



Between Prestige And Economy: School Uniforms And Social Segregation Among Students In Urban School Environments

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of school uniforms is to foster equality among students and conceal obvious socioeconomic differences. However, differences in the quality of uniforms can inadvertently reinforce social divisions within the school environment. Through the perspective of Sheth's Theory of Consumption Values (TCV) and Baudrillard's concept of the shift in consumption values, this study aims to analyze how branded school uniforms contribute to social stratification among students. Information was collected using qualitative methods with a phenomenological approach, through in-depth interviews and field observations with four selected graduates from SMAN 5 Pekanbaru. The findings of this study include that "Mitra" branded uniforms are considered to have practical and social value, although the social or symbolic value associated with prestige and class identity is prioritized. As a result of this shift in consumption values, school uniforms now represent students' socioeconomic status rather than serving a practical function. Consequently, a division has emerged between students who wear Mitra uniforms and those who do not, which has an impact on the dynamics of friendship and interaction between teachers and students. This study suggests that when consumerist values take hold, even institutional symbols designed to signify equality can exacerbate class divisions. To restore the spirit of equality in school uniform dress, there needs to be an emphasis on stricter uniform standards and educational initiatives that reflect equality.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Pekanbaru City is one of the cities in Riau Province with various formal schools in it. According to data released by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Pekanbaru City itself has 182 formal schools consisting senior high school (SMA/K) and School For Special Needs (SLB) which is intended for people with special needs, totaling 15 school units spread throughout the city (Kemendikdasmen, 2025). The large number of schools in Pekanbaru City is not proportional to the quality of education, especially when online learning was promoted during the covid-19 era (Widayat & Pahlawan, 2022). During the pandemic, online learning became a normal thing in the world of education (Ashifa et al., 2022). Many parents of students who send their children to various schools in Pekanbaru City complain about the decline in the quality of education in terms of online learning that takes place because it is considered inefficient and discourages children from learning (Widayat & Pahlawan, 2022). This can occur because teachers only provide raw material without explaining and giving assignments, so that students' understanding of learning material is reduced (Widayat & Pahlawan, 2022). This phenomenon explains that the quality of education personnel in Indonesia is not ready for the challenges of digitalization with technology in all aspects of the world of education (Muskania & Zulela MS, 2021).

Even so, schools are in fact an important institution in the life of a human being so that its existence deserves to be respected. Schools are basically a clear example of the representation of educational institutions in a country for the community whose existence and existence are useful for improving the quality of human resources (HR) in the country (Simanjorang & Naibaho, 2023). Schools basically exist to educate the lives of the nation's children so that they can carry out education outside of education, such as family and the wider community (Jurumiah, 2020). One of the media or tools for individuals in society to carry out social mobility is education, which manifests in an institution called school (Lutfillah et al., 2022). Schools also play a role in shaping students' personalities, training their thinking power, and also training them to be able to behave in accordance with the values and norms that exist in society (Nirmala, 2023). Schools are also able to suppress the rate of juvenile delinquency that occurs in various regions in Indonesia (Nirmala, 2023). Formal education channels such as schools are basically grouped into several levels. In Indonesia itself, the formal education level starts from elementary school (SD), followed by junior high school (SMP), and ends with senior high school or vocational school (SMA / K) (Septiani, 2023).

Schools, as formal institutions in general, certainly have rules within them to be followed by all components that fill them. One of the regulations in schools is the regulation regarding the provision of school uniforms. School uniforms in Indonesia are in fact regulated in Permendikbudristek number 50/2022 which emphasizes equality, uniformity, discipline, and also togetherness for all students in schools without any barrier such as economic background that can separate them (Kemendikbudristek, 2024). Permendikbudristek number 50/2022 states several provisions in the use of student uniforms, such as the use of national uniforms on Monday to Thursday, scout uniforms and school uniforms on days determined by each school, and also traditional clothing on certain occasions (Kemendikbudristek, 2024). In addition, some attributes such as hats, ties, or symbols that are usually found on students' clothes are also included in the student uniform that reflects the existence and existence of the school that is currently occupied by students (Ummah et al., 2021).

Uniforms are crucial and important for students participating in learning in educational institutions, because, according to Permendikbudristek number 50/2022, it is a rule that if not obeyed, there will be punishment for the students concerned (Kemendikbudristek, 2024). Uniforms reflect the compliance, discipline, order, and uniformity of students in schools in following the ongoing educational process (Jurumiah, 2020). Uniforms are also crucial because they symbolize the school's identity to the wider community. In some cases, school uniforms can be purchased by parents directly at a school or purchased outside the school itself. This freedom of choice creates a shift in the consumption value of school uniforms. This shift in consumption value can be seen from some parents who buy branded clothes to show their financial ability or social strata in society. Who would have thought, the phenomenon of shifting consumption values can occur in products or commodities in the form of school uniforms known in schools in Pekanbaru city, namely school uniforms with the brand "mitra".

The early observation of the writers shows a shift of consumption value in "mitra" branded uniforms at SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City which is located at Jl. Bawal No. 43, Wonorejo, Marpoyan Damai District, Pekanbaru City, Riau Province. This shift in consumption value creates a visible segregation, separation, or grouping between students who wear mitra's uniforms and those who wear non-mitra's uniforms. This phenomenon is very interesting to discuss, considering that SMAN 5 is located in a city where, as explained earlier, people prioritize symbolic value over utility value. This phenomenon is an initial finding derived from field notes and the author's own observations. To find out more about this phenomenon, the authors are interested in conducting this research.

But before that, it is better to review previous research that inspired the author to bring up this topic of school uniforms. Research conducted by Suteki et al (2024) with the title "Debate over the Policy on the Use of School Uniforms in the Era of Free Learning". This research seeks to describe how the views of various elements in the school regarding the uniform regulations implemented in the school itself. The results of this study show that there are two conflicting parties in the regulation and use of uniforms, namely those who feel that uniforms have a positive impact such as increasing a sense of discipline and reducing inequality in students, with those who feel that uniforms only have a negative impact such as increasing the risk of conflict (Suteki et al., 2024). The conflict in the journal is conflict between students from different schools. This research inspired the author that uniforms do not only bring positive impacts, but also negative impacts that lead to conflict. Instead of highlighting that uniforms trigger conflicts between students from different schools, the author is interested in finding out whether uniforms can cause other negative impacts especially among students within the school itself.

Research on uniforms has also been conducted by Ulva et al (2020) with the title "Student Attitudes in the Use of School Uniforms at SMP Negeri 13 Banda Aceh". This study sought to determine how the attitudes and level of understanding of students at SMP Negeri 13 Banda Aceh regarding the meaning of uniforms as a form of discipline in schools. The results of this study indicate that the level of understanding and compliance of students regarding uniforms is very low. This can be seen from how they modify their clothes that are contrary to the rules that have been set by the school before. One of the discussion points in the results and discussion of this study shows that the majority of students agree and are willing to modify their clothes because of the assumption that school uniforms should be fashionable and reflect the wearer's own self (Ulva & ; Ahmad, 2020). This research inspired the author to find

out how students modify their own clothes as a form of reflection of themselves, so that the conclusion obtained is that uniforms are no longer seen for their utility value, but symbolic value (certain meanings) in the form of “fashionable” in the uniform.

These two studies inspired the author to carry out this research. This research is a new research and the topic is raised from the author's original thoughts, so the author did not find any previous research that explicitly examined the phenomenon that was also researched by the author himself. From all the descriptions above, it is a question how a uniform brand can cause segregation among students in a school. Therefore, in this research, the author wants to explore further how segregation occurs and how the shift in consumption value causes the phenomenon of segregation and grouping among students who attend SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City. The author hopes that this paper can provide insight to readers and contribute to the research of social sciences and humanities. The author also hopes that this study inspires other researchers and writers to conduct similar research that will complement the information and review further than what is in this journal in the future.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Theory of Consumption Value by Sheth

Consumption value is basically a concept introduced in various sociological literatures. According to TCV or Theory Of Consumption Value by Sheth et al, consumption value is basically a value contained in goods or services that consumers want to consume due to various values that develop in society (Dewati & Roostika, 2022). TCV (Theory of Consumption Value) is basically a theory coined by Sheth et al to find out why a consumer buys a particular product on the market. The basis for developing this theory is to answer why an individual decides to buy or not buy goods on the market (Kahar, 2023). Sheth suggests that every consumer buys a product because the product has 5 values, namely functional value, social value, emotional value, conditional value, and finally epistemic value (Maharani & Purnamarini, 2022). According to Sheth, each value in the product stands alone and does not affect each other, meaning that every product purchased by a consumer can be because of one value in the product, so there is no relationship between one value and another (Djayapranta & Setyawan, 2023).

Sheth then explains each value and starts with functional value. According to him, functional value is related to the utility of the value and consideration of whether the product can be used to achieve the desires of consumers or not (Djayapranta & Setyawan, 2023). Social value is the value that exists in the product because the product has a certain meaning or is used by the majority of people in a society so that it is useful for self-image or the desire to be the same as others (Azmi et al., 2022). This is what causes that symbolic social values such as for self-image purposes often make a product consumption value shift in consumers who buy it (Martono, 2021). Purchasing a product because of social value can also occur due to social encouragement from friends or individuals who have a relationship with the consumer (Azmi et al., 2022). Emotional value lies in the emotional desire to buy the product (Djayapranta & Setyawan, 2023). Conditional value lies in whether the item is useful for a particular situation when the consumer is buying or not (Djayapranta & Setyawan, 2023). Finally, epistemic value, where a person buys a product because of the curiosity that grips him.

2.2. Consumption Value Shift

Consumption value shift is a concept explained by Jean Baurillard, a sociologist and philosopher known in the world of sociology and philosophy in the post-modern era. Shifting consumption values is a situation where people no longer consume goods because of the functional value or utility value of the goods anymore, but rather the symbolic value of the goods (El-Rumi, 2020). In his book entitled "Consumption Society", Baudrillard explains that consumption patterns that occur in the current era have shifted, where modern urban communities who have been smothered with capitalistic values tend to buy products that have symbolic value in society rather than products that have utility value (use value) that must be owned by a product or commodity (El-Rumi, 2020). This can happen because of the construction done by society towards the value of an item. Baudrillard explains that this can happen because of the simulacra or hyperreality mediated through technological media such as television. Although Baudrillard's focus is on how the shift in consumption value occurs due to technology, we can know that the value of an item is the result of the construction that exists in a particular group or society. That is, an item is valuable when society agrees that it has a certain value (El-Rumi, 2020).

Shifting consumption values are common in urban or city communities that tend to be materialistic, consumerist, and full of symbols (Malik et al., 2022). Urban society in general is a society characterized by their hustle and bustle (Razali & Fuadi, 2023). City or urban life is full of symbolic lifestyles that pursue social values and their own satisfaction, or in other words, it can be said to be a hedonistic lifestyle pattern (Nada et al., 2023). Of course, this can happen because of the trend or prestige among urban residents to show and construct themselves that they are financially capable and confident to appear and exist in society. This phenomenon shows how individualistic and precious prestige is to urban society itself (Suteki et al., 2024). This has an impact on egalitarian institutions in urban areas, one of which is educational institutions such as schools.

3. METHOD

The location of this study was SMAN 5 Pekanbaru, located at Jl. Bawal No. 43, Wonorejo, Marpoyan Damai District, Pekanbaru City, Riau Province. This study uses a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach, in which the author describes the characteristics of informants based on their subjective experiences regarding the presence of Mitra-branded school uniforms in the school environment, which then created gaps and segregation among students, and then analyzed them using a theory that can be used as a reference in analyzing the existing topic (Nasir et al., 2023). In this research, the author will focus on answering the existing problem formulation, namely how segregation occurs at SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City and how the mitra's uniform they use can be a manifestation of shifting consumption values among them. For this reason, the authors will focus on describing how the segregation phenomenon occurs and how the mitra's uniforms they use can be a manifestation of shifting consumption values among them. This research will use Sheth's TCV Theory to answer the reasons for using or purchasing mitra's uniforms and Baudrillard's concept of shifting consumption values to answer the segregation phenomenon as a manifestation of shifting consumption values that occur. This research uses non-probability sampling technique with purposive sampling technique in determining the sampling. In this research, the author determines two criteria that must be met to become the author's informant, namely first, that the informant attends or has attended SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City. Second, informants use

or do not use mitra's uniforms. From this sampling technique, the author obtained four informants who met the author's criteria. The author described the informants in the table below.

Table 1. Informant's list

No	Informant's Initial	Status	Was the informant use mitra?
1	MA	Alumni (2010)	No
2	N	Alumni (2018)	No
3	D	Alumni (2018)	No
4	DS	Alumni (2020)	Yes

Source: Primary Data

The table shows the four informants obtained by the author, namely MA, N, D, and DS. The four informants are alumni of SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City who have different years from became an alumni. MA became an alumni in 2010, N and D became alumni in 2018, while DS became an alumni in 2020. This difference in years shows that the phenomenon to be studied still occurs from year to year. From the author's interview notes, there were three informants who did not wear the mitra's uniform when they were in school, namely MA, N, and D, while one of them, DS, is the only one who wore the mitra's uniform. This difference is intended to add data that may be needed for this research. In this study, the main research instruments were interviews and observations, which were then reinforced with supporting instruments such as documentation studies and important notes from findings in the field.

Data collection techniques in this study, the author used interview and non-participant observation techniques. This study used in-depth interviews and observation in the form of field notes as data collection methods. Primary data was obtained from in-depth interviews conducted by the author with four alumni who had and had not worn branded uniforms, to observe the phenomenon of uniform segregation at SMAN 5 Pekanbaru High School. The data collected from the interview process was reinforced by field observations, with the author also taking field notes that served as secondary data to support the existing primary data. In-depth interviews are a data collection technique conducted by researchers by asking various questions related to the core of the research problem to the research subjects directly to obtain in-depth information about a phenomenon (Mazaya & Suliswaningsih, 2023). In-depth interviews were conducted with three informants who had been previously determined to obtain data. After obtaining the data, the author will perform triangulation techniques to validate the existing data. Triangulation is done with a multi-method technique, where the author brings together the data in the interview results and field notes to then validate the match between the two. In this way, the validity and validity of the data can be ensured by the author (Haryoko et al., 2020). The data analysis technique used in this research uses Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model, where the author will attempt to reduce data, present data, and finally draw conclusions (Haryoko et al., 2020). Data reduction is done by sorting out data that is relevant to the topic raised. After reducing the data, data presentation

will be carried out in a descriptive way regarding the results of interviews and what actually happened in the field until finally drawing conclusions.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City is a public high school located at Jl. Bawal 43, Pekanbaru, Riau Province, Indonesia. This school can be considered as one of the favorite schools in Pekanbaru city. SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City, just like other high schools in Indonesia, provides an opportunity for students to take a 3-year education starting from grade 10 to grade 12. Initially, the school was established as Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri 3 Kota Pekanbaru, before it was changed to SMAN 5 Kota Pekanbaru in 1988.

Of course, like any other school, SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City also has rules regarding the uniform worn by its students. Field notes obtained from the author's observations show that there are differences in the uniforms used by the students. Some students that the author observed used the mitra's uniform, and some of them did not use the mitra's uniform. The results of our observations indicate that there is indeed a grouping and separation between students with mitra's and non- mitra's uniforms in their friendship environment. For this reason, the author also asked for further information about this phenomenon from several alumni who were in the school parking lot at that time.

First, the author asked about the schedule of uniform use at the school. According to one of our informants who is an alumnus, M, said that the school uniform rule at SMAN 5 depends on the day. He explained that on Mondays and Tuesdays, they use white and gray uniforms. Then for Wednesday and Thursday, they use special school clothes. Then, on Friday, they use Malay clothes, until finally on Saturday, they use scout clothes.

"Here, on Mondays and Tuesdays, we wear white and gray uniforms, Wednesdays and Thursdays wear special school uniforms, Fridays wear Malay traditional clothes, and on Saturdays, we wear scouts" -MA, Primary data.

The author also asked them whether any uniforms for SMAN 5 were provided or sold by the school itself. One of our informants who is also an alumnus, D, said that the school provides and sells school uniforms that students can buy to be used while at school.

"In every school, students are given school uniforms that come with the school, it's standard, just like in the markets, so we buy them at school. But, most of the students make their own clothes, because indeed, many consider that the clothes sold by the school are standard materials so they wrinkle easily, so first by word of mouth, people started buying uniforms at one of the shops that students often buy clothes from, one of which is called a mitra's, so here many wear uniforms that are mitra's uniforms." -D, Primary data.

From that information, the author learned that the uniforms sold and provided by the school have standard materials and wrinkle easily, so students who attend the school prefer to buy or make uniforms at school clothing stores such as partner stores. The author then asked about the profile and location of the mitra's shop. The mitra's shop itself is a tailor shop that located on Jalan KH Ahmad Dahlan No.77, Sukajadi, Sukajadi Sub-district, Pekanbaru City, Riau, Indonesia. This tailor shop is considered to have fame

among the students of SMAN 5 because it provides school clothes that have premium materials and are shiny when exposed to sunlight.

“So because of the lack of quality clothes from the school, the students here, whether it's their parents or them, started to think about buying additional clothes, one of the tailor shops that provides additional clothes is called the mitra's tailor shop, and this mitra uniforms is not only white and gray clothes, but also special school clothes and scouts. So indeed, this shop is famous for its premium materials and even if we look from afar, their uniforms are shiny when exposed to sunlight, so you can immediately tell if the uniform is a mitra's or not, like there are beads like that if it sparkles. They're not only make school clothes, but also civil servant (PNS) clothes” -MA, Primary data.

Mitra's tailor shops with their premium uniform products have succeeded in causing the assumption that people who buy their products are people who have capital, namely economic capital and can be said to be people from the upper class, while people who cannot afford to buy or wear them are considered people from the lower middle class.

“So, there is a term that people who use mitra's uniforms are considered people who have capital, people who are upper class, while people who wear usual school uniforms, are middle to lower class people” -D, Primary data.

From here, there is an interesting take on the mitra's uniforms. One of our informants who is also an alumnus of SMAN 5, N, told us that there are some students who may not be economically well-off, but force themselves to buy the mitra's uniform. This is done out of prestige and to be able to mix with the social circle of students who have an upper middle class economy.

“So, many of my friends, who may not be economically well-off, but force themselves to buy the mitra's uniform, even though their economy is mediocre, or not from the upper-middle economy, for the sake of prestige, social circles, my friends are forced to buy mitra's uniforms so they can enter and join the circle of friends of people with upper-middle economy” -N, Primary data.

From the informant's statement, we can know that the mitra's uniform has a certain prestige or honor, or high value among students so that it forms circles of friendship in SMAN 5. The phenomenon of friendship circles full of gaps caused SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City to issue a new rule regarding its uniform, where students, in order to avoid gaps, mitra's uniforms became illegal and could not be used at school. Even so, according to D, there are still many students who steal the opportunity to be able to buy and use the mitra's uniform at school.

“So because there is a class gap that occurs, between the middle and upper economic people who wear the mitra's uniform and the students whose economy is middle to lower, there is a regulation from this school, so the mitra's uniform is illegalized, not allowed to be used at school and all students are required to use uniforms from the school, But there are many students who steal (the opportunity), yes if their luck is good, they don't get caught, but if there is a check up, those who are caught by get points, but even though

there is a ban on using the mitra's uniform, the mitra's uniform is still a uniform that has prestige among the students of SMAN 5." -DS, Primary data.

The prestige of mitra's uniforms among students of SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City has led to segregation between groups of students who buy and use mitra's uniforms and students who buy uniforms directly from the school. In the classroom, there are also groups or gangs between students, where the mitra's uniform group is characterized as the children of officials, owning cars, and so on while the non-mitra's uniform group can only be friends with fellow non-mitra's. In fact, according to D, one of our informants, students who wear mitra's uniforms tend to regard non-mitra's students as small people and underestimate them, so they are not suitable to be included in the circle of friends of those who wear mitra's uniforms.

"So, I used to be in IPA from grade 11 to 12, in that class, there were groups or gangs of friends like that, so the mitra's uniforms were friends with (student who use) mitra's uniforms, non-mitra's uniforms were friends with (student who use) non-mitra's uniforms. Usually, the people who wear mitra's uniforms are people with cars, the children of officials in Pekanbaru. The worst thing is, those who wear mitra's uniforms sometimes consider other friends who don't wear mitra's uniforms as small or ordinary people, so sometimes they are underestimated, and can't enter their circle (circle of friends). It's not that they don't care or don't want to be friends, it's just that they will be uncomfortable if there are non-mitra's uniforms." -D, Primary data.

Then, D shared that teachers also treat students in mitra's uniforms differently from students in non-mitra's uniforms. She said that teachers were more likely to be close to students wearing mitra's uniforms than non-mitra's uniforms. They are not hated, but just do not feel emotionally close to the teachers at school. Non-mitra's uniform students are like second graders in the classroom, in the sense that in terms of strata, they are below the mitra's uniform students.

"So those who wear non-mitra's uniforms seem to be lower-class students in the class. The teacher's treatment is also different for those who wear the mitra's and non-mitra's uniforms. Teachers are usually closer to students who wear mitra's uniforms than those who wear non-mitra's uniforms. So, the teacher has a different approach and emotional closeness with them, while those who don't wear the mitra's uniform like me, there is nothing at all, as if we were excluded from the circle of friends by the teachers. We are not hated or shunned by the teachers, but we don't feel the emotional closeness between students and teachers." -D, Primary data.

From this, it can be seen that the mitra's uniform has value, or prestige in the students of SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City, where the mitra's uniform, with its premium material and only owned by students from the middle to upper economic class, succeeds in creating a grouping or segregation with students from the middle to lower economic class who wear non-mitra's uniforms at school.

The author's informant who used to wear the mitra's uniform, DS, said that he wore the uniform because it looked luxurious and to be able to mix with his friends who came from upper-class economic families. He also claimed that wearing the uniform gave him

access to the teachers at the school. Initially, he asked his parents to buy him the mitra's brand uniform. He thought that the standard uniform from the school wrinkled easily, so his parents agreed to his request.

"I actually bought the mitra's uniform because it was luxurious and looked expensive, so there was pride in wearing the uniform. I also bought the uniform because many of my friends had upper-class backgrounds, so to be like them, I also bought and wore the uniform. When I bought the uniform, the teachers realized that it was a mitra's brand uniform, and for some reason I was sometimes included in discussions with the teachers because of the uniform. I used to ask my parents to buy it. I told them that the standard uniform from school wrinkles easily, so they bought the mitra's brand uniform. Actually, it was because all my friends were wearing the mitra's uniform." -DS, Primary data.

The different friendship circles and teacher treatment successfully show that there is a clear grouping or separation between students who wear mitra's and non-mitra's uniforms at the school. This is why some students, like the informant's above, are willing to force themselves to buy mitra's uniforms just for the sake of prestige and being able to join the circle of friends of students who come from middle to upper economic backgrounds. In fact, uniforms, if understood by their utility value or the original value of their use, only function as the official clothing of a student or schoolgirl at school, not for prestige or seeking validation from others. This is in accordance with the regulations of the Ministry of Education, that uniforms should be the same for all, so that there is no gap between students studying in the same school.

Although the school has banned the use of the mitra's uniform, the students who still steal the opportunity to wear or buy the mitra's uniform show how prestigious or how valuable the uniform is among the students of SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City. The uniform has a symbolic value for them, that whoever wears it will be considered as people who come from an upper-middle economic background. As a result, segregation among students occurs, where grouping and separation starts from the circle of friends to the treatment of teachers with students in mitra's and non-mitra's uniforms. This symbolic value successfully obscures the utility value of the uniform. We can examine the phenomenon of mitra's uniforms using Sheth's TCV (Theory of Consumption Value).

If we examine the TCV (Theory of Consumption Value) of Sheth et al, we can understand that the mitra's uniforms worn by students with middle to upper economic background at SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City are consumed or purchased because of the functional value and social value contained in the clothes. Functional value can be seen, that the mitra's uniform has use value, that it is a uniform that can be used for students in SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City to attend school. The mitra's uniform also has good and premium materials, so people will not hesitate to buy the uniform.

If we examine the social value, as said by the author's informants, the mitra's uniform has prestige or value and has a symbolic meaning attached to the uniform itself. The mitra's uniform has prestige, that it is a uniform with premium materials and is only owned by students with a middle to upper economy, creating a valuable value and honor for those who wear it, so that every student who wears it has a symbolic value in themselves. This symbolic value can be seen in how teachers treat those who wear mitra's uniforms differently and the grouping of friendships between them, namely

those with mitra's uniforms and those with non-mitra's uniforms. In addition, students who force themselves to buy the mitra's uniforms show that there is strong social pressure or influence for them to buy the mitra's uniform products even though their economy is not strong in order to get along with their social environment. Here, it appears that social value is more prominent than functional value as a reason for students to use or purchase the mitra's uniform. If they really only think about the utility of the mitra's uniform, then social pressure or influence, circle of friends, and perception of teacher treatment would not be a reference for them to buy and use the mitra's branded uniform.

From all these interviews, we can also see that the mitra's uniforms have experienced a shift in consumption value. Initially, the uniforms were an alternative for students who did not like the uniforms provided directly by the school and had better utility (functional) value due to their premium materials. But gradually, the original utility value of the mitra's uniform became blurred and gave rise to symbolic value, where the uniform was not bought or used because of its better quality than the uniform directly from the school, but because of the symbolic value in the form of the assumption that anyone who wears the uniform can join the friendship environment of students who have a middle to upper economy, and in order to get better treatment from teachers, then the original utility value has indeed shifted to symbolic value. As explained by Baudrillard, the shift of consumption value is common in modern urban society. SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City, which is domiciled in an urban area, is certainly filled with students who come from urban areas, so the shift in consumption values can occur at any time in the school. The mitra's uniforms through the construction of symbolic values that are endorsed by every student and even teachers in the school is what causes the segregation phenomenon.

5. CONCLUSION

From the entire explanation above, two problem formulations have been answered by researchers in this study. First, about how segregation occurs in the school environment. It can be understood that the segregation that occurs between students in SMAN 5 Pekanbaru City is a manifestation of the shifting consumption value of mitra's uniforms. The Informant's said that the circle of friends in the school became segregated where students who wore the mitra's uniform would hang out with students who wore the mitra's uniform, and vice versa. Second, on how the mitra's uniforms they use are a manifestation of the shifting consumption values that occur to them. This section is analyzed with two concepts, namely TCV theory and shifting consumption values. The results of the analysis with TCV theory show that students in the school buy products in the form of mitra's branded uniforms because of the two values that exist in the uniform, namely functional value and social value. When viewed with Baudrillard's concept of shifting consumption values, the utility value of the mitra's uniform is no longer centered on its utility value, but the symbolic value of the uniform. This can be seen from the confessions of the informants who stated that some of them bought the mitra's uniforms not only for function, but also for the prestige of their friendship and self-image, just like urban communities in the modern era.

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