THE PERCEPTION OF SELF-IDENTITY IN GENERATION Z WITHIN THE SUBCULTURAL TREND OF "SKENA" IN TIKTOK CONTENT BY SASTRA SILALAHI

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Abstract

This study explored how Generation Z perceives and responds to "Scene" subculture content on TikTok, specifically from the account @sastra.silalahi. The scene content by @sastra.silalahi offers guidance and assessments on how to engage with this subculture, known for its distinct lifestyle and appearance. The method of this study was using a netnographic approach, the study analyzed user comments on the top five scene posts with the highest engagement. The findings revealed a range of responses: positive comments often praised the content as informative, entertaining, and educational about the scene subculture, while negative comments tended to reject being categorized within the scene subculture, viewing it as exclusive to a particular lifestyle. Neutral comments did not clearly lean towards either a positive or negative stance. Generation Z's perceptions of the scene subculture, whether positive, negative, or neutral, are heavily influenced by their social media consumption. This research aims to shed light on how social media, especially TikTok, plays a role in shaping Generation Z's individual identities through the scene subculture phenomenon.

Keywords: Scene, Subculture, Perception, Identity

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok
Content By Sastra Silalahi

51

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Generation Z is a new generation that has emerged with distinctive traits as a result of the digital era. Asmarintka's (2022) research and GoodStats' (2022) data showed that Generation Z in Indonesia has a long history of accessing digital media. A little over eight hours a day were reported by 18.2% of the respondents to be spent on electronic media, with social media accounting for around 30% of this total. For this generation, social media use and chatting are the most popular online activity, followed by online music listening.

According to the 2020 data from Badan Pusat Statistik, Indonesia's population stood at 270,203,917, with Generation Z comprising 71,409,082 individuals. Among the social media platforms popular with Generation Z, TikTok has emerged as a global phenomenon, enabling users to express themselves creatively through short videos. TikTok is the top social media platform for Generation Z, with a 24% usage rate, surpassing platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, and Pinterest (DataIndonesia.id, 2023).

TikTok goes beyond just being an entertainment platform. Its For You Page feature uses an algorithm that curates videos based on each user's individual preferences and activities. The For You Page is personalized for each user, with factors like followed accounts, hashtags, sounds, effects, and trending topics influencing the content shown. This algorithm allows any video to potentially go viral, regardless of the content creator's popularity, enabling creators to reach a wide audience (Bishqemi, 2022).

This dynamic has fostered the growth of various subcultures, including "skena" content on the TikTok account @sastra.silalahi. Sastra Silalahi, a comedian and TikTok content creator, is a key influencer among millennials and Generation Z through his content, which includes the viral phenomenon of the "skena" subculture, "skena consultations," or "skena police." According to CNN Indonesia (2023), "skena" stands for "Sua," "cengKErama," and "kelaNA," symbolizing a collective gathering with a unique style and a preference for underground music. The "skena" style typically involves wearing band t-shirts, small tattoos, cargo pants, and gray Doctor Martens or New Balance shoes. Additionally, "skena" individuals exhibit specific behaviors, such as sitting in a particular way, frequenting industrial-themed coffee shops, and being fans of palm sugar coffee, which are integral to their identity.

The TikTok account @sastra.silalahi boasts 416,900 followers and 31.4 million likes. The account is well-known for its signature content, including "skena consultations" and "skena police" or "si paling skena." Both types of content involve @sastra.silalahi offering advice on how to authentically embody the "skena" lifestyle and appearance. For instance, a "skena" Instagram account should have a bio that lists the profession as "CEO of" a business or agency, feature vacation photos at Bali's Club Beach, and maintain an aesthetically pleasing Instagram feed that reflects fashion, lifestyle, and music associated with the "skena" identity. In his "skena police" content, @sastra.silalahi plays the role of a police officer, critiquing individuals' appearances, hobbies, and lifestyles.

On May 17, 2024, an analysis of data from five of the most-viewed "skena" content posts on @sastra.silalahi's TikTok account revealed 9,528,500 views, 719,800 likes,

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

52

2,239 comments, and 10,295 shares. The "skena" phenomenon exerts significant pressure on Generation Z to align with the trends and standards set by this subculture (Medium, 2023). Teenagers' self-identity becomes vulnerable to the "skena" norms, leading them to modify their appearance and lifestyle to fit these standards.

Research by Husna (2024) indicated that social media allows individuals to craft and adjust their digital identities according to their desired image, including how they wish to be perceived within online communities. This is consistent with Roli's (2017) findings, which suggest that teenagers use social media to project their self-image and gain recognition from others, reflecting their efforts to build and manage a positive identity.

Moreover, Generation Z tends to follow influencers who share content that is relevant, entertaining, and inspiring, in line with their interests (Husna & Mairita, 2024). Zilka's (2023) research supports this, showing that 84% of Generation Z views social media as the main channel for connecting with global culture, such as music, fashion, and entertainment, which in turn influences their self-identity.

Social media and influencers play a crucial role in shaping the perceptions and consumer behaviors of Generation Z, where the content they consume shapes their views (Husna & Mairita, 2024). Additionally, the influence of social media amplifies feelings of inadequacy among teenagers who do not keep up with trends, leading to FoMO and impulsive spending to meet "skena" standards. An example of this is the "Citayem Fashion Week," where teenagers, ranging from elementary to high school students, became a viral sensation on TikTok in 2022. They flocked to the SCBD area to showcase their styles, expressing their evolving identity (Kompas.com, 2022). This study is pertinent as it addresses a gap in the literature on the "skena" subculture phenomenon on TikTok. It aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of TikTok users' interpretations and responses to this subculture. By employing netnography and sentiment-based categorization to classify comments as positive, negative, or neutral, this research seeks to contribute significantly to understanding Generation Z's self-identity within the context of social media subcultures. The study aims to answer the following research questions: How does Generation Z respond to "skena" content on TikTok, and to what extent does the "skena" subculture influence their perceptions and identities within the social media environment?

1.2 Research Question
1. How do TikTok users respond to the "skena" subculture content produced by @sastra.silalahi?
2. How does the "skena" subculture contribute to shaping perceptions among Generation Z within the TikTok social media environment?

1.3 Purpose and objective
1. To analyze TikTok users' responses to "skena" content produced by @sastra.silalahi, as well as subculture trends.
2. To explore how the "skena" subculture influences the perceptions of Generation Z, particularly within the TikTok social media environment.

2. Literature Review

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

53

2.1   Subculture

Subculture, as explained by Thornton in Isbah & Sutopo (2021), is a form of cultural expression created by specific groups that stand apart from the dominant culture. Thornton sees subcultures as socially constructed, where these groups form their own identities and meanings, often in opposition to or distinct from mainstream cultural norms.

Ken Gelder (2007) outlines several key traits of subcultures, such as their connection to particular locations like streets or clubs, engagement in activities outside the home, and a rejection of conventional lifestyles. Subcultures can exist at various levels of organization and are often characterized by symbolic elements, including fashion, music, and other influences. The distinct style and symbols adopted by members often serve to identify those within a subculture.

The concept of subculture was initially developed by anthropologists at the University of Chicago in the early 20th century to better understand urban life in America. They proposed that urban societies consisted of various subcultural groups, each with its own unique traits. In the American context, the subculture concept considers the influence of social factors on behavior patterns, thereby presenting deviant behavior as a form of normality.

In post-World War II England, particularly during the 1970s, the concept of subculture was examined through the lens of Gramsci's cultural politics. In this framework, "culture" is seen as a way for a group of people to respond to their social and material environment, while "sub-" refers to smaller groups within the larger societal structure. The prefix "sub-" in subculture highlights the differences in everyday experiences among different groups.

Doubts about the homogeneity of social groups and the limitations of the subculture concept led to the development of studies known as post-subculture. This approach offers a more flexible and varied perspective on the cultural lives of youth (Bennett, 1999). Rather than being a single, new theoretical framework, post-subculture serves as a broad category for exploration (Bennett, 2011). Unlike the essentialist view of subculture, which often ties cultural practices to social class, the post-subculture approach emphasizes diversity, change, and connections among individuals based on cultural values like taste and aesthetics.

One notable concept within post-subculture studies is the "scene," introduced by Will Straw in 1991 (Isbah & Sutopo, 2021). This concept describes cultural spaces where various musical practices can interact and evolve through differentiation and transformation. Scenes are not confined to traditional physical locations but also include virtual spaces, allowing for more dynamic cultural exchanges. In this context, connections between individuals are based on shared cultural and aesthetic values rather than social or economic backgrounds, making the concept of scenes a more adaptable tool for understanding contemporary youth culture.

Self-identity, which plays a central role in subcultures, involves a sense of self-awareness formed through observation and evaluation. According to Stuart and Sundeen (1991), self-identity is the integration of all aspects that make up an individual's whole

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok
Content By Sastra Silalahi

54

self. Within subcultures, self-identity is shaped through participation in the cultural practices and values of the group, helping individuals understand who they are in relation to their social group.

2.2 Perception

Every individual has a unique way of interpreting the same things. Factors such as knowledge, life experiences, and personal perspectives heavily influence how we view the world (Jayanti, 2018). Perception involves using our senses to gather information, processing it, and then assigning meaning to it. Rakhmat (2007) describes perception as the outcome of collecting and interpreting information we receive from our surroundings. In other words, perception is the way we make sense of what we see, hear, feel, and experience, helping us to understand the world around us.

Perception is also an active process in which we select, organize, and interpret the information we receive (Wood, 2006). This means that perception shapes how we understand others, the world, and the decisions we make. Mulyana (2000) argues that perception is a key element in communication. When we communicate, we are not merely conveying a message but also interpreting the messages we receive. This process of interpretation is crucial because it determines which messages we pay attention to and which we ignore. Therefore, our perception greatly influences how we understand and respond to communication. Toha (2003) explains that our perception of something is influenced by two main factors:

Internal factors are those that come from within ourselves, such as feelings, attitudes, beliefs, life experiences, and mental conditions. For example, if we are feeling sad, we are likely to perceive things more negatively.

External factors are those that come from outside ourselves, such as the surrounding environment, the information we receive, and the experiences we have. For instance, if we grow up in an environment that highly values education, we are likely to place a higher importance on education compared to someone who grew up in a different environment.

In summary, our perception of something is not only determined by the object itself but also by the unique internal and external factors that influence each individual.

2.3 Skena

The term "skena," which is popular among today's youth, has deep roots in popular culture. According to Ramadhani (2023), "skena" was originally closely associated with the underground music community, including genres like punk, hardcore, and rock. A distinctive style of dress became a hallmark of this group.

Simanjorang (2020) explains that in the context of this discussion, "skena" refers to a community that serves as a space for interaction among musicians, music enthusiasts, and various other actors within the music ecosystem. Furthermore, in this study, indie music is not defined as a specific genre or type of music. Rather, indie music refers to music that is managed by independent labels or is entirely self-managed by the musicians themselves.

According to CNN (2023), etymologically, "skena" is derived from the words "sua," "cengkrama," and "kelana." This term refers to a group of people who share common interests, enjoy gathering, interacting, and exploring new things. In the context

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

55

of music, "skena" forms a solid community with shared values and identity.

Over time, the concept of "skena" has evolved. Ainin (2024) notes that "skena" has grown into a broader lifestyle trend among students. In addition to music, "skena" now encompasses fashion, art, and recreational activities. The distinctive style of dress associated with "skena" has become a powerful symbol of collective identity, particularly among Generation Z.

Ainin (2024) further elaborates that clothing within the "skena" context carries deeper meaning beyond mere body covering. Clothing serves as a medium for expressing oneself, values, and affiliations with a particular group. By choosing specific brands and distinctive styles, individuals can signify their identity as part of the "skena" community.

2.4   Previous Research

Research by Husna (2024) indicates that social media enables individuals to shape and adjust their digital identities to align with their desired image, including how they wish to be perceived in online communities. This aligns with findings by Roli (2017), which reveal that teenagers use social media to present their self-image and gain recognition from others, reflecting their efforts to build and manage a positive identity.

Furthermore, Generation Z tends to follow individuals who share content that is relevant, entertaining, and inspiring, reflecting their interests (Husna & Mairita, 2024). Research by Zilka (2023) supports this, showing that 84% of Generation Z views social media as a primary channel for connecting with global culture, such as music, fashion, and entertainment, which in turn influences their self-identity.

Social media and influencers play a crucial role in shaping the perceptions and consumption behaviors of Generation Z, with the content they view and engage with shaping their perspectives (Husna & Mairita, 2024).

3.   Research Methods
3.1   Research Design

This study will employ a qualitative research method, as outlined by Creswell and cited by Eddles-Hirsch (2015), which focuses on analyzing and explaining how individuals experience a phenomenon within the context of their daily lives. The approach used is netnography. Netnography, simply put, is a method for studying and understanding online life or culture, specifically within social media. Kozinets (2020) defines netnography as a form of qualitative research aimed at understanding cultural experiences reflected in digital footprints, online practices, and digital tracking systems.

As a subset of ethnography, netnography integrates documents and online interactions with digital observation (Kozinets, 2015). According to Kozinets (2020), this qualitative research aims to comprehend cultural experiences on the internet as manifested through digital traces, network practices, and online tracking systems. These digital traces can include graphics, text, photographs, music, commercial advertisements, audiovisual content, and more. Eriyanto (2021) outlines six stages in netnographic

research: initiation, investigation, interaction, immersion, integration, and incarnation or communication of research findings.

1. Inisiation

   The initial stage of research involves defining the purpose and focus of the study. This purpose will direct the selection of data, types of interactions, and the progression of subsequent research stages.

2. Investigation

   Netnography utilizes site data, which includes conversations on social media (Kozinets, 2020). Researchers select specific sites for study, such as social media posts or online product comment sections. The data collected may consist of images, videos, memes, and other content. Once a substantial amount of data is gathered, researchers read, watch, or listen to it and then store it for coding and further analysis.

3. Interaction

   In netnographic research, interaction takes the form of engagement with the data. Researchers do not need to actively participate in informants' activities, such as posting comments or liking posts; instead, they need to engage with the data to understand the perspectives of the research subjects.

4. Immersion

   Immersion is a key feature of netnography, where researchers immerse themselves in the community or group being studied. Since netnography focuses on site data, which consists of digital traces already available on the internet and social media, immersion is practiced through maintaining a digital data journal (immersion journal). Researchers record various types of digital data and engage personally, intellectually, and emotionally to understand it (Kozinets, 2020).

5. Integration

   This stage involves the analysis and interpretation of data. All collected data, including observations, interviews, and other sources, are integrated with the findings from investigation, interaction, and immersion. In netnographic research, analysis and interpretation are carried out continuously throughout the research process.

6. Incarnation

   The final stage in netnographic research is the communication of research findings. These results can be presented in various formats, including research reports, theses, dissertations, books, journal articles, scientific papers, blogs, and other mediums.

   In this research, the netnographic method was used to focus on the interaction between the content produced and the responses of netizens through comments. According to Bing Liu, sentiment analysis is a field that examines opinions, feelings, evaluations, judgments, attitudes, and emotions related to qualities such as products, services, organizations, individuals, issues, events, topics, and attributes. Also known as opinion mining or emotion artificial intelligence, sentiment analysis is useful in natural language processing, text analysis, and computational linguistics to identify, extract, quantify, and study structured information (Pratama, Andrean, & Nugroho, 2019). Sentiment analysis categorizes opinions as positive, neutral, or negative (Samsir et al., 2021). The categories in sentiment analysis include:

   1. Positive Sentiment: According to the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), positive sentiment is a reaction or attitude that enhances the value of someone or something (Ardiani, Sujaini, & Tursina, 2020).

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok
Content By Sastra Silalahi

57

2. Negative Sentiment: KBBI defines negative sentiment as a reaction or attitude that can diminish the value of someone or something, potentially leading to a downturn in trends. Negative sentiment is often marked by the use of negation words, which alter the nature of a statement (Ardiani, Sujaini, & Tursina, 2020).
3. Neutral Sentiment: According to KBBI, neutral sentiment is a reaction that is impartial. Neutral comments typically lack strong positive or negative expressions (Ardiani, Sujaini, & Tursina, 2020).

3.2   Data Sources and Collection Techniques

The primary data source for this research was collected from social media comments. The data collection involves gathering primary data from the top 5 skena-related posts with the highest engagement. This includes analyzing how followers of the TikTok account @sastra.silalahi interpret skena content in relation to self-identity perceptions from the comment sections. The data collection process will involve netnographic analysis based on sentiment categories from comments on 5 posts, including "konsultasi skena" and "polisi skena atau si paling skena," which have the highest number of likes and comments.

3.3   Research Stages

1. Identifying Skena Content: Searched for the top 5 skena-related posts with the highest likes and comments on the @sastra.silalahi TikTok account.
2. Data Collection: Collected data from the comments section of the 5 identified skena posts, focusing on user interpretations of the skena phenomenon. Use the 'Export Comments' tool for organized data collection, including username, comment ID, comment date, likes, and content.
3. Data Analysis: Employed netnographic methods to categorize comments into positive, negative, or neutral based on predefined keywords. This will provide insights into how netizens react to and perceive the skena trend. Examples of keywords for positive comments include "Nice, mengerti, info, spill," while negative comments may include "Apasih, buruk, tidak menarik," and neutral comments might consist of emojis or off-topic discussions.
4. Triangulation of Data: This stage involved consulting experts to validate the classification of comments based on keywords. Manual reviews will ensure accuracy and address potential biases or errors in sentiment interpretation.
5. Analyzing Sentiment Patterns and Calculating Proportions: Assessed sentiment patterns, noting that most comments may express positive sentiment. Positive comments often reflect humor and enjoyment, while negative comments usually indicate disinterest or criticism. Calculate the percentages of comments classified as positive, negative, and neutral.
6. Interpreting Findings: After completing the stages of identification, data collection, analysis, triangulation, and sentiment proportion calculation, interpret the findings to gain a deeper understanding of how Generation Z responds to skena content on TikTok.

In this study, the analytical approach applied is the netnography method (Kozinets) with sentiment categorization. Netnography provides rich data in the form of text, images, videos, and audio, offering a deep insight into online cultures and interactions. The netnographic analysis process involves examining the perceptions of netizens regarding trends in the scene through comments on social media, specifically the comment section

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

58

of the TikTok account @sastra.silalahi.

3.4 Summary of Findings

Conclusions from the research will be drawn from the analysis of comments on the 5 selected skena posts. Using netnographic methods, the research aims to analyze responses and interactions on TikTok, providing insights into how TikTok users, particularly followers of @sastra.silalahi, interpret skena content. This understanding will reveal perceptions of self-identity as influenced by skena phenomena, both through skena consultations and evaluations of skena trends.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1 TikTok Users' Response to Content Produced by @sastra.silalahi and Subculture Trends

TikTok users' responses to the content produced by @sastra.silalahi can be categorized into three main sentiments: positive, negative, and neutral. This analysis is based on comments found on two specific videos used as representative samples, namely "Konsultasi Skena" and "Polisi Skena." These contents were selected because they are considered to represent various types of reactions, encompassing different aspects of the content shared by Sastra.

The videos "Konsultasi Skena" and "Polisi Skena" present a wide range of comments, from praise and support indicating positive sentiment, to criticism and dissatisfaction reflecting negative sentiment. Additionally, there are comments with neutral sentiments that do not exhibit strong emotional reactions. This categorization helps to understand how the audience responds to different types of content and provides an overview of the general perception of Sastra Silalahi's work on the TikTok platform.

Table 1. Summary of TikTok User Comments on Scene Consultation Content and Scene Police Content

Sentimen	Keywords	Persentase
Positif	Nice Dream, Mengerti, Need info, Ilmu padi, Spill, Mau konsultasi, Solusi, Top, Mantap betul, Kelas, Akhh Itu dia, Savage, Anjay, Diskon, Ngakak, Skena banget, King Skena, Keren, Kocak, Kelas, Starboy, Jaga Lisan anda, Otw Coffee Shop, Kita udah skena, Menarik, Beli dimana, Seru banget, Smooth promotion, Nice Info, Sangat Informatif, Suka kontennya, Cakep, Endingnya bagus, Hiburan, Nggak diajak	63%
Negatif	Gak rame, Jangan masuk kategori skena, Nangis, Gak ngerti, Apa-apa harus skena, Apaan sih, Gak tembus, Kacau, Gemetar, Pritt, Ori/Kw, Ganti Konsep, Sepatu itu terus, Anak Skena:anak kota, Gawat, Jaktim Pride, Ga punya vesmet, Aktingnya 3/10, Pasaran banget, Justifikasi, Nggak gitu, Serius amat, Pentingnya sekolah,	28%

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

59

	Kampungan, Dih, Takut banget, Kabur ada polisi, Yaelah	
Netral	🤣 🤣, Waduh, Cemas, Ga Bahaya ta? 🫣 🫠, 😌, First, Sipaling Karaoke,Sarkas, Yang penting ori, Chuaks, No. Comment, Upss, 😵, 😁	9%

Positive Sentiment: From the table above, it can be seen that among the followers of @sastra.silalahi, various terms and expressions reflect their closeness to the scene culture. For example, the phrase "Nice dream" is used to express appreciation for the outfits shared by Sastra, while "Ilmu padi" is a popular comment that describes the influence of Sastra's content on TikTok. Netizens often express enthusiasm for consulting on scene styles and outfits, positioning Sastra as a primary source of solutions and inspiration. Phrases like "Mantap betul" and "Savage" indicate positive responses and admiration for Sastra's content and style.

Additionally, terms such as "Skena banget" signify how relevant Sastra is to this subculture, while "King Skena" underscores his position as a leading influencer in scene outfit trends. Netizens are also actively seeking more information about where to buy items posted by Sastra and show interest in subtle promotions with expressions like "Smooth promotion." Furthermore, expressions like "Otw Coffee Shop" and "Kita udah skena" reflect the scene lifestyle that is favored and adopted by this community.

Furthermore, comments such as "Nice Info" and "Sangat Informatif" indicate that viewers feel they are gaining useful information and new insights. Expressions like "Suka kontennya" and "Cakep" suggest that many enjoy and appreciate the aesthetic quality of the videos. Additionally, comments like "Endingnya bagus" and "Hiburan" indicate that the conclusion and entertainment value of the content are also appreciated by the audience.

Negative Sentiment: On the other hand, there are also various responses that criticize or reject certain aspects of @sastra.silalahi's content. Some netizens feel that Sastra's content is uninteresting or "gak rame" and consider that certain topics or bands should not be associated with the scene culture. Expressions like "Gak ngerti" or "Apaan sih" indicate confusion or a lack of understanding of the content, while "Kacau" and "Gawat" denote criticism of the quality or organization of the content. Netizens also often express dissatisfaction with certain aspects of Sastra's style, such as the repeated use of the same shoes or a lack of new concepts in the content. Additionally, terms like "Pritt" and "Ori/Kw" are used to mock or criticize the quality or authenticity of the content.

Some netizens also express that they disagree with the association between scene kids and city kids or feel that Sastra's chosen outfits do not meet the standards they find appealing, such as "Jaktim Pride." Criticisms like "Ga punya Vesmet" suggest the view that there is no need to follow trends or standards set by Sastra. Netizens also provide negative evaluations of the acting or brands used, such as "Aktingnya 3/10" and "Pasaran banget." Some feel that the content does not align with their perception or is too serious, with expressions like "Nggak gitu" and "Serius amat." Comments such as "Kampungan" and "Yaelah" indicate that some viewers feel the content is irrelevant or disappointing.

Neutral Sentiment: In addition, comments with a neutral sentiment generally do not

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

60

show strong emotional reactions but tend more toward expressions of misunderstanding, confusion, or concern. For instance, expressions like "Waduh" and "Cemas" reflect feelings of uncertainty about the content presented. Some users also express concerns about the impact or implications of the content, as seen in comments like "Ga Bahaya ta?" which indicate anxiety about the safety or consequences of the content. Additionally, some users express feelings of confusion or uncertainty about the content using emoticons like 🤨, indicating a lack of engagement or understanding of the message being conveyed. Although some elements are considered interesting by some users, these reactions suggest that part of the audience feels confused or does not fully understand the intent of the content presented.

On the other hand, there are also users who provide responses that are not very emotional but still show some entertainment or satisfaction, as with emoticons like 😄 and 😂. However, even if they are entertained, they still do not provide a strong or deep response to the content. Such reactions suggest that while the content succeeds in capturing attention, its impact is not significant enough to trigger deeper emotional engagement. Overall, neutral sentiments tend to be less emotionally involved and focus more on general responses, whether in the form of confusion, uncertainty, or mild entertainment, without showing extreme reactions to the content presented.

Thus, users' perceptions of scene content can be interpreted as part of the process of self-identity formation, where they find and validate their existence through social interactions on digital media. This is in line with Husna's research (2024), which suggests that social media allows individuals to form and adjust their digital identities according to their desired image, including how they want to be perceived in online communities. Roli's research (2017) also supports these findings, showing that adolescents use social media to present self-images and gain recognition from others, reflecting their efforts to build and manage a positive identity. These findings support the argument that TikTok not only influences the lifestyle and preferences of Generation Z but also profoundly affects how they understand and construct their self-identity. Content like the scene serves as a reflection of the evolving trends, values, and norms within the subculture they create and follow, ultimately helping to shape the collective perceptions and identities of Generation Z. Thus, this study not only focuses on user perceptions but also on how platforms like TikTok can influence the formation of self-identity in Generation Z through the content they consume and contribute to.

Figure 1. TikTok User Comments Summary

(Source: Voyant Tools)

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi
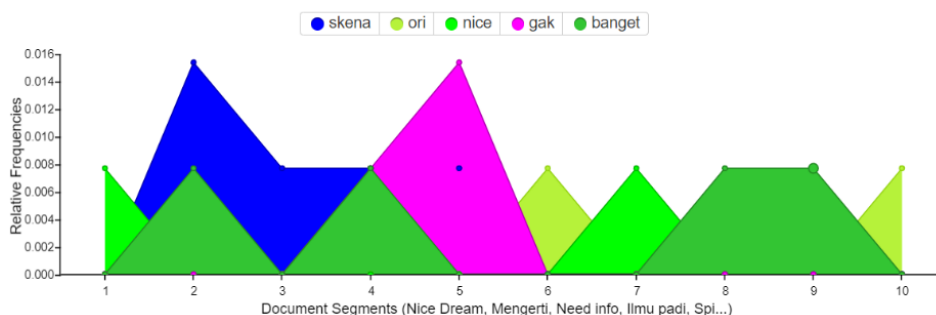
61

The conclusion from the analysis of comments on @sastra.silalahi's content shows that netizens' responses are highly varied. In general, many express positive appreciation for the useful information, aesthetic quality, and entertainment aspects of the content, with expressions such as "Nice Info," "Sangat Informatif," and "Cakep." Comments like "Endingnya bagus" also indicate that viewers appreciate a satisfying conclusion to the videos. However, there is significant criticism of some aspects of the content. Some netizens rate the acting poorly and consider the brands used to be "Pasaran banget." Additionally, there are comments stating that the content does not meet expectations or is too serious, along with negative reactions indicating dissatisfaction or disappointment. Comments like "Kampungan" and "Yaelah" reflect a perceived irrelevance or boredom with the content. Overall, this analysis reveals a mix of praise and criticism, providing deep insight into how Sastra's content is received by the audience. The most dominant positive comments tend to appreciate the content as informative, entertaining, and providing knowledge about the scene subculture. Meanwhile, negative comments tend to reject being categorized within a subculture that tends to be exclusive to a certain lifestyle. Then, neutral comments do not show any bias toward either positive or negative sentiments.

From these perceptions, social awareness and discomfort with norms become very important. Generation Z seems to be highly sensitive to social norms and often shows discomfort with content that is considered too serious or irrelevant to their reality. Expressions such as "Kampungan," "Nggak gitu," and "Serius amat" indicate that they prefer content that feels authentic and aligned with their everyday experiences. They also express concerns about social influence and self-image, as seen in comments like "Takut banget" and "Justifikasi," reflecting discomfort with social pressure to follow certain trends.

Furthermore, the need for entertainment and diversity becomes crucial. Comments like "Hiburan" and "Endingnya bagus" show that Generation Z seeks entertainment that is not only engaging but also provides a satisfying experience. They appreciate content that can entertain and offer elements of surprise or humor, as seen in reactions to jokes with "Chuaks" and laughing emoticons.

Additionally, responses to identity and local pride are significant. Generation Z also shows diverse responses to local identity and pride, as reflected in comments like "Jaktim Pride" and "Ga punya Vesmet." This indicates an interest in local influences and pride in their regional identity, which is often expressed through social media content.

Figure 2. TikTok User Comments Summary

(Source: Voyant Tools)

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

62

Figure 1 is a word cloud showing the words that frequently appear in the document. Words that appear most frequently are displayed in a larger size. In this word cloud, words like "skena," "banget," "nice," "gak," and "ori" stand out the most. Meanwhile, Figure 1.2 shows the relative frequency of several keywords that appear in specific segments of the document. The graph shows how these words (skena, ori, nice, gak, banget) are distributed across different segments of the document. Based on these two figures, it can be concluded that:

1. The word "skena" has a relatively high frequency in several document segments, particularly in segments 2 and 5.

2. The word "banget" also appears with high frequency in some document segments, especially in segments 6 and 9.

3. The word "gak" has a significant peak frequency in segment 5.

4. The word "nice" appears more evenly across several document segments.

5. The word "ori" has a lower frequency compared to the other words.

Overall, the words "skena" and "banget" are the most dominant in the document, followed by "nice," "gak," and "ori." Based on the word cloud and frequency graph analyzed earlier, we can identify several key points regarding the skena subculture and how it shapes the identity of Generation Z as well as their perceptions of literary content.

Dominant Words:

Skena - The most frequently appearing word, indicating the importance of a certain community or social environment. This word is spread across various document segments, indicating that this topic is relevant and frequently discussed in different contexts. The word "skena": Suggests an expectation to be part of a certain community or social environment, which can create pressure for teenagers to conform to skena trends and norms. Frequency Graph: Shows how these words appear in various contexts, reflecting the role of social media in spreading and reinforcing skena norms. The high frequency of these words suggests that the skena topic is highly relevant among social media users, particularly on TikTok.

Overall, the identity of Generation Z reflected in their responses to @sastra.silalahi's content reveals a combination of authenticity values, concerns about social norms, and the need for entertainment and creative self-expression. They tend to be critical of mainstream trends and prefer content that aligns with their personalities and experiences, while still appreciating entertainment and creativity on social media.

4.2   Exploring the Contribution of the Skena Subculture in Shaping Perceptions among Generation Z, Especially in the TikTok Social Media Environment:

In the content presented by @sastra.silalahi, there is clever use of sarcasm wrapped in effective humor in the "Konsultasi Skena" or "Polisi Skena" formats. This sarcasm becomes the main attraction of the content, where irony and satire are presented in an entertaining yet informative way. For long-time viewers, the sarcasm in this content has

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

63

become a characteristic that is known and enjoyed. They understand that this sarcasm is part of the humor and not a personal attack, so they tend to be more tolerant and appreciative of the content. They even feel that this content provides detailed and in-depth information about the skena subculture, even though it is delivered with a satirical tone. This shows how sarcasm wrapped in humor can be an effective tool for conveying complex information in an easily digestible and entertaining manner. In line with Husna and Mairita's (2024) research, Generation Z tends to be more attracted to content that is relevant, entertaining, and inspiring, that aligns with their interests. This generation prefers to follow individuals who present content with elements of smart humor and sarcasm, as displayed in @sastra.silalahi's content. Some examples of sarcasm statements in the content include "clothes must be over low income," "an Instagram bio for skena kids should be CEO of (must have a business), it doesn't matter if your business only has less than 100 followers and was last active three years ago," "Instagram stories must be eating at Payakumbuah Padang restaurant because it's Padang skena rice," and many more.

However, for new viewers who are not yet accustomed to @Sastra's delivery style, this sarcasm can be misunderstood and seen as direct criticism or insult. Some of them feel offended or uncomfortable with this content style, leading to negative reactions or confusion. This reaction reflects a difference in perception between old and new viewers, where the context and familiarity with the content style greatly influence their understanding and acceptance. On the other hand, although some new viewers are offended, many of them eventually come to appreciate @Sastra's content because they feel they gain new insights into the skena world. They even begin to show interest in following the suggested outfits and trends presented by @Sastra, indicating that the content has a significant impact on shaping their preferences and lifestyle.

If there are comments expressing disagreement or discomfort with the content, @Sastra's followers or longtime viewers will quickly respond, often with sarcastic retorts. For example, comments like "Your life is too serious" are then replied with "You're not invited" or "Must be the most pretentious kid in the gang." These responses show a solid community among @Sastra's followers, who not only understand the sarcastic humor but are also ready to defend the creator and skena community from outside criticism or attacks. This also reflects a social dynamic where humor and sarcasm are used as tools to strengthen group bonds and maintain the skena subculture identity.

Putri (2023) argues that adolescents' self-identity can be influenced by the environment, including social media, which is part of that social environment where individuals interact in their own way. This is supported by Zilka's (2023) research, which shows that 84% of Generation Z considers social media to be the main channel to connect with global culture such as music, fashion, and entertainment, which influences their self-identity. Thus, it can be concluded that social media plays an important role in shaping identity and self-perception, especially among Generation Z who are highly exposed to digital content, forming stereotypes of geographical boundaries and inclusivity.

1. Shaping Perceptions Through Social Media Exposure: Social media and influencers play a significant role in shaping Generation Z's perceptions and consumption behavior, where the content they see and follow shapes their views (Husna & Mairita, 2024). In this context, @sastra.silalahi, as a content creator, uses

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

64

social media not only as a platform for self-expression but also as a source of information and inspiration for Generation Z who want to understand more deeply about the skena subculture. Thus, based on comments in this study, it was found that Generation Z's perception of the skena subculture is largely shaped by what they consume on social media. For example, comments like "Bro, is it true that skena kids never have time to study because they always watch festivals?" indicate that Generation Z tends to see skena kids as individuals who are more focused on entertainment and lifestyle than academics. This happens because the content they consume tends to display the skena lifestyle, which revolves around hanging out in coffee shops, attending music festivals, and showing unique "outfit of the day" (OOTD). The lack of balanced representation of the academic or other responsibilities of skena kids can reinforce the stereotype that skena de-emphasizes academic priorities. This shows how selective representation in social media content can reinforce certain perceptions.

2. Awareness of Geographical Boundaries: Comments like "Why are most skena kids born in big cities?" show a perception that the skena subculture is more dominant in big cities. This perception is due to social media representations that highlight big cities as centers of skena trends, where access to concerts, creative communities, and cultural centers is more easily accessible. This reflects the view that skena is closely associated with urban life, which in turn can create a gap in skena experiences between those living in big cities and other areas. Thus, exposure to social media content that emphasizes urban life can reinforce the exclusive view that skena is an urban phenomenon.

3. Questioning Inclusivity in Skena: Comments like "Will Papua be accepted as skena kids?" illustrate doubt or skepticism about whether individuals from remote areas, such as Papua, can be accepted in the skena community. This reflects the perception that skena is more rooted in urban areas or certain regions, which can be perceived as more exclusive. Exposure to content focusing on skena in big cities can lead to the perception that skena is not an inclusive subculture but rather selective about who can be part of this community. This can reinforce the impression that skena has exclusive geographical and social boundaries.

The perception of the "skena" subculture among Generation Z appears to have become distorted from its original definition, which associates connections within a scene with cultural values, musical tastes, or aesthetics, rather than purely with an individual's social or economic background. According to Isbah and Sutopo (2021), people involved in a scene may come from different social backgrounds, but they are connected by shared cultural values, musical tastes, or aesthetics. This means that connections within a scene are more about what people appreciate and how they experience a particular aesthetic, rather than their economic or social background.

However, the reality perceived by Generation Z is often limited to the social media representations created by individuals involved in the "skena" subculture. Content posted on platforms like TikTok frequently reflects specific aspects of the "skena" lifestyle, such as hanging out in coffee shops, attending festivals, or showcasing "outfit of the day" (OOTD) that align with "skena" aesthetics. This creates new standards within the "skena" subculture, as can be seen in the content of accounts like @sastra.silalahi. This representation fosters the impression that the identity of a "skena" youth is exclusively tied to the social activities and fashion they display online.

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok
Content By Sastra Silalahi

65

Thus, while the "skena" subculture actually reflects social diversity and interconnectedness based on cultural values and aesthetics, its representation on social media shapes a narrow perception among Generation Z, who tend to view "skena" as an exclusive subculture limited to specific activities. This highlights how social media not only plays a role in shaping self-identity but also in forming collective perceptions of particular subcultures, ultimately building stereotypes that may not be entirely accurate.

Although these findings suggest that the "skena" subculture on TikTok serves as a space for Generation Z to express creativity and build their identity, it is important to consider that these results only reflect a small fraction of the broader population. Platforms like TikTok do provide room for this generation to experiment with their identities and creative skills; however, there is a risk that the resulting creativity is constrained by trends and algorithms that dictate the types of content that are more widely accepted. This can create an illusion that only certain forms of expression are valid, while the broader creative potential of Generation Z is overlooked. Additionally, social media tends to form 'echo chambers' that reinforce similar perspectives, leading to bias in the representation of Generation Z's identity. Therefore, further critical research is needed to understand these dynamics and explore how more authentic and diverse creativity can be empowered beyond the limitations set by platform algorithms.

5.   Conclusions and Recommendations

This study analyzes how TikTok users' perceptions of the "Skena" content produced by @SastraSilalahi influence the formation of subcultures and self-identity among Generation Z. Based on an analysis of comments on the "Konsultasi Skena" and "Polisi Skena" videos, it was found that TikTok users' perceptions of this content vary widely, with positive, negative, and neutral sentiments clearly expressed.

1. Influence of the Skena Subculture: "Skena" content significantly contributes to the formation and reinforcement of subcultures among Generation Z. The terms and expressions frequently appearing in the comments reflect users' engagement with the skena culture, demonstrating their collective identity within the social media environment.

2. Formation of Self-Identity: Content from @SastraSilalahi serves not only as entertainment but also as a medium for self-expression among Generation Z. Users show appreciation for content they perceive as authentic, creative, and relevant to their daily experiences, which, in turn, strengthens their self-identity formation process.

3. Diverse Responses to Content: While many users express positive appreciation for the information and aesthetic quality of the content, there is also significant criticism of certain aspects, such as consumerism, commercialization, and fashion standards perceived as mainstream. This indicates that Generation Z tends to be critical of trends that do not align with their personal values.

4. The Role of Social Media in Identity Formatio: TikTok, as a social media platform, plays a significant role in shaping how Generation Z understands and constructs their self-identity. Content such as "Skena" reflects the evolving trends, values, and norms within the subcultures followed by its users.

Recommendations

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

66

1. Development of More Authentic and Creative Content: Content creators, including @SastraSilalahi, are encouraged to continue developing authentic and creative content that can strengthen their connection with the audience. Given the importance of these values to Generation Z, more innovative and original content can enhance audience engagement and support.
2. Enhancing Audience Engagement:: To create a stronger relationship with users, it is recommended that content creators be more active in interacting with their audience through features like comments or live streaming. This will help in gaining a deeper understanding of the audience's needs and preferences and strengthen their loyalty to the presented content.
3. Presentation of Diverse Content: Given the criticism of consumerism and mainstream fashion standards, content creators are advised to present more diverse and inclusive content that can encompass various styles and perspectives. This approach can help attract a broader audience with different preferences.
4. Utilizing Social Media for Identity Education: Considering the importance of social media in self-identity formation, platforms like TikTok can be better utilized to support positive identity education. Content that encourages self-reflection, understanding of personal values, and acceptance of diversity can help Generation Z in their quest for self-identity formation.
5. Further Research: It is recommended to conduct further research on the influence of other subcultures on identity formation among Generation Z and the role of social media in this process. This could provide deeper insights into the social and cultural dynamics emerging among the younger generation.

The Perception of Self-Identity in Generation Z Within The Subcultural Trend of "Skena" in Tiktok Content By Sastra Silalahi

67

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