Fashion Granfluencers as a Cultural Intermediary in Fashion and Style
-A Case Study on Iris Apfel-

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Received September 1, 2022; Revised October 6, 2022; Accepted October 21, 2022

Abstract
This study investigated the role of fashion granfluencers as cultural intermediaries in the present digital era. The concept of fashion granfluencer as cultural intermediaries and their fashion style characteristics were defined and examined. The literature on cultural intermediaries, social media, and seniors in the context of fashion was reviewed. Primarily, three characteristics of cultural intermediaries—interactive communication, non-conformist attitude, and aesthetic disposition—were identified and used as analytical variables in this study. Through netnography, 1,452 Instagram posts from the renowned fashion granfluencer Iris Apfel (@iris.apfel) were examined. This study presented Iris as a fashion granfluencer and a senior professional, who uses fashion to express herself and define her identity. As a cultural mediator, she contributes to revitalizing the cultural economy and creating cultural products. Iris Apfel’s fashion and style embody her digital persona. Her engagement in fashion activities—producing fashion content or attending fashion events—mediates the relationship between fashion producers and fashion consumers, thereby promoting the aesthetic value of fashion.

Key words: Fashion granfluencers, Cultural intermediaries, New seniors, Social media, Fashion image

I. Introduction

According to the World Population Aging 2019 report (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019), there were already 702 million people aged 65 and over, representing 9% of the global population. Projections indicate that in 2050, the elderly population will account for 1.5 billion, representing 16% of the total population. As a result, new seniors—individuals whose health and economic status differ from those of the previous generation—are gaining interest as a new consumer class in the aging society. In particular, they are familiar with digital devices and engage in social media activities as frequently as the MZ generation, forming their own fashion culture in the digital space. Seniors, who have traditionally been positioned outside the mainstream in fashion trends, are now positioned as influencers, leading the fashion culture and actively revealing their cultural tastes and lifestyles.

A granfluencer, a portmanteau word that combines “grandmother and influencer,” has a role in regenerating the perspective of the cultural economy within the digital era by sharing their unique values, such as a learning attitude towards life and endless pursuit of identity, appearance, and new experiences. Its role can be found in the concept of a cultural mediator proposed by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. A cultural...
intermediary is a concept from Bourdieu in his work *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1979/1984) and refers to an actor or institution that mediates between cultural producers and consumers and produces cultural products of a new meaning. Today, granfluencers are active in the social media space to create and share fashion content with the digital mainstream, the MZ generation. They are active consumers of fashion products, producers who lead fashion culture, and cultural mediators who create new meanings by intermediating other fashion producers and consumers. The fashion granfluencer's activities and values have contributed to postmodern society culture as they set a new trend and create specific lifestyles for their audiences to consume.

It is significant that exploring the role of fashion granfluencers currently involved in social media and analyzing their fashion styles can enhance the cultural meaning of influencers, develop fashion products for economically powerful new seniors, and establish communication strategies. The rise of granfluencers and the massification of communication channels have given rise to new ways to communicate with audiences who are getting more knowledgeable and empowered in their content consumption and search behaviors. By bridging communication, their involvement in social media, and their role in intermediating other fashion producers and consumers, this research opens a new approach to conceptualizing influencers as strategic communicators. Therefore, this study aimed to define the concept and role of fashion granfluencers in social media and identify the characteristics of their fashion styles.

Research questions to accomplish are: (1) Who are the fashion granfluencers, and can they be defined as cultural mediators? (2) What are the roles of fashion influencers as cultural mediators and the fashion styles they produce? For this purpose, this study focused on Iris Apfel. She is now an active 100-year-old fashion granfluencer. With her unique fashion style, she collaborates with various brands, shares her fashion style with the public, and acts as a cultural intermediary to create and communicate new fashion styles. For this study, images and texts posted on her Instagram account were used. As a single case study, the main concepts were defined through a literature study on new seniors, grand influencers, and cultural intermediaries, and based on this; the empirical case analysis was conducted on Iris Apfel.

II. Literature Review

1. The Emergence of New Seniors

An aging society is predicted in the future, with seniors contributing to the majority of the population once the baby boomers reach the age of 60 (Lanzieri, 2011), which is why there is so much sociological research on age-friendly, silver age, and active senior initiatives. This group is also known as the new seniors. It can be said that the boomer generation and Gen X comprise the new seniors. New seniors are described as the process of maximizing opportunities for health, engagement, and security to improve people's quality of life as people age (World Health Organization [WHO], 2002). They are prepared to deal with aging because they are more aware of health and financial issues. As they age, they must deal with a variety of developmental challenges, including (a) adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health, (b) adapting to retirement and changed income, (c) getting used to losing a spouse and/or a community, (d) formally associating themselves with their present age group and/or new communities, (e) adapting and changing social roles with flexibility, and (f) securing satisfying living arrangements (Turesky & Schultz, 2010). People born between 1946 and 1964 are known as baby boomers, representing one of ageism's most difficult groups to discriminate against. This population will live the longest in recorded history. Their life expectancy has increased significantly during the past century (Egbeelen & Sturgeon, 2006). Moreover, Gen X, which included people born between 1961 and 1979 (Gurău, 2012), is characterized by media and technology savvy, skepticism, and pragmatism, and represents one of the most knowledgeable generations in history (Jack-
son et al., 2011; Littrell et al., 2005). Because of their greater understanding of healthy lifestyles, longer life expectancies, and freer attitudes, they are redefining what it means to be middle-aged. In addition, Hong et al. (2006) observed that new seniors have a strong aesthetic desire to age gracefully and live a good life. With their energetic and independent attitudes, they attempt to enjoy life. They also live a young, active lifestyle, which makes them concerned and conscious of their physical appearances (Kim & Kim, 2020).

Aging is a multidimensional term that is defined from a variety of perspectives (Hess, 2005). However, it can be said that new seniors are a broad concept with a comprehensive strategy that encourages older people to participate in society. Throughout their lives, new seniors have been innovators and change-makers. Unlike the previous generation, the new seniors are considered brighter and more productive; this is likely to have a significant positive impact on the economy (Harvey & Thurnwald, 2009). For instance, the baby boomers are familiar with surfing and purchasing online. They have more purchasing power and a range of requirements and interests, including those for annuities and health items (Coleman et al., 2006). New seniors emphasize a holistic and life-course approach, which includes quality of life, physical and mental well-being, and social participation, resulting in a win-win situation in which individuals, organizations, and society all benefit from the adoption and implementation of active aging policies, strategies, and initiatives (Socci et al., 2020). This perspective has sparked interest in active aging research, which focuses on developing and maintaining abilities and skills that contribute to a better sense of well-being. New seniors attempt to modify and restructure their lives inside a new framework, reestablish relationships with family and friends, and develop a positive ego (Ro & Park, 2017).

Social media generally enables older persons to express themselves, participate in conversations, and keep in touch with society (Lin & Chou, 2013). Some recent seniors have been using digital tools to empower themselves and challenge stereotypes. Within social media, new seniors appear to be reviving fashion communication. They maintain a strong attitude toward age stereotypes in fashion while simultaneously dismissing age and gender stereotyping with humor and elegance. Their content creation is focused on timeless style, ageless activeness, bold beauty, and positive aging (Farinosi & Fortunati, 2020). New seniors are now active, creative content creators, filling a role that was previously only open to younger generations. This has helped to expand the audience and the variety of interested, engaged, and involved followers (Miranda et al., 2022). As previously explained, aging seniors attempt to show themselves positively. With seniors’ adaptation to the digital environment, social media has become the ideal place (Yu et al., 2016). There are several online discussion groups for senior citizens. These communities have revealed that they provide an intellectual and creative outlet for many users, based on content analyses (Nimrod, 2011). Burmeister et al. (2012) also discovered in qualitative research that online networks provide an essential platform for seniors to communicate information about similar life events (e.g., retirement, grief, and health challenges), fostering a mutually supportive group. As Harley and Fitzpatrick (2009) pointed out, technology can aid characteristics of healthy aging, such as social connectivity and co-creativity. Several social networking tools have been developed expressly for seniors; however, as Waycott et al. (2019) pointed out, they generally prioritize content accessibility above content creation.

New seniors represent their generation on social media by expressing their individuality through style, which also became a trend among the young generation. Recently, there are many Instagram accounts dedicated to compiling and appreciating the fashion looks of seniors in their daily lives, fostering a spirit to appreciate the existence of the seniors, and learning from their stories and experiences. Due to the exis-
tence of fashion influencers aged over 70, the fashion ecosystem has been inspired to develop a style appropriate to women of this age, breaking down the cultural barriers that have marked the industry during an era based upon the idea of eternal youth (Farinosi & Fortunati, 2020). Only recently, the fashion industry started to consider this market niche as appealing and profitable (Riley et al., 2012). Designers and advertisers started to recognize this, and the commercial prospects of the market offered for the fashion industry. This phenomenon also represents a significant novelty for new seniors as they can independently create content and share it online due to easy access to social platforms, stepping away from the stereotypes, and sharing their everyday lives. In contrast, the fashion and beauty industries’ desire to use the representation of new seniors is considered a part of contemporary trends, such as inclusion, which aims to offer the diversity of the population in terms of gender, ethnicity, body shape, age, and other factors into the fashion system (Farinosi & Fortunati, 2020).

2. Fashion Granfluencers and Cultural Intermediaries

1) Fashion Granfluencers

Influencers are not a new phenomenon in this day and age. It is common knowledge that humans have been influenced by others since the dawn of time. There have always been leaders who guided and influenced others’ actions, ways of thinking, and attitudes, whether for political, religious, or way of life reasons. Influencers are also considered early adopters and innovators. These are persons who are thought of as leaders in their respective fields. They usually have respect and a good reputation in their field of competence. Today’s concept of social media influencers emphasizes the widespread distribution of content throughout many social media platforms. According to Parameswaran (2018), influencers have an above-average capacity for influencing others and features like communication frequency, individual persuasiveness, or social network centrality. Keller and Berry (2003) also define influencers in terms of the number of followers and reach; influencers are highly connected and have a higher number of followers than other types of groups. From an online perspective and throughout this study, we connect the term fashion influencer with the term fashion blogger. Furthermore, Uzunoğlu and Misci Kip (2014) described bloggers as content creators and becoming digital influencers skilled at connecting with users through social media networks. Social media influencers or bloggers have a huge online audience and traffic on their own publishing platforms and blogs.

In today’s world, social media has provided seniors with a great opportunity to participate in public debates by allowing them to express their voices, affiliate with one another, and display alternative images not found in traditional media; it is also critical to recognize that the architecture of social media today encourages not only self-presentational but also self-promotional values (Williamson, 2016). Influencers use personalized persuasive methods to target their followers and accomplish communicative outcomes (Rohde & Mau, 2021). This communicative interaction complements the involvement of the digital space because influencers are expected to display their personality according to the image they display on their social media. Using the affordances of new technologies, new seniors can autonomously and strategically manage their own image, controlling how their identities and cultures are received, whereas, in mainstream media, they have no choice but to rely on traditional gatekeepers/celebrities to represent their cultures and identities (Abidin, 2018). New seniors who have finally mastered the digital world, generate significant engagement, and have massive followers are known as granfluencers. Like other influencers, these granfluencers share their personal stories, impart messages and ideals to their millions of followers, and develop content subjects. Iris Apfel (@iris.apfel), for instance, primarily creates content about fashion and lifestyle, while Joan MacDonald (@trainwithjoan) focuses on exercise and healthy tips, and Park Mak-rye (@korea_grandma) creates cooking and entertainment con-
tent. Each person communicates uniquely and participates in the digital world differently, involving diverse subjects and activities that create a varied audience. However, what makes them equal is the honesty and transparency in the content they provide. Though the granfluencers sign with particular brands for paid partnerships, many audiences still see the granfluencers' posts as more authentic than other typical influencers.

Fashion, particularly clothing and accessories, can represent and project those identities and other personal values (Kivnick, 2021). Boyd Thomas and Lee Okleshen Peters (2009) stated that most seniors describe themselves according to their social roles and interpersonal relationships. Their outlook and fashion choices are also impacted, as well as their sense of self. They seem to adhere to a dress code specific to a certain generation, which affects how they think and act. Senior women adopted fashion as a way of life. Fashion for senior women is more than just clothing; it also refers to personal care (such as hair and nails), accessories (such as shoes, jewelry, and bags), and attitude (i.e., wearing appropriate clothing, always looking one's best, and having good manners). Through their fashion-related self-presentation, their unique fashion sense relates to the importance of their social relationships, and their awareness relates to appropriate behavior. It can be concluded that the majority of seniors see fashion as a means of self-expression and defining their identity. In this instance, fashion granfluencers have the capacity to influence; thus, they develop into a figure who uses fashion as their main identity to describe their values and convey personal stories and messages through various types of content on social media. Within this explanation, the fashion granfluencers gained their symbolic power from their economic, social, and cultural capital, which is highly prized within the profession. Within social media platforms, fashion granfluencers are professionals in the fashion sector who focus on the relationship between cultural and economic practices and play a huge part in revitalizing the perspective of the cultural economy. Fashion granfluencers are included in contemporary conceptions of cultural intermediaries as they contribute to the content creation of cultural items.

2) The Concept of Cultural Intermediaries

A cultural mediator means a mediator between cultural producers and consumers. It reproduces and creates meaning in the middle of the two and plays a role in spreading culture between producers and consumers. Cultural intermediaries have been examined in a variety of ways: as representatives of the new middle class engaged in the mediation of production and consumption (Bourdieu, 1979/1984, 1996); as market actors engaged in the qualification of goods, mediating between economy and culture (Maguire & Matthews, 2012); and as filling-in-the-gap actors who reproduce rather than bridge the gap between production and consumption (Negus, 2002). The main focus of the theory of cultural intermediation is how some occupations have to possess more social and cultural capital than others. It explained that representation and symbolic creation are essential to their work because they enable them to form an emotional connection with the thing, place, person, or object they represent. The introduction of the idea of cultural intermediaries has benefited particular occupational groups. Due to the emphasis placed on the constrained and reductionist notions of cultural aesthetics, some individuals are given a significant role in this process of symbolic mediation. Therefore, the concepts of culture as a whole way of life seem to be partly ignored or forgotten, or applied exclusively to some individuals who engage in symbolic activities. Cultural intermediaries have a role in creating and distributing acceptable cultural categories (Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Thus, cultural mediators have an impact that goes beyond how certain objects are framed. On the one hand, they support the wider replication of legitimacy as the prevailing convention for cultural stratification, and as a result, they support the inclusion or marginalization of particular groups, cultural forms, and behaviors. On the other hand, they help to broaden the notion of what it means to be cultural, identifying new contexts and facets of daily life as cultural challenges.
3) Properties of Cultural Intermediaries

The significance of cultural intermediaries is described in terms of three key properties: interactive communicator, nonconformist attitudes, and aesthetic dispositions. These aspects relate to the interpretation of context, roles, and defining the attributes of a cultural intermediary. According to the relevant literature we adapted, summarized data has been shown in (Table 1).

(1) Interactive Communicator

In this property, cultural intermediaries play a considerable role in showcasing how products can match a specific lifestyle. Bourdieu (1979/1984) expressed cultural intermediaries as a group of tastemakers whose work is part of an economy that requires the production of particular tastes (Maguire & Matthews, 2010). The idea of cultural intermediaries has the main advantage of emphasizing the individuals who stand between creative artists and consumers, or in other words, production and consumption. It also indicates divergence from unidirectional or transmission theories of cultural production in favor of an approach that views workers as active connectors or articulators between production and consumption (Negus, 2002). In this property, cultural mediators can offer and exchange value to determine how these values can be presented to consumers through various methods of persuasion. This process aims to create a sense of identification between potential customers and marketable products. This is also related to the symbolic goods that Bourdieu illustrated, for instance, the bond between journalists and readers or young people with trendy cosmetic products. Cultural mediators constantly explain and communicate the value of the goods through their cultural contents; they can provide insight into why a product is essential to buy and why consumers need it. When there is a gap in production between the producer and consumer, cultural intermediaries offer to fill the gap by seeking to build engaging relationships.

(2) Nonconformist Attitude

Maguire and Matthews (2012) stated that cultural intermediaries carry out creative processes and entrepreneurial collectivism in their role. The resistant attribute usually reproduces the mainstream industry's opposing methods, ideas, and economics. Even though they are against mainstream culture, they have value within a segment of the group. Cultural intermediaries have power relations within the entire cultural landscape. They are able to present a resistant attribute that is somehow accepted by a specialized section of the population. Cultural intermediaries are against mainstream culture; they have value within a segment of the group.

(3) Aesthetic Disposition

Only certain people with certain knowledge can perceive the aesthetic generated and delivered by cultural intermediaries. The culture capital is connected to the aesthetic disposition as it is associated with an individual's knowledge, skills, or education. Their creative role, identity, charisma, and beauty as a part of the expression are critical to analyzing cultural intermediaries.

### Table 1. Properties of cultural intermediaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Key words</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interactive communicator</td>
<td>Producer, Consumer, Communicator</td>
<td>- Symbolic production is central to the work of cultural intermediaries.</td>
<td>- Bourdieu (1987)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Cultural intermediaries play a critical role in connecting production to consumption.</td>
<td>- Maguire and Matthews (2010)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Cultural intermediaries bridge the distance between producers and consumers by interpreting and transferring the culture values.</td>
<td>- Negus (2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonconformist attitude</td>
<td>Against mainstream culture, Power, Segmented people</td>
<td>- Cultural intermediaries have power relations within the entire cultural landscape.</td>
<td>- Maguire and Matthews (2012)</td>
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<td>- Cultural intermediaries are able to present a resistant attribute that is somehow accepted by a specialized section of the population.</td>
<td>- Flew (2013)</td>
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<td>- Cultural intermediaries are against mainstream culture; they have value within a segment of the group.</td>
<td>- Bourdieu (1979/1984)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aesthetic disposition</td>
<td>Self-expression, Tastemaker, Creative role</td>
<td>- Only certain people with certain knowledge can perceive the aesthetic generated and delivered by cultural intermediaries.</td>
<td>- Bourdieu (1979/1984)</td>
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<td>- Roose (2008)</td>
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are defined by free-spirited creativity motivated by a desire to build new relationships between production and consumption and have power relations within the entire cultural landscape (Holt, 2004). Since the advent of the creative industries and mass manufacturing in the mid-twentieth century, the idea emerged that cultural activity can be an intersection between culture, economy, and sociology (Flew, 2013). This property also underlines that cultural intermediates are involved in ideologies that continue to contrast between the privileged and the popular, the limited and the mass, and the creative with the commercial (Maguire & Matthews, 2012), facing an occasion where they have to decide which mass-market products reflect their taste and values. According to Bourdieu (1979/1984), a cultural intermediaries' personal taste refers to a self-presentation focused on occupational practice, or the process of production and consumption that is connected with arts, media, and other fields of cultural production. To put it simply, cultural intermediaries' resistant attributes do not push people to buy things or to have particular desires; rather, they provide a condition that can assist people in recognizing their own taste in specific goods.

(3) Aesthetic Disposition

This property refers to people's underlying expectations and deep thoughts toward arts from an empirical perspective (Bourdieu, 1979/1984). Aesthetic disposition is about how we conceive the world as its form, or in other words, to perceive things from an aesthetic standpoint rather than for their functional sides, an ability to bridge between the psychology and sociology of aesthetics. Bourdieu (1996) outlined the importance of social origin along with the cultural capital and dispositions necessary for the cultural intermediaries to accomplish their work. The culture capital is connected to the aesthetic disposition as it is associated with an individual's knowledge, skills, or education. By this means, only certain people with certain knowledge can perceive the aesthetic generated and delivered by cultural intermediaries. The higher class will likely see a few points of life from an aesthetic perspective, and the working class would rather focus on functional things. In previous research regarding the relationship between cultural capital and aesthetic disposition, Roose (2008) described classical music and its shows as having a specific audience segment from a different socio-demographic composition, thereby varying in their expectations about music. In this case, cultural intermediaries are the ones who have knowledge of their market and determine its characteristics; they view their profession as an expression of their disposition and taste rather than as an act of selling.

III. Methodology

In order to define the role and fashion style of fashion granfluencers on Instagram, major concepts were defined through literature research and based on this, images and posts posted on Iris Apfel's Instagram account were case-analyzed. The specific research methods are as follows. First, cultural intermediaries are defined into three properties – interactive communicator, nonconformist attitudes, and aesthetic disposition – as the embodiment of the character that is interpreted from the cultural intermediary theory. In this work, the cultural intermediaries' properties are used as an analytical variable in implementing content analysis. Second, the research methodology used for this study is netnography. Netnography combines ethnography with the "net" or the Internet. According to Kozinets (2002), netnography is based on the reflective narratives that people post online. As a result, netnography is the study of developing cultures and societies through computer-mediated communication through the lens of cultural anthropology, and this methodology is carried out by adapting and integrating the concepts of ethnographic research (Kozinets, 2002). In this study, Instagram photos were examined as visual documents, and the captions attached to each post were also examined to fully comprehend the characteristics of cultural intermediaries that were presented on Iris Apfel's social media accounts.

Instagram’s form is known for visual communication and social connection and has grown to be one of the most popular social media platforms. With 500 mil-
lion monthly active users, Instagram has become the world's most popular and largest photo-sharing social networking site (DMR, 2017). According to Djafarova and Bowes (2021), when compared to the other three major social networking sites, Instagram users had the greatest rankings for expressing affection and following fashion trends. For the fashion sector, Instagram allows users to become stylists, models, and photographers of their own looks by providing a wider variety in an accessible way to convey fashion and style (Duffy & Wissinger, 2017). Instagram serves as a platform to record identity construction through clothing (Rocamora, 2011) and allows us to see the users' fashion preferences and styles. Specifically for fashion granfluencers, aside from expressing their fashion tastes, they are receiving recognition for being authentic versions of themselves. Followers or so-called dedicated fans of fashion granfluencers consist of the same-age fellow seniors and young people. Fashion brands and advertising agencies embrace the opportunity for brand partnerships and collaboration with fashion granfluencers as consumers are demanding authenticity and realness. With this set of situations, fashion granfluencers have contributed to representing more diverse content on social media.

For this study, Iris Apfel was selected out of a wide range of granfluencers as she is actively engaged on Instagram. Since the success of social networking is largely determined by its engagement rate (Kietzmann et al., 2011), to measure and get a more valid engagement rate for Iris Apfel, checks were made through three different Instagram engagement rate calculators. Results of Iris Apfel's engagement rate fall within 1.10% (Phlanx, n.d.), 1.25% (GRIN, n.d.), and 1.20% (MightyScout, n.d.) According to industry standards, an indicator between 1% to 3% is considered a good engagement rate. In summary, it reveals that Iris Apfel interacts well with her audience.

In the fashion sphere, The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute selected Iris Apfel for the subject of the exhibition where her collection of costume jewelry and style is displayed on mannequins, demonstrating her great recognition in the fashion industry. At the age of 97, she got a modeling contract with IMG and made an appearance in Albert Maysles' 2014 film, Iris. Under Instagram account name @iris.apfel, she confidently posts unique yet inspiring content. In comparison to other social media platforms, Instagram has a more “democratic” approach (Entwistle & Wissinger, 2021), enabling users of various ages, backgrounds, and talents to showcase a variety of aesthetics and more dynamic aspects. Iris Apfel is believed to be the most notable tastemaker in fashion, according to the Business of Fashion. Her existence as a tastemaker often becomes the object of a documentary, fashion campaigns, exhibitions, and magazine covers. Iris Apfel undeniably holds power as an influencer—in her collaboration with H&M, she inspired the consumers that it is possible to find originality in styling. Aside from fashion, she utilizes her powerful account to cross-collaborate in hopes of encouraging the audience to bring about certain positive behavioral changes. For instance, the non-profit organization Bone Health and Osteoporosis Foundation (BHOF) partnered with Iris Apfel and American ballet dancer Tiler Peck to promote the important prevention of osteoporosis for the younger generation. One thousand four hundred and fifty-two posts from Iris Apfel's Instagram page were investigated, starting with her first post in December 2014 when she tagged @maccosmetics under the image of her wearing her iconic big, black, round glasses and red lipstick, until the latest post in August 2022. For the data collection, according to the data policy of Meta Platforms, Inc., Instagram is an open space and it allows scholars and academics to conduct research by using the content (Meta, n.d.). However, to ensure adherence to the ethical values and principles underlying research regarding the individual represented in the image, an IRB exception was submitted and approved (No. 7001066-202206-HR-037).

As we perform content analysis for this study, the image of Iris Apfel is selected by 10 experts, including master's students, Ph.D. students, lecturers with master's degrees, and fashion practitioners (fashion designers, fashion marketers, creative directors, etc.) within the fashion field. The authors selected 50 photographs
from Iris Apfel's Instagram account according to the properties of the cultural intermediaries that we applied for image selection. In selecting the images, the most relevant and representative images were selected to give a contrasting sight of each cultural intermediaries' property. From 50 images, the experts chose four out of 10 images for each property, and a total of 20 images were selected for the content analysis of this study.

IV. Analysis and Result

1. Fashion Granfluencer as a Cultural Intermediary

1) Digital Fashion and Cultural Product Interpreter

Fashion granfluencers tend to be involved in the process of fashion production, consumption, and other areas of cultural production in the digital environment. Thus, for this particular property, the fashion granfluencers are revealed in three attributes - fashion producer of new senior's lifestyle, fashion curator through consuming a new senior taste, and communicator between new senior taste and the public. As fashion producers, fashion granfluencers demonstrate an ability to express themselves as new seniors by creating various interesting content on social media related to fashion, such as giving style inspiration or posting a fashionable look in a high-quality picture. Besides producing new seniors' lifestyles, they also consume a particular brand, style, and other products or services that match their lifestyle, ultimately reflecting them as fashion consumers. In the previous study, Negus (2002) stated that cultural intermediaries explain to the audience the use and value of specific products. For this reason, fashion granfluencers are also viewed as communicators. Within social media, creating engaging content and long-lasting relationships is one of the main objectives for influencers (Tafesse & Wood, 2021); as a consequence, many brands and other institutions collaborate with fashion granfluencers to interpret particular messages or values and convince audiences why a certain product or service is worth using or buying.

(1) As a Fashion Producer of New Senior's Lifestyle

Due to the rise of digital technology, people have shifted their media consumption from print to online-based media, particularly Instagram. As a result, with proficiency in creating relevant content, engaging stories, and appealing visuals, influencers can rapidly gain popularity and massive attention from audiences through accumulating cultural capital (McQuarrie et al., 2013). One of the core aspects of fashion granfluencers as cultural intermediaries is that they produce personal and professional content for their community and followers. As shown in <Fig. 1>, Iris Apfel professionally worked with the magazine Palm Beach Illustrated in a special edition titled ‘Timeless Style’ as a cover model. Iris Apfel is known for her long, well-lived life, and therefore her identity as a fashion icon aligned with the special anniversary edition of Palm Beach Illustrated, highlighting how old the magazine has been in the industry. As a part of this project, Iris Apfel expressed her feelings through her caption in <Fig. 1> stating that she was very excited for being an antique cover girl. This activity places her in the role of fashion producer, enabling her to generate cultural values and deliver them to society. Cultural intermediaries play a significant role in the distribution of already existing creative and cultural commodities; they frequently engage in both production and consumption-related activities (Stachowiak, 2019).

It also can be seen in <Fig. 2>, besides facilitating the flow of goods and matching sellers with consumers, Iris Apfel is involved in the making and development of the final value of products, even though several professionals are certainly involved during the production, such as photographer who takes the picture and a graphic designer who puts effort and creativity into the design cover, and the makeup artist that is responsible for enhancing the facial appearance of Iris Apfel. Her profession as a fashion granfluencer becomes the center of this production.

<Fig. 3> portrayed another characteristic of fashion granfluencers as fashion producers. Despite a strong role to connect with consumers or audiences through various methods, fashion granfluencers also shape pro-
products or services in a certain kind of way. In the occupation of cultural intermediaries, personal taste and professional judgment are merged. The evidence is seen in the image as Iris Apfel seemed to be participating in the creative process of production, and her sense of fashion greatly influenced her professional work. <Fig. 4> depicts Iris Apfel’ book, Iris Apfel: Accidental Icon; within the cultural intermediaries sphere, she is considered a tastemaker as her book only fits into specific audiences, which in this case are her loyal fans or followers. This shows how in her capacity as a producer, Iris takes responsibility for “crafting” the narrative or story of her book.

(2) As a Fashion Curator through Consuming a New Senior Taste

Aside from producing content, fashion influencers also identified themselves as consumers. Influencers, in general, have many common interests with their audience or followers; for instance, they have similar interests, demographic, life stages, or live events (Campbell & Farrell, 2020). Even though Iris Apfel is classified as a mega-influencer as she acquired a significant growth of her followers and gained celebrity status from her professionalism and expertise, she can nurture a strong connection with her followers by providing them with authentic content. This characteristic is seen in her Instagram post where she uses particular products or services. For instance, <Fig. 5> expressed how Iris Apfel showed interest in home-living-related products. In the image, she holds a cashmere blanket from Diadem NYC Home Collection, showing her profound background as an interior designer influenced the way she chose a particular home-furnishing brand with her artistic values–high-fashion styling, the finest fabric, and animal pattern which in fashion appeared to elevate women's style and give a luxurious feeling. Iris Apfel’ consumption decision in choosing particular products builds a cultural legitimacy that influences others' tastes. In <Fig. 6>, Iris Apfel is seen carrying a dark maroon paper bag from a five-star luxury hotel named Sacher, known for having notable guests and meeting points for aristocrats, politicians, business people, and artists. The cultural capital she obtained as a fashion influencers led her to be a part of that notable guest. As Holliday and Cairnie (2007) explained, cultural capital can be embedded within any field to which the actors are required to adhere. Her decision to live this lifestyle can subtly convey to others what should be consumed and what is perceived to have great taste. Though the image does not directly provide detailed information about the hotel, Iris Apfel as a cultural intermediary can, directly and indirectly, boost the online visibility of Hotel Sacher and affect other consumers or other cultural intermediaries.

Despite her luxurious lifestyle as a fashion influencers, <Fig. 7> exhibits Iris Apfel's role as a regular
consumer of fashion products. Through her post, Iris Apfel was trying on a pair of embroidered flat shoes at a local store when she visited Hong Kong. The image was captured naturally, showing her more-daily-casual outfit compared to the extravagant and colorful outfit she usually wears in a typical fashion event, photoshoot, or gathering. On top of everything, the image displayed a glimpse of Iris Apfel experiencing the local culture. Lonergan et al. (2018) stated that authenticity and a sense of style are crucial in order to provide people with a more realistic perspective of the fashion industry. Aside from closely linking to cultural capital, the world of fashion is also determined by the performance of fashion professionals who are in it, such as fashion models, fashion granfluencers, and others. In the post featured in <Fig. 8>, Iris Apfel describes her feeling of joy when she gets a toy from Fisher-Price, an American company that produces educational toys for child's development. This demonstrates another lifestyle lived by Iris Apfel as a fashion granfluencer. In <Fig. 8> caption, she expressed that having the toy with Mickey Mouse and Pluto characters brings her childhood memories back. As a cultural mediator, Iris Apfel intervened in the process of creating value and meaning, in this case, by explaining the message of Disney, which is recognized for presenting the ideal balance of traditional and contemporary storytelling for every age.

(3) As a Communicator between New Senior Taste and the Public

The main factor influencing this character is Bourdieu's (1979/1984) concept of ‘Match-maker,’ which emphasizes, in a mutual sense, the interaction between Iris Apfel and her followers conversing about the same topic and having an impact on one another. As a fashion granfluencers, Iris Apfel is also a part of digital influencers. Hutchinson (2020) pointed out digital influencers are a new genre of cultural intermediaries which have evolved largely to the development of social media. They are able to communicate with their massive audiences to convey the value of the certain objects they identified as “cool.” As in <Fig. 9>, the collaboration between Iris Apfel and Judith Leiber NY displays a collection of eccentric handbags. Iris Apfel becomes an inspiration for the design of this evening handbag coming of her own unique style. Iris Apfel added the caption, “I am delighted to announce that I have partnered my friends at @judithleiber to create a collection of crystal-covered minaudières!” This demonstrates that Iris Apfel has the authority and responsibility to communicate this collection as a fashion influencer and the creator of the products.

The next is Iris Apfel's campaign with TWYLA, ‘Art Connects Us,’ which is shown in <Fig. 10>. Iris Apfel captured with a cashmere blanket from Diadem NYC Home Collection. Adapted from Iris.apfel (2021a). https://www.instagram

Iris Apfel is seen carrying a paper bag from Hotel Sacher, Wien (Austria). Adapted from Iris.apfel (2018c). https://www.instagram

Iris Apfel is seen shopping for shoes in Hong Kong. Adapted from Iris.apfel (2017a). https://www.instagram

Iris Apfel is seen holding a toy from Disney. Adapted from Iris.apfel (2020b). https://www.instagram
Apfel is pictured with collage artist James Gortner, who uses paintings as inspiration for his own creations. TWYLA is a business in the digital art world that connects consumers with limited artworks from notable contemporary artists, revolutionizing the way people purchase art using interactive websites to build cultural capital. In this campaign, they believe that a collage artist and fashion icon is a master of transformation since they can create something new by assembling the unexpected. To share what is referred to as digital cultural capital, intermediaries establish and assess social and commercial links. In particular, through the accumulation and display of cultural capital in the consumption economy, in this case, Iris Apfel significantly impacts how consumers experience brands. This can also be seen clearly from the caption that Iris put, “I am excited to share that I am part of @twyla's new beautiful campaign #ArtConnectsUs. They had paired me with one of their talented artists, a lovely man named @jamesgortner, and we had such a good time talking about art and collecting on set.” This caption shows that she builds trust with her audience by emphasizing her participation in this campaign.

Fig. 11 shows the collaboration between Iris Apfel and well-known fast fashion brand H&M. In this content campaign, Iris Apfel expressed her thought that being true to our self is the key to great style. This figure shows Iris Apfel’s style and perspective of fashion being the main inspiration for this campaign. To communicate the message and values of the campaign to audiences, in the caption of her post, she announced her collaboration with H&M and promoted the product. Iris Apfel creates a collective consciousness by activating an ideal value in the market, indicating her role as a cultural mediator stimulates followers to visualize themselves as or in connection to reality. Iris Apfel’s expertise as a fashion granfluencer cultivates effective engagement in cultural belief systems. Fig. 12 shows an Iris Apfel-inspired Barbie doll. The appearance of the doll does an excellent job of portraying Iris Apfel’s fashion style. This indicates that Iris can determine herself as an icon who is accepted by others by embracing her fashion taste. In this study, it is evident that fashion granfluencers as digital cultural intermediaries play an essential mediating role in the relationship between the targeted audience and products, to communicate the values of particular cultural production to the targeted market and encourage their cultural consumption.

2) Senior Fashion Negotiator

According to the definition that has been explained and refers to the next property, fashion granfluencers possess an anti-mainstream and distinct style from most current seniors. Schiffman and Sherman (1991)
observed that members of the new seniors' market segment are selectively innovative. Consumer values from an age-based perspective have shown that valuing comfort or ease increases with age (Lu & Shih, 1997), and according to Nam et al. (2007), preferences for fit and comfort were somewhat more valued than fashionable products. As a result, mainstream senior consumers' higher views of attractive fashion items may reflect a more “selective” or comfort-benefit definition of fashion. This is the polar opposite of fashion granfluencers Iris Apfel's fashion. Iris Apfel's signature look, which included round glasses, costume jewelry, and printed garments, made her a recognizable figure in the fashion industry (Kim & Kim, 2020). The most significant aspect of Iris Apfel's fashion style is maximalism rather than comfort. Although this fashion style does not conform to widely popular style trends of the times that have widespread popularity, the ability of fashion granfluencers as cultural intermediaries can present a resistant attribute that is somehow accepted by a specialized section of the population. Other cultural intermediaries' attributes, such as personal taste and aesthetics, as well as personal attitudes, are connected to cultural intermediaries' role in nonconformist property because fashion can also contribute to the depiction of ideas, emotions, and personalities. Anti-mainstream fashion can be attributed to a wide selection of styles, and the acquisition of clothing and accessories can come from various sources (Keblusek & Giles, 2017).

Instagram provides an environment for visualizing everyday life aesthetically and for individuals to express and find identity through fashion (Suh, 2020). In this case, Iris Apfel makes the best use of Instagram to showcase her one-of-a-kind style against the mainstream concept of seniors who generally pursue comfort, simplicity, and more straightforward fashion products (Nied & Franklin, 2002). However, her signature style has been acquired throughout years of going through various life experiences. This also demonstrates how her nonconformist look is a form of self-expression to disclose her sincere story and daily life. For these particular properties, we will emphasize Iris Apfel' fashion style, especially what items she uses to convey more effectively how her sense of style differs from most people's. <Fig. 13> shows Iris Apfel standing with Angela Lui at the National Arts Club. They are in the after-party event because Iris Apfel wrote the caption “Afterparty #fauxfur” in this post. With her choice of brightly colored clothing, she creates an attractive appearance. Iris Apfel appearance in this photo stands out in strong contrast to Angela Lui's due to the colorful color selections she makes. She has qualities that differentiate her from ordinary people's styles, making her a one-of-a-kind figure. Their assertion that their professional contributions are unique and different, proves that tools and attitudes are linked in practice. In <Fig. 14>, Iris Apfel is photographed with Fern Mallis, the founder of New York Fashion Week. They are at the 92nd Street Y, New York's global culture, connection, and enrichment center. She emphasized the meeting with Fern Mallis about her book through her caption in <Fig. 14>. Iris Apfel is shown with a variety of accessories and vivid red clothing, in contrast to Fern Mallis who appears simple in this photograph. Fern Mallis is also a new senior, but her fashion sense is more mainstream, whereas Iris Apfel is outstanding. Cultural intermediates have a truly distinctive quality owing to their unique senses, which is one appealing aspect of the character using their personality, experience, and sense of taste.

<Fig. 15> shows Iris Apfel in West Palm Beach, Florida. Iris Apfel is pictured in her magnificent attire while carrying the walking stick she typically uses. She expresses her actual identity through her signature maximalist fashion style, but she can still express herself despite the changes in her physical condition due to her age. Even though she is only standing on the sidewalk, Iris Apfel looks incredibly vibrant in her appearance. Iris Apfel persona exemplifies an ongoing process in the network of cultural viewpoints. Additionally, due to her legitimization, she demonstrates through her persona that she is qualified to be regarded as a cultural intermediary. <Fig. 16> illustrates Iris Apfel's role as a nonconformist fashion granfluencer. Iris Apfel was seen attending the Pirch store's opening
party, regarding her caption “@pirch #storeopening @savvvstuart @mk.stuart @mackenzieroot @jillian.stuart.” She included the usernames of the individuals who participated in the photo with her, including MacKenzie Rot and the Stuart Sisters (Mikayla, Jillian, and Sav); four of them are from the younger generation. To access the role of cultural intermediaries in the fashion and digital sphere, we need to pay attention to the networks, coalitions, and engagements of cultural intermediaries, their selection processes, their personalities, their strategies and discourses, and finally, their practices. Furthermore, Iris Apfel emphasizes her role as a cultural intermediary through this photo. She has complete nonconformist characteristics, with other aspects obvious, particularly in the social sphere.

3) New Seniors’ Artistic Tendencies and Fashion Preferences
Citing Bourdieu (1979/1984), “They sell so well because they believe in what they sell” (p. 365). In the case of fashion granfluencers who have a particular aesthetic sense, they do not see their work heavily on materials or numbers related to commercialization, because the characteristic of cultural intermediaries works lay on the expression of their tastes and dispositions (Maguire & Matthews, 2014). Fashion granfluencers have refined opinions about their artistic preferences, resulting from their emphasis on self-presentation in both their personal and professional expertise. Through a powerful online presence, they can shape the consumer’s perceptions and behavior in a particular market. As taste is considered one of the most important aspects of aesthetic disposition, thus, only a group audience with a specific class or taste can appreciate the work of fashion granfluencers. To analyze this property of granfluencers as cultural intermediaries, their creative role, identity, charisma, and beauty will be the center of investigation as those are part of fashion granfluencers’ expression that gets much attention from the audiences or consumers.

Cultural intermediaries participate in work practices that result in aesthetic and commercial hierarchies. This work practice has developed and shaped historically due to greater social differences. This occurs where beliefs, behaviors, and aesthetic dispositions of the cultural intermediaries that create a maximalist style of fashion granfluencer contribute to developing a new style among the seniors as a form of self-expression. Cultural intermediaries establish a set of limits, create social divisions, and create long-lasting aesthetic hierarchies through their access to the culture industry. As mentioned before, their creative role, identity, charisma, and beauty as part of expression are essential for analyzing this property. As revealed in
<Fig. 17>, the image presents Iris Apfel's style in full shot mode, allowing the audience to observe her unique style from head to toe. According to Maguire and Matthews (2010), the cultural intermediaries are not only cultural producers but also their own ideal consumers. Iris has a prominent role in this symbolic mediation process by focusing on the aesthetic idea of culture and defining representation, meaning, and symbolism as elements of culture.

The next <Fig. 18> shows an image of Iris Apfel captured in the mid-shot mode. She wears Zenni's unique glasses product with a red leopard pattern which perfectly fits her personality. This image shows that only people with particular knowledge and specific tastes can feel the aesthetics produced and conveyed by Iris Apfel. It is essential to consider the appearance and aesthetic disposition while analyzing cultural intermediary activity. They take part in shaping what is defined as art and take on the task of strengthening audience interpretive skills towards particular products.

The same with <Fig. 19> there are a lot of elements in this photoshoot, mostly in leopard or tiger prints, including the clothes she wears. Again, this kind of aesthetic may not be accepted by everyone. However, that does not imply that nobody dislikes it. Consistent with the caption she gave in this post, which pointed out that leopard never changes its spots. Undoubtedly, there is a market for those who prefer the leopard motif. The value of artistic output must be preserved without interference from outside forces and the need to take market demand into consideration. Last but not least, in <Fig. 20>, the tropical-themed backdrop and surroundings are pleasant. Iris Apfel expressed her feelings about her excitement for summer through her caption in <Fig. 20>. Iris Apfel's uniqueness and eccentric taste and her interpretation of summer are found in this image. Everyone has their own disposition to describe how summer is, including Iris Apfel as a cultural intermediary. However, what separates Iris Apfel and others is that Iris Apfel's attractiveness as a fashion granfluencer is having access to her own closed community institutions through helping to popularize certain cultural practices that are still marginalized.

2. The Fashion Style of a Granfluencer

With her contributions to the fashion and textile industries, Iris Apfel has earned a reputation as a fashion icon. As a fashion granfluencer, Iris Apfel is seemingly excited to have the chance to share her vibrant
and cheerful perspective on fashion. As in <Fig. 1>, Iris Apfel's choice of clothes for the Palm Beach Illustrated cover appears highly extravagant, with a patterned garment that is predominately black and gold in color. Iris Apfel also wears a large gold bracelet and a bohemian-style necklace. She also uses glasses with the shape of the number 100. This is related to the issue of Palm Beach Illustrated magazine that talks about Iris Apfel, who is now 100 years old, and her timeless style at that age. Furthermore, still in the same context, in <Fig. 2> Iris Apfel becomes the cover of ELLE magazine for the 250th edition. Iris Apfel is dressed in a bathrobe and appears to be at ease but nonetheless extravagant due to her colorful makeup and ethnic jewelry. In this image, she also wears her iconic round glasses. Next, Iris Apfel is depicted in <Fig. 3> getting ready for a trunk show at a studio. Even though she is a fashion granfluencer, she still dresses based on the occasion by choosing more casual outfits than her typical look. Moving to <Fig. 4>, on the cover of her book Iris Apfel: Accidental Icon, Iris Apfel is seen in a green matching set and wears a vintage collared shirt to complete the look. She maintains her iconic persona by wearing a statement necklace accessory and a pair of rounded glasses. In <Fig. 5>–<Fig. 8>, Iris Apfel's outfits look much simpler due to her role as a consumer so the occasions she attends are more casual events such as shopping and going on a trip. Besides, in this section, there are many photos of herself at home, so the clothes she wears are casual and more relaxed. Nevertheless, what we can still highlight from Iris Apfel's style, her round black frame glasses are always with her, no matter where she is. Additionally, she wears various accessories and patterned clothing in <Fig. 6>–<Fig. 7> to make herself look stunning and unique because she is leaving the house. Iris Apfel can more effectively communicate her character and personality through the clothes and accessories she wears. Next, <Fig. 9> shows Iris Apfel posing for her eccentric collection of collaboration works with Judith Leiber NY. In this image, Iris Apfel is wearing a classic black dress with elegant collar details that are complemented by a necklace. She holds up one of the watch-shaped bags from the collection while looking at the camera. Furthermore, <Fig. 10> shows TWYLA campaign image where Iris Apfel took part in the ‘Art Connects Us’ campaign. Iris Apfel is wearing a floral outfit, a pink beaded bracelet, and a necklace. She also wears matching pink lipstick and round glasses to complete her look. Her outfit matches the background painting, which is a part of this campaign. Next, <Fig. 11> is an image of a collaboration campaign between Iris Apfel and H&M. Iris Apfel is wearing a piece from the collaboration, a matching pair of blazers and pants in the turquoise color with leaf motif accents. She finishes her look with an orange chain necklace with a frog-shaped pendulum. <Fig. 12> is an image of Iris Apfel working together with Barbie. They made a Barbie doll inspired by Iris Apfel's fashion style. The Barbie doll is wearing a vintage collared shirt with colorful accessories and rounded glasses. She is carrying an IRIS magazine while wearing a green mask; masks are additional accessories to complete the appearance during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Iris Apfel is known for her bold style and self-expression in every look. This is depicted in <Fig. 13>, where she looks gorgeous in a top made of vibrant blue faux fur and styles it with a pretty quirky skirt with a self-portrait illustration of her holding a wine glass. Next in <Fig. 14>, the image shows Iris Apfel's outfit, which was made of red feathers. She added sparkly layered necklaces along with huge bracelets. In <Fig. 15>, she is wearing a matching patterned outfit which is the product of her collaboration with H&M as seen in <Fig. 11>. This time, she enhances her look with a bright orange fur coat, giving her appearance a really eccentric look. Not to mention the layers of gemstone necklaces surrounding her neck and round glasses that match the color of her outfit. When it comes to expressing herself as a fashion granfluencer, she chooses to portray it in a unique way through the clothes, shoes, and accessories she wears. Her taste in fashion and sense of style makes her unique and sets her apart from most people, as seen in <Fig. 16>. This is also proved by the way she chooses brown vintage clothes with
layered necklaces while the other person in this photo is dressed in black and white with no dazzling accessories. Iris Apfel's maximalist style is also shown in Fig. 17, where she is dressed in bright red stockings, matching flat red shoes, a coat with orange embellishments, layered necklaces in orange and green round shapes, multiple bracelets, and a yellow skirt. Iris Apfel frequently mixes color, motifs, and texture on clothing, accessories, and jewelry. Furthermore, in defining her style identity, Iris Apfel tends to experiment with the color hues, such as wearing a contrast color combination. As seen in Fig. 18, Iris Apfel uses green clothing, which contrasts with red accessories such as layered necklaces, bracelets, and sunglasses. This can be observed in Fig. 19 where she dressed in a bohemian black dress with gold details and accessorized it with a long gold necklace with animal shape details. She contrasts this by wearing flat shoes with a leopard print and bright red stockings. Looking at all the images that have been analyzed, it appears that animal prints have been one of her fashion statements. Lastly, in Fig. 20, Iris Apfel is wearing a combination of a tropical-patterned blouse with an unmatched tropical-patterned skirt, which in fashion is known as color blocking pattern. For the accessories, Iris wears multiple layers of gold and blue beaded necklaces. Iris seems to like to complete her look with fashion accessories because it contributes to the overall look. Her way to expressing her sense of style and personality is not just a statement of style or a transitory trend; it is a way of life.

From the analysis carried out using the netnographic method described above, it is clear that Iris Apfel's choice of style as a fashion granfluencer combines various fashion styles, such as bohemian, classic, quirky, vintage, tropical, and ethnic; she has a style that can be described as maximalist. This is also found in her style preferences which indicate how she chooses an exaggerated pattern, excessive layering, and unusual aesthetic. To give detail to her appearance, she wears layers of necklaces in a variety of colors and sizes as well as a round shape retro glasses are the most remarkable piece of her jewelry, which perfectly complements Iris Apfel's unique fashion sense and has evolved as her fashion trademark. For the color that she uses, she frequently combines bright hues like orange, yellow, turquoise, green, red, and pink with dark hues like black or brown. Additionally, she uses a touch of metallic colors like silver and gold to enhance her look. She enjoys experimenting with color, pairing saturated, bright, contrasting or pastel colors, warm or cool, or various motifs and material textures on clothing, accessories, and jewelry. Her idea and perspective toward fashion are also reflected in her motto which described that more is more and less is a bore. Iris Apfel's distinctive sense of style is influenced by her life experiences as a new senior and also by her knowledge due to her professional experience in the fashion industry. Although the maximalist style can be heavy with everyone's preference and taste, Iris Apfel is able to keep her looking refined and beautiful, full of expression and love for adventure and fun. Fig. 21 integrally shows the role and fashion style of a grand influencer as a cultural mediator.

V. Conclusions

In today's world, most developed societies are dealing with an aging population. Seniors, who have traditionally been identified with the role of content receivers, are increasingly becoming active content creators and in some cases, even building a broad audience with diverse interests. This study aimed to examine the phenomenon of fashion granfluencers in the digital era, define the concept of fashion granfluencer as cultural intermediaries, and examine fashion granfluencers' role as cultural mediators and the fashion style they create. Previous studies regarding the social and cultural roles of fashion influencers for new seniors have not been thoroughly examined. This study aimed to examine the phenomenon of fashion granfluencers in the digital era, define the concept of fashion granfluencer as cultural intermediaries, and examine fashion granfluencers' role as cultural mediators and the fashion style they create. Previous studies regarding the social and cultural roles of fashion influencers for new seniors have not been thoroughly examined. This study is significant as it contributes to strengthening the cultural meaning of fashion influencers, developing fashion products for financially powerful new seniors, and designing communication approaches that fit them. It also contributes to the concept of cultural intermediaries in the digital environment by analyzing Iris Apfel's
The case study results show that fashion granfluencers are professional new seniors who view fashion as a way of expressing themselves and defining their identities. Fashion granfluencers embraced the digital sphere and established strong engagement with their audience by describing their values through various types of content on social media. They are intimately involved in revitalizing the perspective of the cultural economy and taking part in the creation of cultural products. Fashion granfluencers can be classified as cultural intermediaries, and based on the literature review, they possess three properties: interactive communicator, nonconformist attitude, and aesthetic disposition. First, fashion granfluencers have the properties of fashion producers of new seniors’ lifestyles; this property emphasizes the involvement of fashion granfluencers in the production and consumption process of specific lifestyles. The evidence is seen in Iris Apfel’s image, revealing her capacity to express herself as a senior by producing a wide variety of unique and interesting fashion-related content. As a fashion curator, through consuming a new senior taste, her decision to consume a particular product or service enables her to develop and shape taste, directly and indirectly delivering the message of what should be consumed to the audience. As a communicator between new senior taste and the public, Iris Apfel has an important role in linking production and consumption, verified by her brand partnership and collaboration content. Through this activity, Iris Apfel also has the power to influence others’ tastes, yet to serve as a cultural intermediary. She needs to acquire a certain level of cultural capital. Second, fashion granfluencers enclose the nonconformist attitude. It is an act against mainstream culture as a form of self-expression to disclose their sincere story and daily life. Iris Apfel’s image post revealed that she freely experiments with her clothes to display her identity as a fashion granfluencer regardless of whether it is trendy or not. Third, fashion granfluencers as cultural intermediaries demonstrate an aesthetic dis-
position, in this case, Iris Apfel becomes a role model for a group of people who perceive things from an aesthetic standpoint rather than from their functional sides. Fashion granfluencers are cultural mediators who offer value that crosses personal taste and professional judgment, setting them apart from other existing mediators.

The second research question aimed to investigate the role of fashion granfluencers as cultural intermediaries in social media. Fashion granfluencers act as new digital cultural intermediaries, serving as tastemakers and intermediaries on social media platforms, combining social, cultural, and economic capital into new forms of capital. The results show that the role of fashion granfluencers as cultural intermediaries performs as a bridge connecting the social, cultural, and economic spheres. The taste-making activities through follows, likes, and other social media reactions that the public, usually used to determine if they are interested in the content, can increase the cultural capital of fashion granfluencers. As new digital cultural intermediaries, they can represent seniors in this era and have the potential to make the best use of technology to assist the aspects of good aging that have to do with social connectedness and co-creativity.

As for granfluencer’s fashion style, specifically in the case of Iris Apfel, her style was identified through her Instagram account. The way she conveys freedom in fashion and self-expression simultaneously shows that there is an influence of personality, experience, and sense of taste. This demonstrates that self-expression serves as a parameter connecting fashion freedom with cultural and social values, confirming the content presented by fashion granfluencers generates a digital persona that is widely accepted by the audience. Fashion granfluencers are considered to be fashion experts. They contribute to the relationship between producer and consumer within the fashion field, mediating the relationships fashion granfluencers have with their so-called fans or followers as well as with other parties such as brands and other commercial institutions. In addition, Iris Apfel's Instagram account shows that social participation (fashion event), appearance (fashion style), and any fashion involvement of fashion granfluencer are essential to represent the new seniors in the fashion industry. Fashion granfluencers can communicate new tastes that are growing within the world, and this capacity helps to define and legitimize cultural and aesthetic standards. For instance, Iris has a maximalist style, which might not be everyone's cup of tea. However, young people and new seniors are inspired by how she expresses herself and confidence through her taste and fashion style. In addition, the development of social media platforms that blur the line between the public and private space gives fashion granfluencers more chances to assert their authority as tastemakers. Through their enactment in mediating activities like producing fashion content, or doing photo shoots and fashion events, fashion granfluencer as cultural mediators in the fashion industry, have a function to build and spread a belief in the aesthetic value of fashion.

Finally, there are significant limits to this research that need to be addressed in future studies. The analysis of this study only focuses on one fashion granfluencer, which is Iris Apfel, and one social media platform, Instagram. Thus, the findings may not generally represent the role of fashion granfluencers as cultural intermediaries on social media. Given that each digital platform offers accessibility and a unique appeal to different communications strategies and practices, future studies may examine the broader social media ecosystem and how other fashion granfluencers envision their function as cultural mediators across social media platforms. The rich experience and values of a granfluencer—representing the senior group—have gained prominence; these factors reveal a new awareness to the younger generation who contributed to think outside the box about old age. Their fashion could be a catalyst in providing diversity to a mainstream fashion culture focused on a relatively young generation. In addition, the presence and role of a granfluencer contribute to show positive and active attitude toward life in response to aging. Therefore, this study looked at the granfluencer as an intermediary of fashion culture. However, with the increasing geriatric po-
population, there is an urgency for more in-depth research to clarify the importance of their roles, positions, and identities in society.

Furthermore, this study only encompasses three properties of fashion influencers. Future research can be developed in a wider research context by finding new properties of male or other fashion influencers. For the research methods, besides professional involvement in analyzing the images, activities such as interviews, observation, and the use of archives can be conducted as well. This study opens an opportunity to analyze another occupation related to culture, society, or economy within social media through the cultural intermediaries’ framework. To gain a greater understanding of its role within the digital media, it will also be necessary to study the audience’s reaction and perspective toward specific cultural intermediaries’ occupations.

1. Acknowledgement
Not applicable

2. Ethics and consent
This study was conducted under the approval and supervision of Changwon National University International Review Board (IRB Exemption No. 7001066-202206-HR-037) regarding ethical issues.

3. Availability of data and materials
Not applicable

4. Conflicting interests
Not applicable

5. Funding
Not applicable

6. Authors’ contributions
SGN, SSD, and SJK designed the study and developed the theoretical framework and conducted analysis. SGN and SSD contributed data collection and analysis. SJK guided the development of the theoretical framework, results, and conclusion and reviewed the final manuscript.

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