters in public discussions, illustrating how these groups interact and influence collective opinion formation. Empirical investigations into the roles of influencers, micro-celebrities, and community clusters in shaping the symbolic and structural dimensions of Kalcer identity through #SkenaOutfit remain scarce. Moreover, ritualized practices embedded in daily digital participation such as hashtag use, duets, and tagging have not been analyzed as expressions of tribal branding within localized cultural contexts. Earlier studies have explored youth subcultures, fashion, and branding, yet few have applied Social Network Analysis (SNA) to examine TikTok as a platform for social media rituals. The formation of digital rituals within Indonesian subcultures also remains largely understudied (Sujibto et al., 2025). This research addresses these gaps by integrating network analysis with cultural theory.

The study aims to answer several key questions: How does the social network structure emerge through the #SkenaOutfit hashtag on TikTok? Who are the main influencers and central actors that shape Kalcer identity and reinforce its tribal branding characteristics? How do clusters and communities within the network represent diverse interpretations and styles of Kalcer culture? How do user interactions on TikTok function as digital rituals that strengthen communal bonds within this subculture?

The research focuses on examining the social network of TikTok users who engage with the #SkenaOutfit hashtag as a form of digital ritual that reinforces group identity and affirms youth identity within Kalcer culture. The study covers the period from 2022 to 2025, concentrating exclusively on TikTok as the primary platform. The main participants are Indonesian teenagers, though the network may include global users. The dataset consists solely of publicly accessible TikTok content. As the study is limited to one hashtag, #SkenaOutfit, its findings are not intended to generalize across the broader digital fashion ecosystem.

The research seeks to map the structure of interactions formed through #SkenaOutfit and to identify central nodes such as influencers, micro-celebrities, and online communities—that reinforce Kalcer identity. It also analyzes how clusters and sub-networks reflect stylistic and semantic variations within Kalcer culture. Furthermore, it interprets patterns of user interaction as digital rituals that strengthen practices of tribal branding.

This study holds both theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, it advances interdisciplinary scholarship by integrating Social Network Analysis, ritual theory, and community-based marketing within the context of Indonesian digital culture. This synthesis contributes to the literature on how digital rituals shape youth subcultures and how TikTok interactions facilitate the formation of collective identity and tribal branding. It also deepens understanding of the interplay between algorithms, human agency, and cultural symbols, as framed by Actor-Network Theory.

Practically, the findings offer insights for creative industry practitioners, digital marketers, and content developers to understand how online communities construct symbolic value through visual and algorithmic engagement. The results regarding influencers, micro-celebrities, and community dynamics can inform brand communication and engagement strategies that resonate with Indonesian youth culture. Additionally, the study provides valuable input for academics and cultural policymakers seeking to comprehend the transformation of youth social practices in the digital era, particularly the ways lifestyle expression, identity formation, and collective solidarity are enacted through network-based digital rituals.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ritual Theory

Ritual theory, as articulated by Victor Turner and Catherine Bell, situates ritual within a symbolic framework that reflects and reinforces collective beliefs, values, and cultural identities. Turner conceptualizes rituals as performative expressions through which communities communicate and reaffirm shared meanings embedded in symbolic actions. These practices transcend mere tradition, functioning as vital mechanisms of cultural expression, cohesion, and continuity (Gamba & Cattacin, 2021). Bell extends Turner's theoretical foundation by challenging deterministic or formalist interpretations of ritual, emphasizing instead its integration into everyday social practices. She argues that rituals should not be understood solely as prescriptive ceremonies but as dynamic, lived processes that shape and are shaped by human interaction within specific cultural contexts (Arnold et al., 2020; Lidiantari et al., 2023).

Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) asserts that both human and non-human entities referred to as actants, actively shape social networks. The notion of "actor" includes technologies, objects, and institutional systems, all of which influence or transform actions within these networks (Hidayaturrahman et al., 2024). Latour emphasizes that an actant's agency arises from its relational role rather than inherent traits, challenging the strict divide between human intent and material influence. ANT views networks as relational constructs where actants interact, negotiate, and rely on one another, and social structures form through these dynamic associations. The stability and meaning of social phenomena depend on the continuous alignment of diverse elements. A shift by any single actant, whether human or non-human, can produce wide-ranging effects across the network. Latour's (2005) elaboration of ANT deepens this analysis by stressing relational agency in shaping technological and social engagements. For example, in the #SkenaOutfit context, users, algorithms, hashtags, and the TikTok platform collectively generate cultural meaning (Hossain & Fahad, 2024). This approach dissolves the divide between technology and society, showing how digital platforms co-construct identity, engagement, and social order.

Social Network Theory

Social Network Theory (SNT), as developed by Wasserman & Faust (1994), offers a structural approach to understanding how interactions form relational patterns within platforms like TikTok. In this framework, users are seen as nodes, interactions as edges, and communities as clusters, illustrating how digital connections act as both ritual infrastructures and sources of belonging (Micheli et al., 2020; Troup & Zhang, 2022). When combined with Actor-Network Theory (ANT), this approach enables a multidimensional analysis of #SkenaOutfit, portraying it as both a social network and a ritualized cultural system shaped by the interplay of technology, identity, and community. SNT emphasizes the role of networks in shaping behavior, promoting interaction, and disseminating information (Darlis et al., 2023), viewing social structures as systems where nodes (individuals or organizations) are linked by ties representing relationships such as shared values, ideas, or kinship (Yulfa et al., 2022).

METHODS

Research Design

This study employs a quantitative research design utilizing Social Network Analysis (SNA) to examine the structural patterns of user interactions on TikTok associated with the hashtag #SkenaOutfit. The primary objective is to map the connections among users and reveal how these relationships form digital communities that embody ritualistic and cultural expressions within Kalcer youth culture. The SNA framework facilitates the systematic identification of

influential actors, community clusters, and relational dynamics that contribute to the construction of digital subcultural identities. By quantifying relational ties and engagement intensity, this methodological approach captures the interplay between online social structures and the cultural meanings embedded in digital ritual practices. Data Analysis Technique

This study applied Multiple Moderated Regression (MMR) analysis, employing SPSS software and the PROCESS Macro, to explore the moderating influence of Information Transparency on the relationship between Social Media Marketing Effort (SMME), Electronic Word-of-Mouth (E-WOM), and purchasing decisions. The measurement model was validated using Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) to confirm construct validity and Cronbach's Alpha to ensure reliability. The moderation effects were assessed through the F-test to evaluate model significance, the coefficient of determination (R^2) to measure explained variance, and the t-test to determine the individual impact of each independent variable on the dependent variable.

Data Collection

Data collection was carried out through the automated extraction of publicly accessible TikTok content associated with the hashtag #SkenaOutfit. The dataset comprises user-generated materials, including posts, hashtags, mentions, duets, likes, and comments collected within the defined period from January 2022 to December 2025. In the constructed network, each node represents a TikTok account engaging with the hashtag, while each edge denotes an interaction type such as mentions, duets, comments, follows, or shared hashtag usage. This configuration provides a detailed depiction of user interconnectivity and communication dynamics. The dataset underwent a thorough cleaning process to eliminate duplicates and irrelevant entries, thereby ensuring analytical precision, consistency, and reliability.

Network Construction and Analysis

The network was constructed using relational data between nodes and edges to produce sociograms that represent the intensity of interactions and the structure of communities. Centrality measures were employed to identify the most influential actors within the network. Degree centrality determined users with the greatest number of direct connections, betweenness centrality revealed hub accounts that link distinct clusters, and eigenvector centrality identified users with broader influence across the overall structure. Community detection and modularity algorithms were applied to uncover subgroups that reflect stylistic or symbolic variations within the Kalcer community. Visualization tools such as Gephi, NodeXL, and Python NetworkX were utilized to generate graphical representations of the network, illustrating the density, connectivity, and clustering patterns of user interactions.

Interpretive Framework

The analytical interpretation extends beyond quantitative network metrics to reveal the cultural meanings embedded within digital interactions. Networks are examined not only as structural representations but also as ritual systems that sustain collective identity and symbolic expression among young participants. The relationships between nodes and clusters are analyzed to explain how digital rituals, such as posting, dueting, tagging, and using shared hashtags reinforce communal identity and tribal branding within the Kalcer subculture. This interpretation integrates sociocultural perspectives to contextualize the numerical findings of Social Network Analysis (SNA) within the broader practices of digital culture.

RESULTS

The Social Network Analysis (SNA) of TikTok interactions under the hashtag #SkenaOutfit reveals a sparse yet highly modular network, capturing the fragmented but symbolically cohesive dynamics of Kalcer culture in Indonesia's digital landscape. The visualization identifies several dominant nodes, such as @zuceiy, @kaaarsa, @zaimnadig, and @ldicp which serve as key

influencers and cultural intermediaries connecting stylistic clusters within the network. Quantitatively, the network metrics indicate a structure characterized by limited connectivity and strong community segmentation, reflecting the ritualized and performative nature of participation around #SkenaOutfit.

Figure 1. Visualisation of Social Centrality on TikTok: Case Study #SkenaOutfit



Table 1. The Social Network Analysis (SNA) of TikTok interactions under the hashtag #SkenaOutfit

Label	Score
Average Degree	0.14
Network Diameter	1
Graph Density	0
Modularity	0.95
Avg Path Length	1

The overall average degree of the network is 0.149, showing that each user, on average, connects to fewer than one other account. This very low value highlights minimal reciprocal interaction between users, suggesting that participation in #SkenaOutfit primarily serves as self-expression rather than social engagement. Instead of forming dense conversation webs, most users post independently, employing the hashtag as a symbol of identity performance. A higher average degree would typically indicate stronger cohesion and dialogical exchange, whereas this result reflects isolated symbolic participation consistent with the concept of digital ritual.

The network diameter and average path length, both measured at 1, suggest that connected users are linked directly without intermediaries. Such a configuration indicates a flat communication structure, where visibility and influence are algorithmically mediated rather than socially constructed. This aligns with the short-lived, ephemeral nature of TikTok engagement interactions occur through likes, mentions, or duets that momentarily connect users without forming sustained relationships. In contrast, a higher diameter would denote longer communicative chains and broader diffusion, which is absent in this dataset.

Moreover, the graph density is extremely low (0.000), confirming that only a tiny fraction of potential connections are realized within the network. This finding demonstrates a loosely connected structure, where each user participates independently in a shared cultural discourse without substantial cross-engagement. In dense networks, users are more likely to collaborate or exchange content, but here, interaction remains fragmented and individualized, strengthening the interpretation of #SkenaOutfit as a ritual space rather than a dialogic community.

A particularly notable metric is the modularity score of 0.951, which signifies strongly defined clusters and sub-communities. Such a high value suggests that the network is composed of distinct micro-tribes that are internally cohesive yet weakly connected to each other. These clusters likely represent different stylistic orientations such as streetwear, minimalist, or vintage fashion each expressing a unique dimension of Kalcer identity. This structural division aligns with Tribal Marketing Theory, which posits that postmodern consumers form “tribes” around shared symbols, rituals, and aesthetic codes rather than institutional affiliations (Cova & Cova, 2002). Within this framework, each cluster functions as a digital subculture, contributing to the collective narrative of youth fashion identity in Indonesia.

The betweenness centrality scores across most nodes are close to zero, indicating that only a few accounts serve as bridges between clusters. Nodes such as @zuceiy and @kaaarsa exhibit relatively higher centrality, suggesting their role as connectors or opinion leaders who mediate visibility across sub-tribes. In SNA terms, a high betweenness centrality implies strong brokerage power in information diffusion and network cohesion, whereas low values suggest insularity. The predominance of low betweenness values thus reinforces the tribal segmentation observed, where users primarily interact within aesthetic or symbolic boundaries rather than across them.

Collectively, these metrics convey a clear sociocultural pattern. The #SkenaOutfit network demonstrates a low-density, high-modularity configuration, emphasizing fragmented yet meaningful digital rituals. Rather than being communicatively dense, the network’s cohesion lies in shared performance posting, tagging, and styling that collectively reinforce cultural belonging. This structure embodies Turner’s concept of ritual as repeated symbolic acts producing communal meaning, adapted here into digital space. Participation in #SkenaOutfit operates as a tribal act of identity signaling, where youth express affiliation through visual codes of fashion and self-staging, rather than direct conversation.

In summary, the SNA findings illustrate that #SkenaOutfit functions not as an interactive communication network but as a performative ecosystem of digital rituals, sustained by individual acts of fashion display that collectively construct the Kalcer identity. The high modularity and low density reflect how digital tribes coexist within a shared cultural frame, each representing different aesthetic currents of Indonesian youth. Through symbolic participation liking, posting, and hashtagging, users collectively reproduce tribal branding in the digital realm, validating the study’s theoretical integration of Ritual Theory, Tribal Marketing, and Social Network Theory in understanding contemporary social media culture.

DISCUSSION

The results of social network analysis (SNA) of the hashtag #SkenaOutfit on the TikTok platform reveal a network configuration characterized by low density, limited connectivity, but very high modularity. These findings indicate the existence of strong community segmentation, where user participation is not directed at dialogue or direct interaction, but rather at symbolic expressions that represent affiliation with certain cultural identities. In this context, the theory of ritual developed by Victor Turner and Catherine Bell offers a relevant interpretive framework. In this context, the theory of ritual developed by Victor Turner and Catherine Bell offers a relevant interpretive framework. Turner defines ritual as a symbolic practice that serves to reinforce collective values and communal identity (Gamba & Cattacin, 2021). In the #SkenaOutfit network, digital actions such as uploading outfits, tagging hashtags, or performing duets can be interpreted as forms of contemporary ritual, where visual symbols replace incantations or processions. Bell emphasizes that rituals are not always formal; they are often integrated into everyday practices. In this context, the use of the hashtag #SkenaOutfit becomes a digital ritual practice that strengthens a sense of togetherness, not through conversation, but through shared style and aesthetics (Lidiantari et al., 2023).

The loose but fragmented network structure shows that social cohesion in the Kalcer subculture is built through symbolic performativity, not through dialogic interaction. This finding is also in line with Tribal Marketing Theory, which views consumers as part of a digital tribe a community bound not solely by products, but by shared passions, symbolic values, and lifestyles (Cova & Cova, 2002). Each cluster identified in the network for example, streetwear, vintage, or minimalist fashion groups represents a “tribe” with its own aesthetic and symbolic codes. High modularity (0.951) indicates that users operate in micro-tribes that are internally cohesive but have minimal cross-cluster bridges. This confirms that digital tribal branding is not a form of mass communication, but rather a participatory representation that is ritualistic and emotional in nature (Aji & Muslichah, 2022; Koyama et al., 2023).

This approach is reinforced by Community-Based Marketing Theory, which emphasizes the importance of emotional connections and identity affiliation in consumer behavior. Cova and Cova show that members of digital communities identify themselves through shared narratives and symbols, not merely because of functional satisfaction with the product. In the context of #SkenaOutfit, user loyalty and engagement are not mediated by TikTok's technical features, but rather by shared aesthetic values and lifestyle expressions. Structurally limited but symbolically intense interactions reflect that social relationships are formed through emotional affiliation, not direct communication (Mandolfo et al., 2022). Furthermore, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) developed by Latour helps expand our understanding of the complexity of these relationships. ANT rejects the dichotomy between humans and non-humans, and positions technology, algorithms, and platforms as “actors” that contribute to the construction of meaning and identity (Hossain & Fahad, 2024).

In this network, TikTok is not merely a passive medium, but also an active actor that directs visibility through algorithms and interfaces. Low connectivity and short communication paths (diameter and path length = 1) reflect the instantaneous and non-sustainable nature of relationships the result of platform logic that prioritizes visibility over relation. In this case, participation is not a form of dialogue, but rather a response to the performative logic of the platform. Finally, Social Network Theory by Wasserman & Faust (1994) provides a structural lens for interpreting these findings. With a very low average degree (0.149) and density of 0.000, it can be concluded that interactions between users are very limited. However, this does not imply a lack of meaning. On the contrary, as explained in the studies by Micheli et al (2020) and Troup & Zhang (2022) weak connections in networks can become symbolic infrastructure, where meaning and identity are constructed not through social proximity, but through participation in collective digital rituals.

This fragmented yet symbolically cohesive structure reveals a new form of community one formed not by interpersonal relationships, but by shared aesthetics, symbols, and digital codes. Thus, the integration of these four theoretical frameworks enriches our understanding that #SkenaOutfit is not merely a social media trend, but a performative field for the construction of digital identity and togetherness. Practices such as posting outfits, using hashtags, or doing duets are forms of contemporary rituals that strengthen tribal affiliations, construct self-representation, and form network-based cultural communities.

LIMITATION

The limitations of this study are that only publicly accessible TikTok content was included in the data collection, restricted to material available for automated data extraction. The analysis specifically focused on the hashtag #SkenaOutfit, which limits the generalisation of findings to the broader digital fashion culture or other online subculture phenomena.

CONCLUSION

The social network analysis (SNA) of the hashtag #SkenaOutfit on TikTok reveals a network structure marked by low density, limited user connectivity, and exceptionally high modularity. These characteristics suggest pronounced community segmentation, where user engagement centers on symbolic expression rather than interpersonal dialogue or direct interaction. Within this framework, ritual theory as articulated by Victor Turner and Catherine Bell provides a valuable lens for interpretation. Turner conceptualizes ritual as a symbolic act that reinforces shared values and collective identity. In the context of #SkenaOutfit, digital practices such as posting outfit content, using hashtags, and engaging in duet performances function as contemporary rituals, wherein visual aesthetics supplant traditional chants or ceremonial processions (Gamba & Cattacin, 2021). Bell further argues that ritual is not confined to formalized settings, but often emerges as part of routine, everyday practices, underscoring the embeddedness of symbolic action in ordinary digital behavior (Lidiantari et al., 2023).

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