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Negotiating taboo, gender, and shame in reyben entertainment's comment section

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Abstract. This study investigates how Indonesian digital audiences decode taboo narratives of female sexual agency and familial transgression through the comment section of the YouTube channel Reyben Entertainment, using Stuart Hall's (1980) Encoding/Decoding Model as an analytical approach and gender studies as the primary theoretical lens. Rather than treating the video text itself as the object of analysis, the study centers audience interpretation, examining how viewers negotiate the tension between a guest's framed sexual autonomy and the patriarchal norms that continue to police women's bodies and choices in Indonesian public discourse. Drawing on gender studies concepts such as the male gaze (Mulvey, 1975), Kodrat (the culturally inscribed expectation of proper womanhood), and Aib (shame as a disciplinary mechanism), the research reads comment discourse as a site where gender norms are reproduced, contested, and renegotiated rather than merely stated or accepted. Employing Creswell's (2014) six-step qualitative analysis process, forty-five audience comments were coded and organized to

trace patterns of dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional decoding. Findings show a fragmented reception landscape shaped primarily by gendered moral expectation: an oppositional majority condemns the guest's conduct as a violation of prescribed womanhood and family honor, alongside a critically literate segment that exposes the video's commercial fabrication; a negotiated cluster reframes her narrative through domestic duty and propriety rather than outright condemnation; while a dominant-hegemonic minority consumes the content voyeuristically, reproducing the very objectifying gaze the video's moral framing claims to critique. The study argues that these comment sections function as active sites of gendered ideological negotiation, where audiences continuously reassert, soften, or resist patriarchal expectations of women rather than passively receiving media messages. This research extends existing literature by shifting focus from production-side analysis and formal media texts to grassroots, gendered audience reception within unregulated, algorithmically evasive digital spaces.

Keywords: reception analysis, gender studies, taboo content, YouTube, Indonesian digital audiences

INTRODUCTION

Digital platforms such as YouTube become key sites where taboo subjects, including female sexual agency and familial transgression, are staged, narrated, and publicly judged. In the Indonesian context, channels built around confessional content, such as Reyben Entertainment, package sensitive personal narratives for a mass audience and invite viewers to respond openly in the comment section. These comment sections rarely receive attention as objects of analysis in their own right. Most existing research on such content examines the video text itself, its narrative construction, or its production strategy, and leaves audience response largely unexamined. This gap matters because comment sections function as the space where gendered moral judgment is most visibly performed and contested. When a video frames a woman's transgression as a confession of sexual autonomy, the comment section becomes a space where Indonesian audiences negotiate the tension between that framing and enduring patriarchal expectations of women's conduct. Understanding how audiences decode this tension, whether by accepting, negotiating, or rejecting the video's preferred meaning, offers insight into how gender norms are reproduced and renegotiated in everyday digital discourse rather than only in formal media texts.

This study builds on (Hall, 1980) Encoding/Decoding Model together with gender studies concepts such as the male gaze (Mulvey, 1975), Kodrat, and Aib, in order to examine how audiences interpret this tension. The research first investigates how Indonesian digital audiences employ (Hall, 1980) dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional decoding positions to interpret the taboo narrative of female sexual agency presented in Reyben Entertainment's video. The research further investigates the ways in which gender studies concepts, particularly Kodrat, Aib, and the male gaze, shape the decoding positions identified in the first inquiry. In doing so, it considers how audiences use gendered moral reasoning to justify, soften, or contest their interpretive stance. These two lines of inquiry work together to reveal not only which decoding position audiences adopt but also the cultural vocabulary through which that position is expressed and defended.

This dual focus distinguishes the present study from prior reception research, which tends to isolate decoding position from the gendered moral reasoning that underlies it. The study treats these two dimensions as inseparable components of a single interpretive process rather than as separate objects of analysis.

This research extends existing literature by shifting focus from production-side analysis and formal media texts toward grassroots, gendered audience reception within unregulated, algorithmically evasive digital spaces. Prior studies of Indonesian digital audiences tend to concentrate on content creators, platform algorithms, or the formal features of viral videos, and leave the interpretive labor of ordinary viewers comparatively underexplored. The comment section, unlike the edited video text, records this interpretive labor directly and preserves the original spelling, slang, and moral vocabulary that audiences use to process taboo content. This unfiltered record makes the comment section a valuable site for observing how gender ideology operates in everyday digital speech rather than in curated or professionally produced discourse. By centering this data, the study contributes empirical evidence to debates on how patriarchal norms persist, adapt, and sometimes fracture within digital environments that appear to grant women greater visibility and voice. The findings carry implications for scholars of media reception, gender studies, and digital culture who seek to understand how audiences reconcile sensational content with entrenched social expectations. The following sections review relevant literature, outline the study's method, present the findings organized by decoding position, and discuss their broader theoretical and practical implications.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study draws primarily on (Hall, 1980) Encoding/Decoding Model, which holds that media texts do not transmit a single fixed meaning but are actively interpreted by audiences from one of three positions: dominant-hegemonic, in which the viewer accepts the text's preferred meaning; negotiated, in which the viewer partly accepts and partly adapts that meaning to local conditions; and oppositional, in which the viewer rejects the preferred meaning outright. This framework directs attention away from the video text itself and toward the interpretive labor performed by the audience in the comment section.

Gender studies concepts sharpen this framework for the present case. (Mulvey, 1975) concept of the male gaze describes how visual media positions the female body as an object of viewing pleasure, a dynamic this study traces in comments that fixate on the female host's appearance rather than the substance of her guest's narrative. Kodrat, the culturally inscribed expectation of proper womanhood in Indonesian discourse, and Aib, shame as a disciplinary mechanism directed at those who violate communal propriety, provide locally grounded vocabularies through which audiences justify, soften, or contest their moral judgments of the women depicted.

Morley's (1980) Nationwide audience study provided the first empirical test of Hall's framework, showing that decoding positions vary systematically with viewers' social

position rather than occurring at random, an insight this study extends to gendered moral positioning. More recent quantitative work confirms that gender continues to structure how online comment sections operate: (Döring & Mohseni, 2020) found that female YouTubers and streamers receive disproportionately more appearance-focused hostility than their male counterparts, and (Küchler et al., 2023), analyzing over 300,000 comments on German news pages, found that women's comments draw more uncivil replies than men's. In the Indonesian context specifically, (Azzen, 2025) documents how digital communities subject women to objectification and victim-blaming through comment sections that reproduce patriarchal discourse even while ostensibly discussing a shared grievance, a dynamic closely paralleling the present dataset. This study extends that line of work by showing that such moral policing is not gender-neutral: it is disproportionately directed at women's conduct rather than at the male figures implicated in the same narratives, and it operates alongside, rather than in place of, visual objectification and critical media literacy among the same audience.

The concepts of Kodrat and Aib are themselves grounded in Indonesian scholarship on gender ideology. (Yulianeta et al., 2016) trace how patriarchal, familialist, and "ibuism" ideologies domesticate women's roles across Indonesian literary production, while (Adiprasetio & Larasati, 2019) show how the New Order-era ideology of State Ibuism continues to discipline gender roles within the Indonesian family, and how it can be contested through counter-hegemonic media. (Daniel & Sugianto, 2023) demonstrate empirically that perceived social transgression functions as a measurable risk factor for shame (Aib) within Indonesian communities, lending psychological grounding to the concept as it is used in this study. (Musrifah & Ahmad, 2024) apply Hall's model directly to a comparable Indonesian case, YouTube audience reception of an influencer's public disclosure of a taboo personal choice, and similarly find a fragmented distribution across dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings, reinforcing the applicability of Hall's framework to Indonesian digital audiences confronting gendered taboo content.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative reception analysis design, using (Creswell, 2014) six-step qualitative analysis process to code and organize audience comments. The data source is the comment section of a single YouTube video, "CEWEK INI PU45KAN AY4H MERTU4 DAN PAM4NN," uploaded by the channel Reyben Entertainment.

The sample consists of forty-five audience comments, transcribed verbatim, including original spelling, slang, and punctuation, and compiled in Table 1. No comments were excluded from the coding process; irrelevant or spam-like entries, such as unrelated promotional content, were retained and coded separately to preserve the integrity of the naturally occurring comment ecology.

Each comment was coded according to (Hall, 1980) three decoding positions, dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional, and further interpreted through the gender

studies concepts of Kodrat, Aib, and the male gaze to identify the moral and visual logics underlying each interpretive position.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The coded comments reveal a fragmented reception landscape shaped primarily by gendered moral expectation. The following subsections present each decoding pattern identified in the dataset, followed by a discussion of the cross-cutting gendered asymmetry that runs through all of them.

A. Oppositional Decoding: Aib and Moral Condemnation

The largest cluster of comments rejects the video's framing outright, decoding the guest's conduct through the lens of Aib, treating her sexual history not as a private matter of autonomy but as a public transgression that threatens family honor and communal propriety. Commenters such as @ronysyahroni7152 and @DianAnti-w1z explicitly frame the guest's openness about her experience as shameful exposure rather than empowerment, and several invoke divine retribution (@untungjatmiko-r9f, @dedewarisman8104, @AmiCapa-k6s3j, @yulianitjipto8313) to reinforce the severity of the violation. Although this cluster frequently draws on religious vocabulary, its underlying logic is fundamentally gendered: the condemnation targets her failure to fulfill Kodrat, the inscribed role of the loyal, sexually restrained woman, rather than the male relatives involved in the same acts, who are almost entirely absent from these comments' moral scrutiny. This asymmetry reveals oppositional decoding as gendered moral policing, where women's transgressions are read as communal Aib requiring public correction, echoing (Azzen, 2025) findings on how Indonesian digital communities single out women for moral surveillance while extending it to show how the target of that policing is disproportionately female conduct.

B. Oppositional Decoding: Critical Media Literacy

A smaller but distinct subset of oppositional comments rejects the video not on moral grounds but on grounds of authenticity. Comments from @rafis4401, who describes the interviewee as unconvincing, and @Bastian-r4g, who recognizes the guest as a recurring performer across multiple videos under different names, decode the confession as staged commercial content rather than genuine testimony. This reading exposes the production strategy in which sensational female confession is manufactured for monetization, and demonstrates that audience decoding also operates along a literacy axis independent of, though often intertwined with, gendered moral judgment.

C. Negotiated Decoding: Domestic Duty and Modesty Norms

A negotiated cluster accepts the broader legitimacy of moral concern while reframing responsibility through the lens of marital duty and modesty rather than issuing outright condemnation. @VictorFerdinan Maitimu redirects blame toward the husband's failure to fulfill biological and financial obligations within marriage, implicitly arguing that the

wife's transgression is a negotiated consequence of a husband's inadequacy rather than a purely individual moral failing. Similarly, @Kikikiki-zh5rp frames infidelity as an almost expected outcome when a wife cannot satisfy her partner, a reading that partially excuses the guest while still operating within a patriarchal script that ties women's fidelity to their capacity to serve male satisfaction. @yulistiatylies6527 negotiates around the host's appearance specifically through the register of modesty, acknowledging the host's choice to no longer wear the hijab while still expressing that more modest clothing would be more dignified, a comment that neither fully condemns nor fully accepts the host's self-presentation. These negotiated readings demonstrate how Kodrat functions not as a rigid binary of acceptance or rejection but as a flexible moral vocabulary audiences use to partially excuse, partially discipline, and continuously renegotiate women's conduct.

D. Dominant-Hegemonic Decoding: The Male Gaze in Practice

A voyeuristic cluster of comments accepts and reproduces the video's underlying commodification of the female body, most clearly through comments fixating on the host's physical appearance rather than the guest's narrative. Comments such as @rudimanistinisti7604, @ummuyusuf1429, @NandaMardika-g9i, and @paringi_sabar, who explicitly states that he watches while thinking about something else entirely, exemplify (Mulvey, 1975) concept of the male gaze in digital comment form: the female host is positioned as visual spectacle for audience pleasure independent of, and often in place of, the moral narrative the video claims to foreground. Notably, @AgusBastian-i6h fully endorses the guest's pursuit of pleasure and urges her to abandon hypocrisy, directly accepting the video's surface framing of liberated female autonomy, a dominant-hegemonic reading that inadvertently aligns with feminist language while still occurring within a commercial structure that profits from her exposure. This cluster confirms that dominant-hegemonic decoding in this dataset is inseparable from gendered visual consumption, in which acceptance of the preferred reading manifests specifically as objectification of the women on screen.

E. Cross-Cutting Pattern: Gendered Asymmetry Across All Positions

Across all three decoding positions, one pattern remains constant: moral and visual scrutiny is directed overwhelmingly at the women in the video, the guest and the host, while the male relatives implicated in the same narrative receive negligible attention. Whether audiences condemn, negotiate, or voyeuristically consume the content, their interpretive labor consistently centers female bodies and female conduct as the site of meaning-making. This confirms the study's central argument that Indonesian YouTube comment sections function as active sites of gendered ideological negotiation rather than passive reception, where Kodrat, Aib, and the male gaze operate together to keep women, rather than the broader taboo itself, at the center of public moral judgment.

Table 1. *Raw Audience Comment Data (n = 46)*

No	Username	Comment (verbatim, original spelling)
1	@ronysyahroni7152	Perzinahan ko bangga yah di publikasikan nauzubillah.
2	@ivamasili2889	Rei nti klo pas sakarat nti pidcast2 nya dinampakkan loh. Gak takut? Mdh2an kedepan podcastnya yg bener2 mengedukasi
3	@NurHolis-sk3fk	Ngga boleh nonton gimana mba orang diyoutube dan siapa saja yg pasti melihat mau dalarang gimana, emang mba tahu ya ngga mungkin lag
4	@VictorFerdinan Maitimu	Bintang tamunya aja gak ngaca diri malah kasih saran...dasarnya aja udah gak cinta ama si kevin...kebutuhan biologis suami istri harus di bicarakan dan gaji suaminya juga 5 jt gak cukup ya bersyukur aja
5	@sitiaminah4411	Mhon mbak Rwy perbuatan yg dtayangkn sharusny jngn dtayanfkn d yutub ini kna perbuayan tercela..
6	@untungjatmiko-r9f	Astaghfirullah, Naudzubillahi mindzalik, jangan sampai ini terjadi di keluargaq. Aamiin ya ALLAH
7	@EsterHandayaniGulo-j7i	Berhentilah berzinah karena tidak berkenan kepada Tuhan tapi percayalah kepada Tuhan kita YESUS Kristus karena hanya Dia Tuhan dan juruselamat dunia yang memberi kita hidup yang kekal dalam kerajaan sorga
8	@WongKitoo-ell	Coba host nya bikin cerita pengalaman ny kayak nara sumber ny
9	@LASAMBIRA	Ingat bahwa kenikmatan dunia hanya sementara
10	@DiditzibanezioDiditz	Beginilah lw diotak yg di pikirin cuma uang, gak akan ada rasa bersalah dihatinya wlpn sudah berkhianat
11	@yulianitjipto8313	Ngeriii... Dunia hampir kiamat. Ga punya rasa kemanusian...
12	@MochHaris112	Dia bangga kaya gitu dia tidak sadar bahwa udh di cabuli 1 keluarga
13	@nanisumarni-y9j3e	Kalo punya istri yg kelakuannya kaya gini mending dicerai saja berarti gak setia sama suami amit" deh
14	@fenikurniasih2929	Gak perlu mengeluarkan pesan buat orang lain, pesan itu untuk dirimu sendiri.. skrng masih sehat puas puasin ky gitu.. nanti klo Allah SWT udah mencabut segalanya terimalah dngn lapang dada..
15	@ArisBrahman	Jatuhnya murahan banget ni udh tau mertua di sikat aja Aneh ya manusia skrng

No	Username	Comment (verbatim, original spelling)
16	@Kikikiki-zh5rp	Peringatan bagi ciwok yg tdk bisa puasin pasangan mya, pasti akan di dua kan, sakit sekali, mendingan hidup dgn nasi bungkus,
17	@sutinisutini3495	Itu namanya hati hewan bukan manusia
18	@dedewarisman8104	Ya alloh Mo kpn wanita Ini di kasi.. azab.. Kau saang penguasa bumi langit.. Kasi lah teguran buat dia ingat..
19	@indratiandriani1115	Hidup memang ada sandungan. Tapi kita harus tetap waras. Gak usah bangga.
20	@rudimanistinisti7604	Mbak hostnya sudah mkin langsing dan sperti awet muda
21	@Ibrahim-e2j7u	Jjur ya, KLO AQ mang Host ygterbaikkk,,, Wow...
22	@sasmito7980	Aku suka host nya..Trus trus trus..
23	@denisecarter864	kayak udah terhipnotis, tiap buka hp pasti ke PULAUWIN
24	@ahmadmad9617	Hostnya ngak kalah saing, mantap sama sama mulus.
25	@DianAnti-w1z	Jd takut tolong jauhkan ank cucu dr perbuatan hina seperti dia
26	@NurSupriatin-qj5om	Koq ada ya, perempuan dg aklak spt ini...Saya ngeri dan takut mendengarnya, saking itu di luar nalar saya, yg hanya seorang perempuan biasa. Nauzubillah tsuma nauzubillah.
27	@raparapa5379	Ini org apa ga takut apa sama penyakit dan hukum karma. Aku yang dengar aja takut banget dengar cerita ya
28	@AmiCapa-k6s3j	Sesungguhnya Allah maha mendegar dan maha menyaksikan apa yang kamu perbuat walaupun kamu berada di dalam bunker yg kokoh sekali pun. Azab Allah Pasti sangat pedih sebagai pembalasan
29	@cctvproject434	Miris, inilah manusia yang bangga dengan dosanya
30	@paringi_sabar	host nya all out bgt nanya smbil bikin yg ... nonton traveliing smbil mikir gtuan... good job host.
31	@jokopoer	21:15 kameramen wajib diberi penghargaan terbaik sepanjang masa
32	@SriRahayu-nz4dv	Kak Ray lama² duduknya tambah menantang dibanding yg lagi berkisah.
33	@danielvalverde2023	Yg komen pd MUNA kn dr judul dh mngarah kesitu tp ttp di klik

No	Username	Comment (verbatim, original spelling)
34	@jarwadi7043	Sales tuh sampingan Yang utama lacuranya
35	@agungratih957	Enak jd mbaknya, jd pendongeng dpt duit pula. Yg penting ngerti dan hafal ceritanya.
36	@ErniSeptiani-x9m	yang gasuka skip aja deh ga ush rese
37	@Bastian-r4g	Ini kan yg dulu udah 3 konten yg sama terus la ini kan juga nama sambarranya siska tu kan yg baju hitam dulu
38	@rafis4401	Yang diwawancarai pembohong sekali,,keliatan banget dibuat ceritanya..gak asli
39	@NandaMardika-g9i	Sambil nyimak cerita narasumbur malah aku fokus sama host nya mbak Ray, mbak Ray kamu buat aku tdak tahan nih, ditunggu tampilan mbak Ray kayak gini di episode selanjut nya ya. Buat ga tahan juga mbak Ray deh hihihi
40	@AgusBastian-i6h	Sangat mantap, capailah kepuasanmu, merdekakan hidupmu, buanglah kemunafikan, agar kamu mampu untuk bersyukur....
41	@umaanugrahsejahtera4619	Hostx penasaran ya pasti pingin ya... bikin aq gimana ya
42	@RamlanOppo-gz5ki	Menantu baik hati
43	@yulistiatylies6527	Kk Ray...semakin sexi penampilannya....11 12 dgn narsum... dr berhijab terjun bebas auratnya terlihat....kalaupun sdh tdk berhijab yaudah itu pilihannya... alangkah berkelas penampilannya seandainya memakai busananya yg lebih sopan...elegan...tetap cuantic kok...
44	@ummuyusuf1429	Aduh hostnya pahanya di ekspos banget, risih juga sy lihatnya
45	@Arliman124Arliman	Hostnya menarik sih, aku suka tipe aku banget
46	@AgusCebok	Konten bejjatt tp asyik

Note. Comments are reproduced verbatim, retaining original spelling, slang, and punctuation, as they appear in the source video's comment section.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that Indonesian audiences do not passively receive taboo confessional content on YouTube but actively negotiate its meaning through gendered moral

reasoning. Oppositional decoding, whether grounded in Aib and moral condemnation or in critical media literacy, negotiated decoding grounded in domestic duty and modesty norms, and dominant-hegemonic decoding grounded in the male gaze, converge on a single pattern: moral and visual scrutiny is directed disproportionately at women, while the male figures implicated in the same narratives are largely spared. These findings suggest that Kodrat and Aib function as flexible, locally grounded vocabularies through which Indonesian audiences police, excuse, or renegotiate women's conduct in digital spaces, and that this moral policing coexists with, rather than replaces, the objectifying visual consumption theorized by (Mulvey, 1975) male gaze. Future research could extend this analysis to other confessional YouTube channels, compare audience decoding across platforms, or examine how creators themselves anticipate and design content around these predictable gendered reception patterns.

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