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The Necessity and Feasibility of Imposing Conventional Media Content Regulation on Digital Media Content in Indonesia (Case Study: The Controversy of Awkarin and Young Lex's Music Video)

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ABSTRACT

Operating in various countries, YouTube has a content regulation that strongly influenced by American Culture. However, there are many countries that have a different culture and value compared to America, such as Indonesia. As the largest Muslim country, it has stricter social norms. In 2016, Indonesian famous Youtubers, Awkarin and Young Lex, were making a controversy by uploading music videos that containing vulgar words and exposing sexually-suggestive footages. This research aims to study how the viewers reacting to the videos, Youtubers' perspectives, and assess how the government handles the controversy, to finally determine the necessity and feasibility of imposing conventional media content regulation on digital media. This research was conducted using mix method approach, those are content analysis and interview. The results have shown that although the videos received various negative reactions, the government decided to only give a friendly warning. Considering several sectors, the digital media content remains impossible to be detailly regulated by the government as the way conventional media regulated. Therefore, the government has applied other strategies that were maintaining excellent coordination with the digital platforms and increasing public literacy in internet using.

Keywords: Digital media, media policy, content regulation, YouTube, inappropriate content.

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1. Introduction

In September 2016, video blogs on YouTube uploaded by an Indonesian Youtuber named Karin Novilda, also known as Awkarin, were reported by Indonesian National Commission for Child Protection to the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology because the videos contained inappropriate words and pornography contents (Muslimah, 2016). On her videos, she was using coarse

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languages and often displaying inappropriate affectionate scenes with her boyfriend, such as, kissing, hugging while wearing sexy clothes. The video has caused a public outcry because the contents of the videos such as the offensive languages, the affection display as well revealing attires are considered as obscene that should have not been shown to the public, based on the unwritten social norms in Indonesia.

The norms and rules in Indonesia impose stricter censor related to pornography compared to that of western countries. The majority of people in Indonesia are muslims, therefore, the social norms are also strongly influenced by Islam (Bauto, 2014). Islam has a strict way in ruling how women should be exposed. Wearing sexy, revealing clothes and exposing intimacy with boyfriends or partners in public are unusual in Indonesia, and tend to be seen negatively. It is also can be seen on how the Indonesian government regulate the broadcasting media. Based on the guidance of standard broadcasting program from Indonesian Broadcasting Commission article 18, pornography content that cannot be broadcasted on TV was also included kissing, cleavage, half-nudity and vulgar words (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, 2012: 52). Meanwhile, western countries such as the UK and the US state that pornography content only the footages and pictures of real sexual activity (BBFC, 2014; Ofcom, 2016a). The Awkarin's video might be considered as appropriate based on the indicators in the US and in the UK, but according to Indonesia's pornography indicators, it is considered a soft porn and inappropriate.

The controversy made the news for several weeks. In the end, the youtuber, Awkarin, was called for a mediation with the Commission for Child Protection that facilitated by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, in which she was encouraged by the commission representative and the minister to create entertaining and positive videos in the future instead of negative ones. However, after the mediation, she continued to produce more expletive-laden, sexually-suggestive videos, and it was then imitated by other youtubers. One of them is Samuel Alexander Pieter, or known as Young Lex who makes socially-inappropriate music videos in collaboration with Awkarin and other famous youtubers. This phenomenon has stolen people's attention because their videos have been watched averagely more than five million times by viewers of different age groups including children and young people.

Some people especially parents and Commission for Child Protection argue that it could potentially give a bad influence for the young generation (Hidayat, 2016). They are worried that those actions will be considered acceptable by young generations. On the other hand, feminists argue that both men and women youtubers have their own right to express their creativity, to promote themselves and to make it as their livelihood (Hidayat, 2016). As it is widely known, with the advertising revenue-sharing scheme offered by YouTube, people now can generate profit from uploading videos on YouTube (Blattberg, 2015). Moreover, big brand companies also now look forward to endorsing the famous youtubers or vloggers in order to promote their product (Slutsky, 2010).

Furthermore, this research will study the controversy of music videos by Karin Novilda (Awkarin) and Samuel Alexander Pieter (Young Lex) that contain bad language and sexually suggestive contents to understand the necessity of imposing conventional or broadcasting media content policy on digital media content, especially online video postings on YouTube and those created by Indonesians. Moreover, this research will also study the feasibility of imposing the conventional media content regulation on digital media contents from the Indonesian government's perspective. Since there has not been any previous study in Indonesia related to the case, this study will serve as a pioneer study which will explain the need and the feasibility of imposing conventional media content policy on digital media content in Indonesia.

2. Literature review

Built in 2004, and acquired by Google in 2005, YouTube has been progressively growing and now become the third most visited website in the world after Google and Facebook (Jarboe, 2009; Diu and Ritchie, 2015). In 2017, this video-sharing website has more than one billion users and is being watched for almost billion hours a day (YouTube, 2017a). YouTube built local version in 88 nations, including Indonesia (YouTube, 2017a). Based on the survey data about the internet users' behaviour from Indonesia Internet Service Provider Association (2016), YouTube is in the top three for the most

favourite social media website in Indonesia and visited by about 14.5 million Indonesian internet users every day. Given its reach, it could be considered necessary to discuss how the digital content or online video on social media platform such as YouTube might be regulated.

2.1 Digital media policy

The development of the internet since the '90s gives the world an open-accessed source of information. Many information about various topics from many countries are uploaded each day on the internet. Initially, there was a thought that the internet would develop better without government regulation and interventions, as stated on 1996 Telecommunications Act in the US (Federal Communications Commission, 1996). Nevertheless, the availability of uncensored content on the internet that related with pornography, violence, crime and violation of copy rights inflict criticisms about the importance to regulate the internet or the digital media (Anderson, 2007; Hackett, 2008).

There were several global conferences discussing about the international ideal digital media policy, such as United Nation Internet Governance Forum (IGF) 2006 in Athene, Greece and IGF 2007 in Rio, Brazil. The result of the conference stated that the digital media policy is created to form a circumstance where people can freely express their self and opinion in a responsible way (IGF, 2006). However, there is no precise model of digital media regulation because each country has different system, focus, culture and social norm (Anderson 2007; IGF, 2006).

Generally, there are two types of internet regulations based on the system of the country, namely light-handed and strong-handed. Democratic countries, such as the US and the UK, usually have light-handed regulation system (Anderson, 2007). This system represents minimum government's intervention in managing the contents on the internet. For an instance, every citizen can create a website without approval from any board (Anderson, 2007). On contrary, other country such as United Arab Emirates, strongly regulates internet access and its content. There are many restricted contents and not everyone can access the internet (Anderson, 2007).

As the cyberspace develops, Verhulst (2010) argues that digital media is difficult and even impossible to regulate by the government. The government is overwhelmed by the borderless cyberspace, because digital media develops rapidly and involves other countries, not only one nation (Verhulst, 2010; Claffy and Clark, 2014). Therefore, digital media regulation now relies heavily on self-regulation or the policies made by each website (Verhulst, 2010). However, since the internet has become a competitive market, in which involved various interests and objectives, the intervention from the government is needed (Palfrey, 2010). The government supervision and intervention are needed to make sure that the policies also facilitate public-interests (Verhulst, 2010; Lessig, 1999; Minico, 2013; Wu, 2008).

Furthermore, Lessig (1999) argues that digital media cannot rely only on self-regulation, because this pattern automatically decreases the government role and in the future, this would make the digital media even harder to regulate. Besides, Minico (2013) also added that self-regulation will not work ideally, since the industry itself has their own objectives and rarely considers consumer or government benefits. For example, the policy created by the websites about personal data of the users. They make it legal to sell the data to advertisers. Hence, to facilitate all sides' interests, the policy should be interfered by the government. Especially in the diverse world, when one rule from one worldwide website might not be acceptable by all nations, the government intervention is needed.

Although it might be hard to regulate the internet, Palfrey (2010) argued that the government can regulate the internet by controlling the private enterprises those filled and run the digital media. Moreover, there are three policy tools that can be used to regulate the digital media, which are official code to rule user's behaviour on cyberspace, social norms and law (Lessig, 1999). Then, considering the easy-access and the effect of the internet, Hackett (2008) argued the nearest comparison on how the internet should be regulated is the broadcasting media such as Television. Similar with the broadcasting media, Wu (2008) and Abboud (2013) suggested that internet should be regulated by independent body which does not take sides to either industry or other government institutions, but puts the public benefits forward.

By examining more than ten countries' digital regulations strategies, including Arab and EU countries, Abboud (2013) developed the effective digital policy strategies. The focus of the government on regulating digital media is not only about restriction but also about how to stimulate and accelerate

the countries digital production in order to compete on a global market like internet (Abboud, 2013). Therefore, the government should consider some factors on the process of policy making, those are national concern, the requests or needs from private sectors, public, regional and national organisations, also cross-multi-sectors concerns such as the development of economic, social, and education (Abboud, 2013). The factors frequently contradict to each other, for example the freedom of expression and the need of media content restriction, this issue remain an area of discussion even in the US, further compromises needed to be done by the authorities and civil society to find the balance of those fundamental rules in different circumstances (Cummins, 2010). Additionally, on the implementation, the government should actively be involving the public and all the stakeholders. In order to make the public want to involve effectively, the government need to educate and raising the media literacy among the civil society (Abboud, 2013).

As for the digital content, to minimize the globalisation effect, the government should stimulate the public to create more creative and innovative digital product. It can be done by reducing a restriction and bureaucracy process (Abboud, 2013). The more digital content come from locals, the effect of globalisation will decrease. However, the restriction need to be adjust with the cultural norms (Abboud, 2013). Arab and EU countries has different restriction on the digital content especially related to the pornography contents. Moreover, to make the public obey the restriction, the government should think of unordinary policy. For example, on United Arab Emirates to decrease the number of digital piracy, the government issuing 'religious fatwa' that intervene the moral of internet users (Abboud, 2013).

2.2 YouTube content regulation

Self-regulation concept can be seen on YouTube. They have their own policy to regulate the website including the video content. Since everyone now can upload any video on YouTube by simply register for the account for free, some problems raised especially related to the video content. According to YouTube community guidelines, YouTube prohibits their users to upload inappropriate content such as pornography, violence and bad language (YouTube, 2017b). YouTube will automatically remove the video that contains pornography (YouTube, 2017b). As for the bad language, on the first of September 2016, YouTube revised their policy, in which the video that contains swearing or bad language cannot be monetized (Fox, 2016; YouTube, 2017b).

Additionally, for the monitoring process, not only do they provide some staff to do the monitoring, but they also create a program named 'YouTube heroes' in which the user can register to be their partner in monitoring the content. However, due to the heavy flow of uploaded video in each minute, YouTube has not fully managed the monitoring program well, thus, the monitoring system still needs to be evaluated to be more effective (Cavazos, 2016). Although YouTube already has some policy to rule and monitor the content, unfortunately, it is not suitable for all countries due to differences in cultures and social norms.

Furthermore, YouTube was built by the American company, therefore, its media policy is heavily based on the consideration of American or western countries' culture and social norms. For the other countries, such as Indonesia that has different culture and social norms, the rule might be unacceptable. For example, the UK classifies contents of videos or images as pornography when they show real sexual activity, and this content is prohibited on television (BBFC, 2014; Ofcom, 2016a). Meanwhile, Indonesia as a more conservative country objects to skin-revealing images like cleavages and women in two-piece swimsuit, as well as a public display of affection like kissing scenes. Those images and scenes should be censored before being broadcasted on television (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, 2012). Another example is the use of offensive words. In the UK, offensive words can appear on TV during certain times (Sapolsky and Kaye, 2005; Thelwall, 2008). However, in the US and Indonesia, offensive words must be censored on TV but are allowed to be used in movie dialogues (Jay, 1992; Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, 2012). These different norms and cultures are the real challenges for YouTube in making their media policy be fully accepted in every country.

3. Data and methodology

The main aim of this research is to understand the necessity and feasibility of imposing conventional media content regulation to digital media content in Indonesia, especially to restrict the use of coarse language and occurrences of sexually suggestive scenes in YouTube videos produced by Indonesian creators. The primary question of this research is:

- (1) How necessary and feasible is it to imposing conventional media content policy to digital media content in Indonesia?

This primary question leads to three sub-question, those are:

- How do YouTube viewers respond to the videos containing inappropriate language and sexual suggestive contents?
 - Do the creators want to be restricted on creating contents especially if it is related to inappropriate languages and sexual suggestive contents?
 - Is it feasible for the government to impose conventional media content policy to the digital media content?

This research was conducted using mix methods approach, both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Based on Creswell (2014) every research approach has its own pitfalls; thus, the use of mix methods would minimise the discrepancy of the data. For the quantitative methods, content analysis assessed on video blogs to gather the data about how the viewers reacted to the video. Meanwhile, for the qualitative methods, interviews with key actors including the policy makers and the youtuber were conducted to find out whether it is necessary and feasible to forming a specific details rule to restrict the content on digital media such as YouTube. The data from the interviews were analysed using thematic analysis.

3.1 Content analysis

The top two most watched Young Lex's videos, featuring awkarin and other youtubers, containing inappropriate languages and sexual suggestive contents were analysed. First, the content of the video was analysed by gathering the data about how many bad words and sexual suggestive contents appeared on the video. Second, the quantitative data related to the number of viewers, likes and dislikes were also recorded. Then, the comments from the viewers were collected and classified as positive, negative or neutral. Moreover, the group of positive and negative comments were further be broken down based on the type of the comments. The positive comments were divided in to four categories, which are supports, complements, both supports and complements, and suggestions. Meanwhile, the negative comments group were divided in to three categories, which are critics, insulting and requests for blocking. These steps were done to generate more understanding about the reaction of viewers.

There were 1000 comments selected as a representative from each video, therefore, in total there were 2000 comments being analysed. The comments available in YouTube are categorized based on date and popularity. For this study, the popularity-based comment filter was chosen because the rank of the comment depends on the validity of the commenters, which means only comments from the valid and trusted accounts would appear at top comments category (Simpson, 2013). Additionally, this approach had been exercised by Lange (2014) while analysed the comment from videos containing offensive language. He analysed and separated the comments from YouTube viewers as either improper or as a form of emotional engagement.

3.2 Interviews

3.2.1 Semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interviews were meant to be conducted with the Youtuber. The aim of these interviews was to gather the information and data about the reasons that drive them to produce and upload videos containing inappropriate scenes and languages, according to Indonesian standard. Also, to find out their perspective about the necessity and feasibility to restrict the content on YouTube. Semi-structured interview was the most suitable approach considering the young interviewees who were more comfortable to converse in casual tone. As Deacon et al (2007) explains that semi-structured interview is a semi-formal interview conducted similarly to daily conversation, and has an open-dialogue concept.

3.2.2 Elite interview

The policy makers were interviewed in order to gather the data and information to answer the research question about whether it would be feasible or not to impose conventional media content regulation on digital media content in Indonesia. Two state institutions influencing the formation of media policy are the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, and the Commission I of House of Parliaments. Harvey (2011) suggests that to gain the exclusive and comprehensive information about particular data from the elites, the researcher should manage to find the 'ultra-elite' actors who fully understand the particular issue. In this study, the 'ultra-elites' key actors are the Head of Commission I House of Parliament Mr. Abdul Kharis Almasyhari, and the Minister of Communication and Information Technology Mr. Rudiantara. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face, using Indonesian language, and further the transcript of interviews was translated into English.

4. Result and discussion

4.1 The video received more negative than positive reactions

To begin with, considering the fast-development and easy access of the internet, Hackett (2008) suggests the closest comparison in deciding how the digital media content should be regulated is broadcasting media such as television. The broadcasting media in Indonesia regulated based on the Law No. 32 of 2002 about Broadcasting and further details rules written on the Guidance of Standard Broadcasting Program by Indonesian Broadcasting Commission. The laws and guidance classify the appropriate and non-appropriate contents to broadcast. The forbidden materials, referred as pornographic contents, are those which particularly related to the footage of kissing, cleavage, half-nudity and vulgar or offensive words (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, 2012: 52).

The videos analysed on this research were the top two most viewed videos from Awkarin and Young Lex' channels, which containing inappropriate contents refer to the broadcasting law and guidance in Indonesia. The top two most viewed videos are titled 'Bad' and 'Badass'. The frequency of the inappropriate scenes on the video can be seen on Table 1. Inappropriate contents that found on the videos are the footage of women's cleavage and tights, smoking scene, the use of the strongest offensive languages such as 'fucking' and 'bitch'. All videos are music video, in which they delivered some message through their song and lyrics. The message on their song are also controversial and inviting negative comments. The message of the two videos will be further explained.

Table 1.

Inappropriate contents on the top two most viewed videos.

No.	Video Title	Uploaded by	Content		Details of the contents	
			Inappropriate Content	Offensive Words	Inappropriate Content	Offensive Words
1	Young Lex ft. Awkarin – BAD	Young Lex	31	-	30 cleavage appearances	-
2	AWKARIN - BADASS	Karin Novilda	41	42	1 Middle finger appearances 37 cleavage appearances 3 middle finger appearances 1 smoking scene	8 badass words 3 bitch words 31 fuck and fucking words

Note:

1. Data collected on Saturday, 15 May 2017 at 08.00 PM.

4.1.1 Video 1 'Bad'

In the 'Bad' music video, Young Lex performed a song featuring Awkarin. It is a four minutes hip-hop/rap song. The theme of the music video was gothic and mysterious in a low light situation. The video was shot at the isolated shed. Awkarin wore a sports-bra top exposing her cleavage, and Young Lex wore casual t-shirt with a full body tattoo. Moreover, as can be seen on Table 1, there are 31 inappropriate contents that consist of 30 cleavage frames and 1 middle finger frame although there is no coarse language.

The video reflects Awkarin's story about being judged as a bad person by many people just because she was smoking and cursing on her social media accounts. Additionally, the lyrics tried try to emphasize a message about the importance of being real on social media instead of acting pretentious and ostentatious. They try to depict that no one is free of guilt or sins, thus no one should judge anyone else at a first glance. Those messages were sung and delivered in emotional tone and facial expression.

This music video was released on 18 September 2016, when the controversy of Awkarin video blogs took place. Initially, the video of Awkarin and Young Lex collaboration occurred because Young Lex felt inspired to write a song for Awkarin who was being constantly bullied online and offline, which reminded him of a 'Forgiven Prostitute' story on New Testament of The Bible, as he stated on an interview:

I refer Karin's story to the story on The New Testament of the Bible [John 7:53-8:11]. She is like a forgiven prostitute, who was about to be stoned by Scribes and Pharisaic people, that's the inspiration. At the time, Jesus said that if you feel that you have never done any sin yet, please throw the first stone to her. That's the message that I want to deliver through my lyrics on that song. But many people did not get that. (12 June 2017)

Unfortunately, majority of the viewers have reacted negatively to this video with the high number of dislike thumbs and the disapproving comments. The result of content analysis about the viewer's reaction is demonstrated on Table 2. The video was viewed for about 21 million times, and received 142,120 likes and 364,890 dislikes. The number of dislikes outweighs the number of likes, which means the video has outraged many Indonesian viewers. Moreover, from the analysis of 1000 top comments on the video, the negative comments are more frequently found than positive comments, with 130 positive comments, 687 negative comments and 183 neutral comments.

Table 2.

The videos' viewers reactions.

Note:

1. Data collected on Saturday, 15 May 2017 at 08.00 PM.
2. Content analysis from top 1000 comment from each video.

No.	Title	Uploaded by	Number of Views	Likes	Dislikes	Comment		
						Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	Young Lex ft. Awkarin – BAD	Young Lex Channel	21,972,659	142,120	364,890	128	183	689
2	AWKARIN – BADASS	Karin Novilda	5,967,167	32,064	289,330	65	75	860

More than a half of the 1000 top comments are reacted negatively. The classification of negative comment found on the video can be seen on Figure 1. About 91% commenters insulted the creators through sarcasms and banter, 8% viewers criticized the videos, and about 1% respondent asked Awkarin and Young Lex's channel to be taken down.

The viewers were disagreeing with the creators because many of them got a different perception about the message. The majority of commenters think Young Lex just made up some justification for mischievous things to become acceptable, as what is explained on one of the comments written by Piyopi Warudo represents the perspective of many:

This video taught about, 1. It is okay to have a tattoo, be naughty, to do free sex, as long as you do not do drugs. 2. It is okay to swearing but only using 'acceptable' words including fuck and bitch. 3. It is also okay to wasting money as long as that is yours not from your parents. 4. When you succeed you can do whatever you want. Thank you, you just destroyed the young generation. :) #saleyounggeneration idiot. (October 2016)

The thoughts written by Stella Patricia about her disagreement with the lyrics also summed up the opinion of many viewers:

To be yourself is normal, instead of being somebody else. But there is some restriction in expressing yourself. If you know you are bad person, don't be proud of yourself, try to make yourself better, do not blame all people that say you are bad. If all of the people don't like you, that means you should change. (April 2017)

Apart from the disagreement, other insulting comments also expressed the dislikes both for the song and the creators. Many of them said the song was disingenuous, corny and a bad influence. Interestingly, about 115 from 689 negative comments were also using offensive words. They delivered their resentment in many ways, with some of them using a sarcasm to express their opinion, as what Noor Hanafi said 'I really like you, when will you come to South Borneo? I want to throw you a shit!' (May 2017). Next, one viewer also told a story how the video gave a negative influence on their relative, as explained by Septian Wahyu, 'What the fuck is this shit. Because of watching your video now my little brother frequently says offensive words, you are a moral destroyer.' (May 2017). Additionally, there was a comment shouting out to the government and YouTube to delete the account, as expressed on the comment of Rohman iirgosh1:

This video taught about bad things, please change the lyrics. It can be watched by children as well. It will be better if the channel is taken down. Please!" (6 May 2017)

However, there are also some positive and neutral comments. Neutral comments are mostly the comments that just repeating the lyrics, ask general question and both agree and disagree to the video. Meanwhile, the positive comments are mostly including suggestions, compliments and supports as can be seen on Figure 2. One of the positive comments written by Hengki Sitoruz 'Good job. Keep being

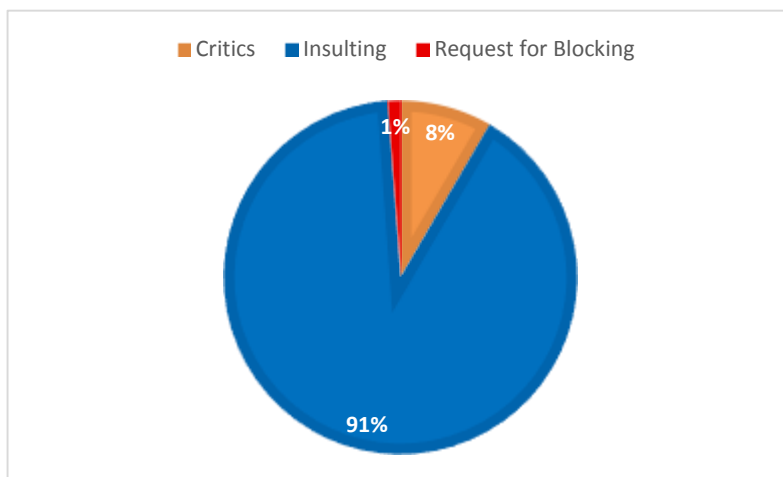


Figure 1. The percentage of 'Bad' video negative comments classifications.

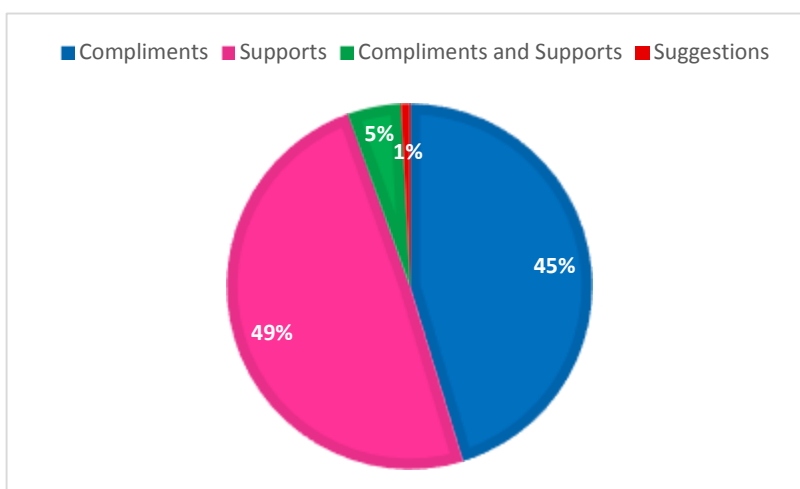


Figure 2. The percentage of 'Bad' video positive comments classifications.

yourself, do not listen to the haters. Cannot wait to see your next video. Keep it up!' (May 2017). Nevertheless, there were only few positive commenters, at around 20%.

4.1.2 Video 2 'Badass'

The 'Badass' video was sung by Awkarin and uploaded on 14 February 2017, a couple months after she promised that she would create more positive and educative contents. It was still a hip hop/rap song and the lyrics told a story about a love-triangle issue. One girl gets jealous of another girl's boyfriend because she likes him. Then, the jealous girl tries to convince the boyfriend of another girl that she is better for him. The Awkarin's expression and gimmick in this video was showing a deep despair and frustration. The video was shot in a dim light on the field where she is riding the horse in the morning, and at night. About three quarter of the video only showing the scene when she is riding a horse and the shoots were directed on Awkarin's breasts. There were about 41 inappropriate footages, including 37 cleavage-showing footages, 3 middle-finger gestures and 1 smoking scenes. Also, there were a combined 42 words of 'fuck', 'fucking', 'bitch' and 'badass'.

Four months after being uploaded, this video has been watched about 6 million times, got almost 300 thousand dislikes and about 32 thousand likes. The number of viewers who dislikes the video is ten times higher than who liked. Similar with the trend in comment sections, there are more negative comments than the positives. From the top 1000 comments, the video has 860 negative reactions and 65 positive reactions. The classification of negative comments demonstrated on Figure 3.

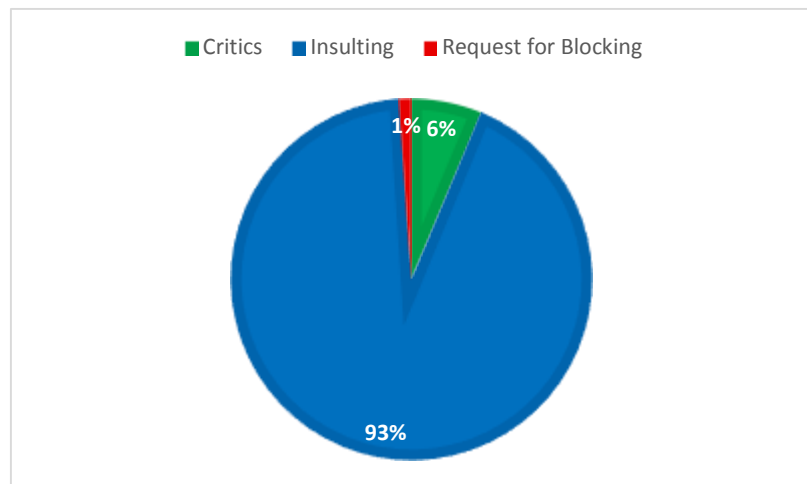


Figure 3. The percentage of 'Badass' video negative comments classifications.

Most of the negative comments, about 93%, insulted the creators. Many of them felt that the song, the cleavage of Awkarin and the offensive words are annoying. They said the voice was ugly as well as the song and they also mocked Awkarin in a various way, specially hinting on Awkarin's breasts in this video appear bigger than they were before. From 860 negative comments, 67 comments were written in offensive words. The comments with offensive words are frequently found on comment section of these three videos. There were 115 cursing comments on 'Bad' and 67 on 'Badass'. Moor, Heuvelman and Verleur (2010) argue that cursing is a very common trend on YouTube comment section, there are two motivations behind this action, the way to express the disagreement and the ignorance of commenters towards creators feeling, since they did not know the creators personally.

Moreover, there were also 25% of critics on negative comments. The interesting point found on the critics is the song was spoken in bad English, with no clear lyrics. The only clear words are the expletives such as 'badass' and 'fucking'. As one viewer named Yasyah wrote 'I am a senior student on English literature, I don't know what is wrong, but I don't understand at all what she is trying to say, All I heard is 'nananana.. Badass... nanna... Badass :((March 2017). In addition, most of the critics also discussed that this video is too vulgar just like a scene in a porn video. For instance, the comment from Mukti Afandi represented a thought of many 'Is this a porn video? *laughing I feel sorry for her, showing her boobs only to get more viewers' (April 2017). Then, about 1% viewers admitted on the comments section that they already reported the video to YouTube and asked the government to block all her social media accounts.

However, there were also some positive comments. The classification of the positive comments can be seen on Figure 4. Many of them complemented Awkarin's look, breasts and the song. A few of them also expressed that they enjoy the video and asked Awkarin to keep making this kind of video. As what was written by Baruto Indo 'I enjoy and love the boobs scene, can you make much hotter video? And make it as an age-restricted video' (May 2017). Nonetheless, only less than 15% of the top comments said good things about the video, the

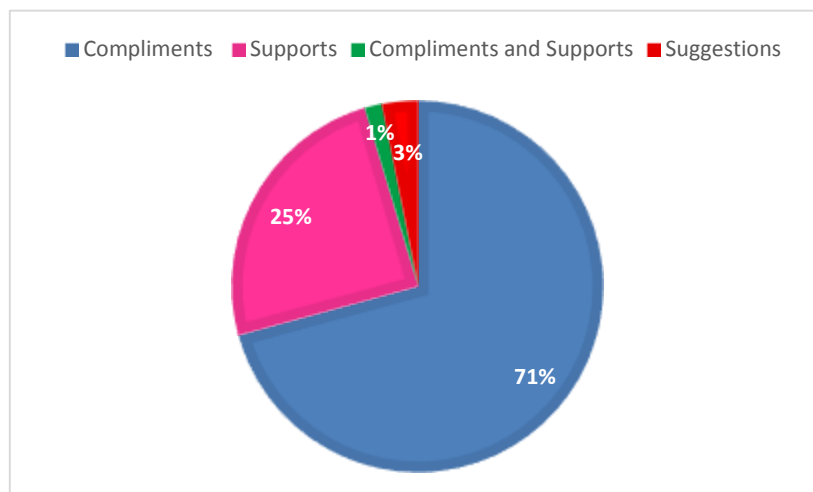


Figure 4. The percentage of 'Badass' video positive comments classifications.

other 90% reacted negatively and wanted the video to be deleted from YouTube.

From the trends of reaction on the two videos, it showed that the videos received more negative than positive reactions. By analysing the comment section, it can be understood that the negative comments were resulting from negative message being delivered on video, the creators, the use of offensive words and inappropriate scenes including breast-showing, smoking and middle finger footages. Meanwhile, the positive comments were influenced by the good message and the youtuber itself.

4.2 The perspective of youtuber

Samuel Alexander Pieter, or known as Young Lex, has been uploading videos on YouTube since the end of 2010. He focuses on producing a rap hip hop music video. At the beginning, he saw YouTube as an online media to promote himself. Later, the commercial reason become a part of his motivation in consistently uploading the video. Unlike other social media, YouTube has a special offer for its creators. If there is no copyright issue, the creators can monetize the video (YouTube, 2016). The income is generated from the advertisement, and it paid per thousand impression (CPM) or per views (YouTube, 2016). Therefore, it works like a rating on television, in which they will get more income by getting more viewers.

This commercial motive is also related to the content. Young Lex explains he tends to make a content related to the trending topics in Indonesia to attract more viewers. For example, his collaboration with Awkarin on 'Bad' video. During the time when video uploaded, Awkarin's name was booming because of the controversial contents she was made. Moreover, the lyrics also talking about 'haters', which had been an interesting subject of arguments. Later, this video become one of his top most viewed videos. He said averagely from one video, he could earn around 20 million rupiah (£1200) per month. However, he pointed out due to the controversial contents, none of advertisers were interested in sponsoring his video. This implies that as an artist he wants to focus on creating the content that he liked and enjoyed doing, without considering whether there will be a company who attracted or not. Indeed, a study by Brandt (2008), Rosensteel (2012) and Hautz et. al. (2014) found self-promotion and commercial reasons are the primary reasons of the video creators to consistently upload videos on YouTube. Commercial motives also have an influence on the contents; however, commercial motives for Young Lex only refer to the income from YouTube, not included sponsors.

Furthermore, although his videos were criticised for breaking social norms and the law, he is pretty sure that none of his video has violated any rules. He explained on the interview, since the internet content rules remain unfirmed, he set a limit for his contents based on the Law No. 33 of 2009 about Film:

Q: Do you use the social norm in Indonesia to limit your video content on YouTube?

A: It should be yes. I think what appears on my YouTube channel still normal and acceptable. There is no violation, bad words also still acceptable, not much or none of

the rule I break. If we refer to Indonesia, the rules itself have not firmed yet, the limit is blur. This country is democratic in which we can freely share our thoughts and opinions, but not that free. It makes me confused sometimes. But yes, in my opinion, there is no rules I break. There is no murder scene, no blood. Basically, I use the movie or film act to limit my content, because I study film production at Jakarta Institute of Arts. I don't use broadcasting rules or guidance because it's too tight. Since there are no clear rules yet, I decide to use the film Act. (2 June 2017)

He said the rules for broadcasting is too strict, therefore, he used the rules for films. This action showed that he was trying to form an alternative restriction for the content on the internet by using his own judgement.

Moreover, he knew that YouTube has a new revised community guideline, that ruled about swearing and sexual suggestive content. Since September 2016, YouTube has a new policy that state to not only prohibits the creators uploading pornographic and violence contents, but also prohibits the use of offensive language. The video containing offensive words will not be able to be monetized (Fox, 2016; YouTube, 2017a). Yet he refused to obey the rule because until now there is no action from the YouTube. He has many videos with offensive words and it still generates income until now, as he said on the interview:

Q: Do the new YouTube rules about bad words and pornography content affect you to limit your content?

A: I do not care. It's just a rule, there is no action. Until now, all my video that use bad words are still available on YouTube and generate an income as well. (12 June 2017)

From the statements, indeed, he was using some rules to restrict his content, however, since the rules for the internet content remain an area of dispute between the state and big tech corps, he chosen the Film Act based on his own justification. However, using the Film Law to limit the internet content may not be acceptable, because the regulations for film and the internet are different.

Based on the Law No. 33 of 2009 about Film article 57, the movies being showed on the cinema should be censored by The Indonesian Film Censor Board based on the Censor Guidelines and Criteria (the Law No. 33 of 2009), which is further explained on the Government Regulation No 18 of 2014 article 28 that all the films should be classified into certain group age, those are universal, 13+, 17+, and 21+. The use of bad words, proportional and educative sex scenes are allowed only for the movies on 17+ and 21+ group age (The Government Regulation No. 8 of 2014: 12). Moreover, unlike the internet which can be accessed by anyone at any time, the movies can be accessed only at the cinemas and DVDs. If it was being shown on TV, some scene would have been censored. Therefore, the regulation of content on the internet cannot be referred to the Film Law.

As for the viewers' reactions, there are many negative comments received by some of his videos, some comments even asked his account to be taken down. However, those negative comments do not hinder the creators on creating the next content. Young Lex explains that he ignored all the negative comments, because Indonesia has many haters, even if the content is good there must be some people who will give negative reactions. He does not want the negative comments to limit his creativity. Moreover, he frequently found some people who left a rude and negative comment only wanted to be responded, one of the examples is the story that he told below:

I found something interesting. So many people left negative comment in my video such as 'Bro, please do turn on the light before you start the show, I cannot see anything, you are so black!!' then I replied, 'Tell me how to make my skin become brighter please' then he replied by saying sorry and explaining that he just did say that to attract my attention and get my reply, in fact he is one of my fans. There are so many of them done the same things. (12 June 2017)

As for the solution for the ubiquitous of inappropriate content on the internet, Young Lex suggests not to transfer the responsibility of protecting children from inappropriate content to the entertainers, but to the parents. Moreover, he thinks that any rules for the internet are futile since internet nowadays has become uncontrollable. Even though there is a prohibition about certain things, such as porn websites, people always find a way to make it available on the internet. Thus, the protection from the family, such as to educate the children and the public of what can or cannot be watched on the internet and what are the consequences, is needed.

4.3 Imposing broadcasting content regulation on digital content remains impossible

Based on the explanation from the government and legislative member, to regulate digital media content, Indonesia has several laws which are Law Number 11 of 2008 as it revised on Law Number 19 of 2016 about Information and Electronic Transaction (IET) and Law Number 40 of 1999 about Freedom of Press. Moreover, the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, Rudiantara said the government already coordinated with house of parliament members and soon will discuss about the revision of the Law Number 32 of 2002 about broadcasting to also cover the regulation of video streaming content on the internet. However, the head of commission 1, house of parliaments, Abdul Kharis Almasyhari said that since the revision just done last year on the IET Law, there will be no discussion held to revise or form a new law related to content of the internet. The different answers between minister and house of parliament member showed that the discussion to revise the broadcasting law remain as a plan that has not yet been discussed seriously between the executive and legislative.

For the moment, the further details restrictions of inappropriate content on the internet regulated based on the Law Number 44 of 2008 about Pornography. Based on the law, pornography contents include all videos and pictures exposing sex organs and showing sexual activities (Law No. 44 of 2008 about Pornography). Therefore, the contents uploaded by Awkarin and Young Lex do not violate the state rules. Yet, the existing digital content restriction in Indonesia is not as strict as conventional media such as television.

The government explains regulating the content on the internet as strict as conventional media is very difficult to be implemented, especially in deciding the limit or detail restriction for the content. Minister of Communication and IT, Rudiantara, explains that unlike conventional media, the internet involves larger communities coming from various sectors and backgrounds, and is hard to defined:

Indeed, we cannot rule to the details. We will not be able to make a clear limitation, because we do not have a forum to talk about this for digital media. We do not have the board like KPI [Indonesian Broadcasting Commission] for the digital media. It is different with television or broadcasting. We do have a standard broadcasting guideline to rule the content on the television and radio. Meanwhile, in media digital such as social media and websites, who is going to represent and sit down to discuss about the limitation? Too many people to be represented, too many aspects involve. For broadcasting, all the people who own the media and the KPI [Indonesian Broadcasting Commission] will talk and discuss about the restriction. But the digital media is infinite, we cannot take similar action. (15 June 2017)

Moreover, the government not only takes a part as a regulator but also the facilitator and accelerator. Therefore, they are not only focusing on minimising negative impacts of the internet, but also maximising positive impacts. Unfortunately, negative impact cannot be avoided, thus, the government has been trying to find the equilibrium point. Therefore, other challenge in forming a restriction for digital content is the impact to the creativity and innovation. The government needs to confirm that the restriction is not inhibiting the creativity. Rudiantara analogised government's policy movement as like handling the fish "If too tight they will die, if too loose they will escape" (15 June 2017). Additionally, for the social media, the restriction should be ruled carefully, since there are two contradictive points that should be met. On one hand, Indonesia is a democratic country in which uphold freedom of speech as a part of human rights, however, since the literacy on the public or audience has not yet homogenous as like in the US, some restriction should be made as Rudiantara explained:

Indonesia is different with US. In the US, public literacy already firmed and homogenous, meanwhile, we in Indonesia has not yet reached that level, so we need a different approach. We want the social media giving positive impact to the nations, so we must have a good cooperation with the platform to build a mutual relation. (15 June 2017)

Indeed, Verhulst (2010) pointed out that the internet remains unfeasible to be regulated centrally by the government. Since this media growing rapidly and involving various parties, countries, culture and sectors (Verhulst, 2010; Claffy and Clark, 2014). Especially, in a democratic country with a light-handed digital media regulation, the contradiction in freedom of expression and the need of media content restriction remains an area of discussion, further compromises needed to be done by

the authorities and civil society to find the balance of those fundamental rules (Anderson, 2007; Cummins, 2010).

To overcome the issue between freedom of expression and restriction on media, the Indonesian government forms a panel to discuss viral issues. For example, for the case like Awkarin's controversy, the government has formed a special panel to discuss about the issue. The panel involve the experts and prominence people that related to the issue. For the Awkarin's controversy, the panel comprised of Commission for Child Protection, Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, and feminists. They compromised their perspective and reached a decision to let the Awkarin's videos be accessible on YouTube.

Furthermore, in order to enhance the positive impact of social media and the internet, the government is currently applying less-regulation system. They only provided the law as a corridor without ministerial decree or other differential rules. Thus, the government encouraged self-regulatory regulation on each platform as he explained:

I have a principle that the best regulation is less regulation. Especially for cyber world, we should form a corridor, only a corridor because we will not be able to rule to the details. How to regulate the details? We encourage the self-regulatory regulation. (15 June 2017)

In fact, the regulation of the internet in many countries relies heavily on self-regulation. However, this system is believed will not work ideally, since platforms or the private companies must have their own objective such as focus on developing their business (Minico, 2013; Lessig, 1999; Wu, 2008). Therefore, the government should intervene. The form of the intervention can be done by making the law, forming a special board, ruling private companies and educate the internet users (Palfrey, 2010; Lessig, 1999; Wu, 2008).

As for Indonesia, to make the self-regulation work effectively, the government has been working on several things, which are forming a law as a corridor, building a good relationship and coordination with all the internet platforms, also about to establish Indonesian National Cyber and State Codes Board to regulate the internet. First of all, the Minister described that the government always maintain a good communication with the platforms, especially the biggest ones such as Facebook and Google. This is the most effective way to directly intervene self-regulation. For instance, after the controversy of Awkarin, the Minister admitted that he had talked to the Google representative to make a restriction especially on the use of offensive language and YouTube has since revised its community guidelines.

Should the platform refuse to cooperate, the government will not hesitate to blacklist the platform in Indonesia. For example, the Indonesian government has recently blocked the 'Telegram' application access in Indonesia in the beginning of July 2017, because they found many terrorism and radicalism as well as inappropriate pictures pages on the application (Widiartanto, 2017). The Minister said already contacted 'Telegram' several times to address the issue for months but to no avail. Later, less than 24 hours after 'Telegram' being blocked by Indonesia government, the CEO of 'Telegram' Pavel Durov, reacted and spoke to the media that he had already done what the Indonesian government asked, and hoped for a better cooperation (Nababan, 2017).

Moreover, to enhance the monitoring system on the internet, the government has formed and activated a special task force named Indonesian National Cyber and State Codes Board. This board is expected to improve the monitoring system on the internet, as the Minister explained on the interview:

There is no problem with the funding. We observed that the number of social media misuses has been increasing recently, so we must make further step to solve this problem. The funding for the new board it is the consequences of politic decision. So, we have been prepared, it is also to create the more secure digital media, for this nation's sake. The Presidential Decree about the new board already released. So, we will have the new board shortly. (15 June 2017)

Additionally, the government also has been actively socialising a guidance to educate civilians in using social media and preventing them from being exposed to negative or radical contents. The Ministry of Communication and IT associated with private companies and other related board/organisations have been running the 'INSAN' [Health and Safety Internet] socialisation program since 2010. The socialisation is done in various way including talk shows, posters, video and voice campaigns, and animation campaigns in almost every city in Indonesia. In line with the result of observation done by Abboud (2013) and World Economic Forum (2013) that stated the socialisation to

improve public awareness is imperative to effectively protect the society from the negative impact of the digital media.

5. Conclusion and policy implications

The analysis of the reaction of the Awkarin and Young Lex's controversial videos showed that more viewer reacted negatively to the video and even there are a small number of them who asked the account to be reported and blocked. The negative reactions drove by the disagreement to the message, the use of offensive words, the creators, and pornography contents. There is a concern that inappropriate contents might give a negative impact to the society especially the children and the youth. Therefore, according to the reaction of the viewers, there is a necessity to regulate the digital content on the social media especially YouTube to be more acceptable with the existing social and cultural norms. Hackett (2008) argues that considering the easy-accessed of the internet the closest media to be compared is broadcasting media such as television. In Indonesia, the content on broadcasting media regulated stricter by the influence of culture and social norms. However, from the bigger perspective there are some other factors that should be considered, those are the freedom of expression and the space for creativity. The stricter restriction tends to also limit more the freedom of expression and the creativity. Hence, from the perspective of youtuber, the details restriction for digital media content are not necessary to be formed because it will limited their space for expressing their creativity.

Additionally, on the policy makers level, the Indonesian government has admitted that imposing the regulation of broadcasting media content on digital media content remains difficult to be applied. Unlike conventional media, the internet is the borderless source of information involving many parties, nation, and cultures. That has various perspectives to be put into only one box. Therefore, the internet should be regulated with the different strategic and commonly rely on self-regulation. In Indonesia, the government indeed provide the law as a corridor, but for the details of regulation, they supported the self-regulatory regulation. In order to control the self-regulation, the government maintain a good relationship and cooperation with the platforms. If there are rules urgently needed to be changed, the government will coordinate with the platform. The Indonesian government believed that less-regulation is the best way to regulate the content on a democratic country like Indonesia. To minimise the negative impacts of the inappropriate contents on the internet, the government applied several other strategies, those are establishing National Cyber and State Code Board, and raising the civil society awareness on internet ethics with socialisations.

Furthermore, considering the importance of content regulation for digital media that has been requested by the society and the fact that self-regulation has proven ineffective in regulating the digital media by the occurrence of various controversial content, the government, first, must improve the monitoring system on the internet by immediately activate national cyber organization. In addition, the government must also consider to form content regulations for digital media in the future to create the digital media that is more conducive and safer for all levels of society.

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