
COMPETITION AMONG YOUTUBERS; CELEBRITIES VS NON-CELEBRITIES

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Abstract

Skill is not the only one aspect that can affect someone's popularity. This condition happens to celebrity and non-celebrity YouTubers. Celebrity YouTubers that have been famous can gain more capital and become more popular due to their stable existence as celebrities. However, non-celebrities YouTubers find their difficulties to become more popular and gain more capital as they need to work harder than the celebrity YouTubers. This condition happens as non-celebrity YouTubers need to establish their good names and images even though they have talented skills. On the other hand, celebrity YouTubers do not need to establish their images as their names have been constructed well in the public's eye. The purpose of this study is to analyze and compare the impact of controversial celebrity and non-celebrity YouTubers in Indonesia. Three celebrity YouTubers and three non-celebrity YouTubers were used as research subjects in this study. This study will cover a variety of topics, including YouTube accounts, content types, subscriber counts, and viewership. The analysis is theoretically grounded in Tomasema's capital theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Capital is classified into four types: economic, human, social, and symbolic. The results of this study revealed that the presence of celebrity YouTubers has an effect on the survival and careers of non-celebrity YouTubers.

Kata kunci :

Modal, Selebriti, Non-
selebriti, YouTuber

Abstrak

Skill bukanlah satu-satunya aspek yang dapat mempengaruhi popularitas seseorang. kondisi ini terjadi pada YouTuber selebriti dan non-Selebriti. YouTuber Selebriti yang terkenal dapat memperoleh modal lebih dan menjadi lebih populer karena eksistensi mereka yang stabil sebagai selebriti. Bagaimanapun, YouTuber non-selebriti menemukan banyak kesulitan untuk menjadi lebih populer dan mendapatkan modal lebih karena mereka perlu bekerja lebih keras daripada YouTuber selebriti. Kondisi ini terjadi karena YouTuber selebriti butuh membangun nama baik dan *image* mereka walaupun mereka mempunyai kemampuan yang mumpuni. Di sisi lain, YouTuber selebriti tidak perlu membangun *image* mereka karena nama mereka telah terbangun dengan baik di mata publik. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis dan membandingkan dampak kontroversi YouTuber selebriti dan non-selebriti di Indonesia. Tiga YouTuber Selebriti dan non-Selebriti dijadikan sebagai *subject* pada penelitian ini. Penelitian meliputi berbagai topik, termasuk akun YouTube, jenis konten, jumlah pelanggan, dan penonton. Analisis ini secara teori didasari dalam teori modal Tomasema dari Pierre Bourdieu. Modal di klasifikasi kedalam empat jenis: ekonomi, manusia, sosial, dan simbolik. Hasil dari penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa kehadiran YouTuber selebriti mempunyai sebuah efek pada keberlangsungan dan karir YouTuber non-selebriti.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian internet users are rapidly increasing, owing to the country's highly sophisticated internet connectivity. It also contributes to the growth of social media usage in Indonesia, particularly YouTube. Since its beginnings in 2005, YouTube, the world's largest video-sharing site, has undergone significant changes. Over the last decade, the platform has evolved into a leading marketing tool for social media influencers (Schwemmer, C., & Ziewiecki, S., 2018).

YouTube Creator & Artist Development Manager for India & SEA, Rajant Meshram, sees that every year YouTube channels from Indonesia in the last three years have seen a significant increase in subscriber numbers (Fikrie, M., 2021). Fikrie also added that this has resulted in a phenomenon where the large number of YouTube viewers in Indonesia has become a supporting factor for the emergence of the existence of a new YouTuber at this time. Every year, the growth of YouTube creator content in Indonesia is getting more extraordinary. In a period of three years, the number of 1 million subscribers increased very sharply. YouTube creates and promotes a variety of user-generated content, including films,

television shows, news reports, and commercials, because it is a site where videos can be easily uploaded and shared without special permission (PR Newswire, 2019). As a result, YouTube video creators can promote their own channels, users can exchange feedback via videos (Tang et al., 2012), and viewers with common interests can engage in open exchanges by expressing their 'likes', real-time comments, interacting through chat windows, and sharing videos with others. Apart from providing a wealth of information, YouTube enables users to share their perspectives and stories and serves as a source of entertainment (Freeman and Chapman, 2007), significantly outperforming text-based social media in a variety of ways.

A new consumption culture has developed in the last decade that involves obtaining information from YouTube rather than traditional media outlets such as television, radio, and magazines (Herold, 2008). YouTube is simple to navigate and offers seamless access to user-generated content (Lee and Watkins, 2016). Additionally, YouTubers engage in two-way communication, allowing subscribers and fans to gain insight into their private lives (Stever and Lawson, 2013). While

advertisers produce their content, YouTubers are perceived as consumers, similar to viewers and unlike celebrities on television. Thus, it is assumed that the communication between an influencer and a viewer is authentic and trustworthy (Veirman et al., 2017). As a result, information producers on social media influence a large number of people indirectly through relationships with 'followers' in a variety of complex ways (Gladwell, 2000). Viewers believe they will receive positive feedback about their appearances if they emulate celebrities' lifestyles (Djafarova and Rushworth, 2017) and learn and practice their favorite celebrities' appearance management behaviors.

The existence of YouTube as a social media platform sparked a phenomenon in which a number of Indonesian celebrities took on the role of content creators on YouTube, or what is commonly referred to as YouTubers. This phenomenon becomes particularly interesting because Indonesian celebrities, who are typically only seen on television, can now be found on laptops or mobile screens via videos uploaded to YouTube. Through this phenomenon, it is clear that Indonesian celebrities have risen to prominence in the entertainment industry today, as they

are well-known on television and on digital platforms such as YouTube.

As a couple, Indonesian celebrities such as Raffi Ahmad and Nagita Slavina were the first to enter YouTube social media. They began uploading content to their YouTube channel, RANS entertainment, at the end of 2015. They initially created the Youtube channel to capture family moments, but Rafii and Nagita saw an opportunity for their channel to grow in the next five years and decided to focus exclusively on YouTube without abandoning their work as television artists. Additionally, Rafi Ahmad revealed in 2019 via the Dunia Manji YouTube channel, which is owned by an Indonesian singer named Anji, that he is very interested in the world of Youtube because he earns a substantial nominal income from AdSense YouTube. Thus, based on Raffi's experience and success, which is already well-known to the Indonesian public, particularly celebrities in Indonesia, other celebrities were influenced and inspired to create their own channels. In recent years, nearly all celebrities in Indonesia have their own personal YouTube account.

Apart from the numerous Indonesian celebrities who appear on YouTube, Indonesian viewers undoubtedly constantly watch their

video content. Susan Wojcicki, CEO of YouTube, confirmed in 2017 that YouTube's audience exceeds that of traditional Indonesian television viewers (Handayani, Finna, P. and Merdekawati, Ika. 2019). The fact that YouTube has a more extensive user base than television may be one of the reasons why Indonesian celebrities who typically appear on television have begun to make follow-up appearances on YouTube.

Admittedly, YouTube has a higher nominal viewership than traditional television, resulting in a reciprocal relationship between celebrity YouTubers as content creators and the number of Indonesian viewers who watch a lot of YouTube. Each video published has an AdSense / CPM (cost per mile) value, which will be paid in multiples of 1000 viewers for each video on YouTube Indonesia (Dewi, Retia, K. 2020). Due to the celebrity status of a celebrity YouTuber, they will naturally attract a large audience, which will increase the value of their AdSense / CPM (cost per mile) revenue on each of their videos. It is also related to Youtube users, who can easily view the activities of Indonesian celebrities via the phone screen that is integrated with the

YouTube application, indicating that they have a mutually beneficial relationship.

Apart from the fact that many people prefer YouTube to television, this is also because of the invitation of other artists who have been active on YouTube for an extended period of time. For instance, Raditya Dika, a 12-year veteran of YouTube, invites television celebrities to join the platform. Radit invited and encouraged Luna Maya and Ari Lasso to submit videos to YouTube. According to Radit, the more people who enter YouTube, the better, as TV celebrities can provide new perspectives to the audience. Additionally, the event can be used in collaboration with other YouTubers. YouTubers are uninhibited in their pursuit of success. This type of invitation is one of the reasons TV celebrities dominate YouTube more than YouTubers who are older than TV artists who have recently entered (Faliha, 2020).

TV celebrities look more dominant can also be seen from the data published on (Kompas, 2020). There are 3 Youtube channels that have the highest income in Indonesia. The first sequence is Baim Paula's channel with 14.4 million subscribers and 735 videos. Their monthly income projection is US

\$ 59,300 - US \$ 949,100, equivalent to Rp. 830.20 million - Rp. 13.29 billion (exchange rate of Rp. 14,000 per US dollar). In second place from the Rans Entertainment channel which has a subscriber of 16.3 million and 1,402 videos. The projected revenue of Rans Entertainment per month is US \$ 48,500 - US \$ 776,200, equivalent to Rp.679 million - Rp.10.87 billion. In third place is Deddy Corbuzier's YouTube channel with a subscriber number of 10.1 million and 613 videos. The projection of Deddy's monthly income is US \$ 34,600 - US \$ 553,500, equivalent to Rp.484.40 million - Rp.7.75 billion. These three Youtube channels managed to beat Atta Halilintar's income even though Atta has the most subscribers in Indonesia as well as in Asia with 23.8 million subscribers. This proves that TV artists dominate more than YouTube (Tamtomo, Akbar, B. 2020).

There are several aspects that support TV artists being more dominant than YouTubers. This aspect is seen from Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Capital. According to Bourdieu, capital consists of economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Capital itself for most people must reduce to the meaning of the economy. Whereas according to Bourdieu Kapital

is a collection of individual and group workers who provide energy to society (Saniah, Siti., 2006). It's no wonder that many TV artists or celebrities have turned into a YouTuber phenomenon. In addition to increasing their finances, they already have the four aspects or capital above.

On the contrary of the celebrity-turned-YouTuber phenomenon, many legendary 'senior' YouTubers have been around for nearly a decade. They purely started their career as content creators on YouTube. At the beginning of the YouTubers 'busy year, names like Raditya Dika, Skinnyindonesian24, Edho Zell and Reza Oktovian as creator content greatly impacted YouTubers' development. The beginning of their appearance can be said to be the forerunner to the increasingly busy YouTubers phenomenon.

Edho Zell, a YouTuber with the real name Edho Pratama, started his career as a YouTuber in 2006 by making funny videos on his YouTube channel. After Edho Zell, Raditya Dika joined on June 29, 2007 with Malam Minggu Miko and was the first YouTuber in Indonesia to get the Gold Play Button which is a form of appreciation from Youtube for the achievement of one million subscribers.

Skinnyindonesian24, which is a channel owned by brothers Andovi da Lopez and Jovial da Lopez, joined on June 24, 2011. Both are known for their creative and high-quality content. One of the videos that shocked the public was a video entitled "Prabowo VS Jokowi - Epic Rap Battles of Presidency" which was uploaded during the 2019 election period. Reza Oktovian himself is known as a gaming YouTuber who started in 2012. The four of them are known as legendary Indonesian youtubers who paved the way for other YouTubers.

Currently, Youtube is starting to be filled with celebrities who were once better known on television, they started a YouTube account and got millions of subscribers in a short time. This phenomenon has begun to attract public attention and made the discussion of 'celebrity youtubers and youtubers' has emerged. Referring to the data of 10 Indonesian Youtubers with the highest income belonging to Social Blade, six of the list are celebrities who have joined YouTube (Kompas, 2020). This proves the shift in the youtubers era which is now dominated by celebrity.

The dominance of the celebrities among YouTubers causes some YouTubers inevitably have to compete

with them. Unfortunately, this competition causes some YouTubers to lose competitiveness, both in quantity and quality. The content that is popular with the market is starting to change. The impact of the existence of celebrities who were not YouTubers on existing YouTubers, made some 'senior' YouTubers choose to stay like Raditya Dika and some chose to resign like Skinnyindonesian24. Jovial, the owner of the Skinnyindonesian24 channel, feels appreciation is only given to aspects that calculate numbers such as views, subscribers, likes and comments instead of video quality. They are starting to shift with celebrity YouTubers who already have supporting resources.

Seeing the phenomenon of celebrities who easily dominate YouTube, the strength of the resources possessed by celebrities can be the background why celebrities can dominate YouTube. The amount of capital they have and the weight of their overall capital composition are related to the factors that make celebrity YouTubers different from other YouTubers on Youtube. Based on the background above, the researchers attempted to analyze how the existence

of celebrity YouTubers affects the career of Indonesian non-celebrity YouTubers.

The research object for this study is an observation of the YouTube celebrity channels of Baim Wong, RANS Entertainment, and Deddy Corbuzier. The three channels were chosen as the research subject due to their status as television artists who currently dominate YouTube Indonesia. Additionally, we use non-celebrity YouTuber channel content creators who have been active on Indonesian YouTube, namely Majelis Lucu Indonesia, SkinnyIndonesia24, and Edhozell, as a comparison object.

The purpose of this research is to determine how the impact of a celebrity's television career changed roles to YouTube celebrity and began to dominate the Indonesian entertainment industry and how it affected the careers of other YouTube content creators. We employ several theories in this study. One of them makes use of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital, which Tomasema (2019, 2) proposes in his journal *Negotiating Collaborations: BookTubers, the Publishing Industry, and YouTube's Ecosystem*. According to Tomasema (2019), capital exists in four

distinct forms: economic, human, social, and symbolic.

Economic capital is not just capital in the form of money. However, economic capital can be realized or not materialized. So it could be an asset that is invested to support a goal that ends up making money. But economic capital can also be viewed from the income earned from the platform used (Tomasema, 2019).

Human capital is not used to make money. Human capital is about accumulated knowledge and expertise. So content creators must use their expertise and knowledge to produce content that is widely watched by the audience. So that the profit you get can increase (Tomasema, 2019).

Social capital is the aggregate of actual or potential resources that are associated with the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or, in other words, with membership in a group. It provides each of its members with the backing of collectively owned capital, a "credential" that entitles them to credit in various senses. These relationships may exist only in their

practical manifestations, through material and symbolic exchanges that contribute to their maintenance (Bourdieu, 2002). He also added that the existence of a network of connections is not a natural or even a social given; it is a product of an initial act of institution, represented in the case of the family group by the genealogical definition of kinship relations, which is the defining characteristic of a social formation. Social capital is related to the network or relationship between one individual and another. It can be used by an individual who has a wide network to generate profits for the individual himself. Social capital is also obtained from digital platforms, expressed in standard quantitative indicators (number of views, subscribers and followers) as well as active engagement with their audience. The 3 capitals really support TV celebrities to enter YouTube. There are no television celebrities who are not well-known; they must be well-known to many people. They are seen as influential individuals with many fellow celebrities and developed businesses. Thus, TV celebrities who enter YouTube are more easily recognized by a large number of people, and it also encourages people to watch TV celebrities on YouTube more frequently.

Economic capital, as television celebrities, they must have earned a substantial income before entering YouTube. It is relatively simple for TV celebrities to purchase equipment that will enable them to become YouTubers. Their money will be extremely easy to obtain the necessary means of production. There is nothing wrong with the content of television celebrities who have recently joined YouTube. Furthermore, the quality is excellent. Not only are production tools purchased, but artists will also seek assistance in editing their videos. Due to their hectic schedules as television celebrities, they will not edit or record themselves.

As television celebrities, the majority of them are known for their superior skills and knowledge. In our observation, when TV celebrities enter YouTube, they are sure to leverage their skills and knowledge. Anyone who is an expert in makeup will eventually become a beauty vlogger. Some are psychologists who then host mental health podcasts. Even those who are gaming experts have turned themselves into YouTube gamers, among others. With a great deal of expertise and knowledge held by television artists. It will make it easier for

television artists to get their work seen on YouTube and gain a large audience.

Apart from the theory of Pierre Bourdieu. The theory used in this research is the class stratification theory in *Max Weber book on power and social stratification: an interpretation and critique by Routledge*. Breen, R., & Rottman, D. B. (2014). This theory is used as a support for the inequality of the position of celebrities and non-celebrities. class structure is usually formed by positions rather than by persons. The class structure consists of 'empty places' and a dramatic change in which people occupy certain positions can occur without changing the form of the class structure.

In this case, the authors viewed that celebrities have a strong position even if they make a change to become a YouTuber, it will not change their class structure at all. Those who actually work as celebrities will still have the same class as celebrities who are famous with various kinds of privileges that have been owned from the start. At least the celebrity name has been recognized by many people.

Meanwhile, this is a comparison with non-celebrities who become

YouTubers. Previously they were just ordinary people without the privileges of being a celebrity. Then at this time, with the many cases of celebrities becoming YouTubers, it is a threat to those who are non-celebrities who have been YouTubers for a long time to remain as content creators on YouTube. Thus, the existence of different class stratification creates conflict between them.

As in "real life," social stratification in the digital sphere is the result of this complex interplay of three factors: Each society exhibits inequalities among individuals and groups, giving rise to social strata in the practice of social relations, and inequalities present in the social structures are not presumably disconnected from the digital inequalities present in the digital sphere (Ragnedda, M., & Muschert, G., 2015). Tracing back to the theory above, there are inequalities between individuals and groups in digital media which one on YouTube, in real case, the differences that cause conflict in the presence of groups of celebrities who have switched roles to become YouTubers and ordinary individuals who have careers to become YouTubers. Grunewald and Haupt (2014) revealed that according to YouTubers, skill and talent are just a

starter capital for value creation on YouTube. As well as skills and talents, it is important to be able to tap into and make connections on the YouTube culture and networks.

Capital in the way described above has been with Celebrity YouTubers since they began their careers on YouTube by creating their channel. A celebrity does not have to start from scratch to build an audience and fan base because they have already built a strong fan base since becoming famous. They were already acquainted with other celebrities. Their starting point is aided by the capital they bring and their celebrity status.

METHOD

In this study, the researchers analyzed some youtube channels, Smith (2013) approaches the changes in the entertainment industry not from a content delivery perspective but from that of content creators (Soukup, Paul A., 2014). Therefore, the sources of data used for the analysis were taken from the accounts of YouTuber Baim Wong, RANS Entertainment, and Deddy Corbuzier as celebrities and non-celebrity YouTube channels; Majelis Lucu Indonesia, Indonesian skinny24, and Edhozell.

In this study, the authors classified celebrity YouTube channels named Baim

Paula, RANS Entertainment, and Deddy Corbuzier. The selected channels were chosen based on their subscribers and viewers. Those channels that have been chosen are well known by Indonesian YouTube viewers and arguably the most popular channel which each of them are having more than 10 million subscribers with an average number of viewers reaching one million viewers. Therefore, the three channels were selected to represent Celebrity Youtubers, which researchers will analyze.

Here are the stages that we did in this study. First, we chose three celebrity YouTube channels that seemed to dominate over YouTubers, namely Baim Wong, RANS Entertainment, and Deddy Corbuzier. We chose these three YouTube channels based on subscribers, number of views, and type of content. So we're going to analyze through those three YouTube channels. Second, we analyzed how those three celebrity YouTube channels can be seen more dominating. We analyzed it in the terms of the capital of each celebrity so that we could see how those three celebrity YouTubers use the capital they have. Third, we analyzed using Bourdieu's theory. In this way we explore more about the capital owned by the celebrity YouTubers who own the YouTube channels that were mentioned

earlier. Then, we made a comparison between celebrity YouTubers; Deddy Corbuzier, Baim Paula, RANS Entertainment and non-celebrity YouTubers; Majelis SkinnyIndonesia24, and Edhozell. The last, we interpreted the discovery of capital gains from those celebrity and non-celebrity YouTube channels.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The first data is taken from a YouTube celebrity, namely Deddy Corbuzier. Deddy Corbuzier is a celebrity who started his career since 1998 as a magician. Deddy is known as an Indonesian mentalist, actor, television presenter, and YouTuber. Deddy also wrote, directed, and starred in the action film before starting his career as a Youtuber. Deddy started a youtube account on December 8, 2009 with the channel name Deddy Corbuzier. Deddy created his own podcast content which he named "Close The Door Podcast". As of March 2021, his YouTube account has reached 13.9 million with an average audience of 2,291,698,429.



Figure 1. Deddy Corbuzier's YouTube account

In this research, we chose Deddy Corbuzier because Deddy is someone who is known to many people and is supported by the capital he has. Deddy Corbuzier is a YouTuber whose podcast content is now always millions of people watching. Previously, the figure of Deddy was known as a magician who created a famous magician in the country so that he was also known as a professional mentalist. Since deciding to stop being a magician, Deddy has focused on being a presenter. In fact, he has a talk show program called *Hitam Putih*.

Actually, before Deddy stopped being a magician, he had been a presenter since 2010. As well as being a presenter, Deddy is also actively uploading videos on his YouTube channel. He has been active on YouTube with podcast content since 2019. Deddy's Podcast content is always watched by more than one million people with a relatively fast upload time. From March 22, 2021 to March 28, 2021,

Deddy has uploaded 5 videos in a week. Deddy regularly uploads his content with various invited guest stars.



Figure 2. Deddy Corbuzier's regular uploads

Seeing the figure of Deddy who has been known to many people through TV with a different type of profession, we see that Deddy has social capital. By becoming known to many people on television, social media, fellow artist friends, and co-workers or important guests whom he invited through his podcast. This makes Deddy have quite a broad relationship. This broad enough relationship made him easier do his job. By having a broaden relationship, it could increase his power.

His fame as a celebrity YouTuber has survived until now as it is helped by his own capital. Beside social capital, he also has economic capital. There are several sources of income he has earned, which are from TV presenters, property entrepreneurs, cellphone and camera shop owners at one of the big malls in South Jakarta, Endorsement. Through

this fact, we know that he has the convenience of becoming a celebrity YouTuber. He does not spend a lot of money. He only provides a small studio room, podcast equipment, cameras and other things.

In addition, Deddy Corbuzier also has Human Capital because seeing the fact that he is an artist and now he is a celebrity-Youtuber, we cannot deny that he has connections with many people. Through his podcast he has interviewed well-known Indonesian artists and also Indonesian functionaries including the Indonesian President Joko Widodo, and also the Indonesian ministers present on his podcast. Through this, it is clear that he has a strong connection to both the elite and the non-elite. Then, through his educational background, we know that Deddy Corbuzier is a graduate of the Undergraduate Psychology Department from Atmajaya University Jakarta and a Masters in Psychology at the University of London, England. So it also has a symbolic capital.

To summarize, Deddy Corbuzier owns the four capitals of the four capitals that Bordieu initiated, namely economic capital, social capital, symbolic capital and cultural capital. Through the four capitals he owns as YouTuber Celebrity, Deddy easily dominates the Indonesian

Youtube platform. His channel now has more than 13 million subscribers with an average viewership of one million per video. Social Blade (2020) also mentions his channel as one of the YouTubers with the highest income in Indonesia.

Economic capital makes him not limited by makeshift equipment. Deddy Corbuzier can easily form a team and get the best equipment resources to run a YouTube channel. Symbolic capital and social capital also play a role in Deddy's channel which make him easily have a solid audience, fans and recognition by YouTube viewers. Apart from skills and talents, it is important to be able to tap into and make connections on the YouTube culture and networks and this is the reason why celebrities could dominate YouTube platform using their social capital. Moreover, the symbolic capital gained from his education makes him known as an educated person.

On the contrary, a pioneer of podcast industry in Indonesia named Andriano Qalbi has a different condition compared to Deddy Corbuzier. Adri is often referred to as the "Father of Indonesian Podcasts." He has started podcasting since 2015. Adri who is known as a non-celebrity YouTuber joined a YouTube channel named Majelis Lucu on September 22nd, 2017. Majelis Lucu

contains several stand-up comedians. To this date, Majelis Lucu has reached 338,814,749 views with 1.79 million subscribers. Majelis Lucu has created various kinds of content as shown in their channel playlist. One of their content is the Awal Minggu podcast hosted by him. Adriano started his career as a podcaster of SoundCloud and then continued making some videos on Majelis Lucu YouTube channel.

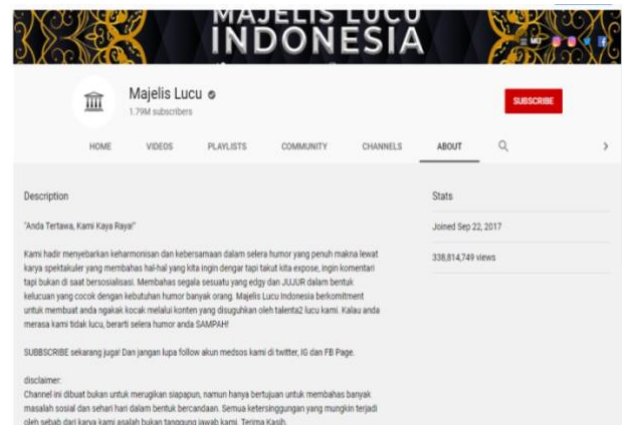
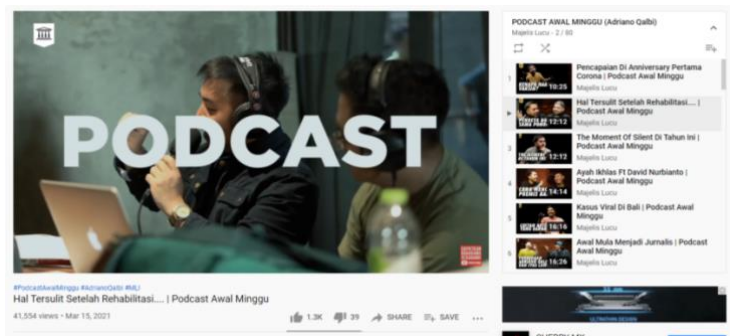


Figure 3. Adri, pioneer of the podcast industry

With 1.79 million subscribers of Majelis Lucu, the average audience is approximately 100,000. Only a few of his videos reach 200,000 to 300,000 viewers, with various invited guests with one week one podcast broadcast breaks.



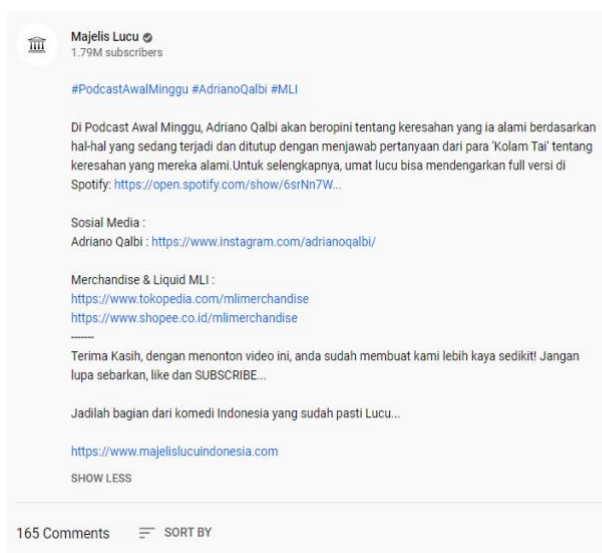


Figure 4. Adriano Qalbi, a copywriter, creative director, and radio announcer.

From Figure 4, we could see the experiences that Adriano Qalbi has. This man who graduated from Bond University, Queensland, Australia started his career as a copywriter and creative director at an advertising agency from 2005 to 2012. He also had a career as a radio announcer. His background as a radio announcer became his initial capital as a podcaster. His career before plunging into a non-celebrity Youtuber made him have the skills and talents as a YouTube podcaster. Adriano's educational background and career path are the symbolic and cultural capital.

Andriano did a stand-up comedy on Majelis Lucu YouTube channel entitled "Lo Pikir Lo Keren" in 2017 and "Tau Deh Yang Pinter" in 2019. His appearance as a comedy later brought

his name to be widely recognized by people. The fame he got from his journey as a comic later became a social capital which made his fanbase develop through the opportunity to appear as a comic. Social capital and symbolic capital are what help Andriano to become more and more recognized by the public.

Even though he started earlier than Deddy Corbuzier as a podcaster and although Adri's skills are more convincing in carrying out his career as a podcaster, unfortunately Andri's name is not as big as being discussed by Youtube viewers like Deddy Corbuzier. Andriano does not have economic capital like Deddy Corbuzier, where he does not have a personal team to help him create content but instead joins Majelis Lucu's team. This limitation then makes the content unable to be uploaded as often as Deddy Corbuzier's. Sedlacek (2016) also mention that not everybody can't make a living as YouTuber because YouTube money is not easy money.

Besides lacking in economic capital, Andriano also lacks in fame and connections. Seeing from their Instagram account, Deddy has a lot of followers reaching 9.4 million with accounts followed by reaching 576, which are mostly Instagram accounts of public figures. While Adriano only has

20.7 thousand followers with 814 accounts followed. This big difference shows that Deddy's fame is certainly bigger than Adriano's. According to Hernandez (2017) if a YouTuber is a celebrity, star, or icon, they are obviously famous, but what makes a person famous always needs to be shown. In addition, Deddy's career as a celebrity and in the film industries makes him have many connections. These materials and connections make it easy for Deddy to create great and interesting content without worrying about the resources.



Figure 5. Andriano also lacks in fame and connections



Figure 6. Deddy's fame

The four capitals complement each other and become Deddy's starting point and initial capital as a YouTuber, compared to Andriano who just had three. According to Grunewald and Haupt (2014), the more capital an individual has, the greater the opportunity they have to dominate an area. With celebrities appearing and starting to dominate the Youtube platform, there has emerged the dominance of celebrity YouTubers. For example, if you search for 'podcast' in the YouTube search column, the podcast content that appears is dominated by content belonging to Deddy Corbuzier. It is very difficult to find podcast channels that are owned by non-celebrities. Moreover, Sedlacek (2016) also argues that YouTube fame only became possible after it was picked up by traditional media, and that the platform's main intention was just to help people gain celebrity status. That is to say with the dominance of the 'real' celebrity joining YouTube platform, the chances for non-celebrities are small.

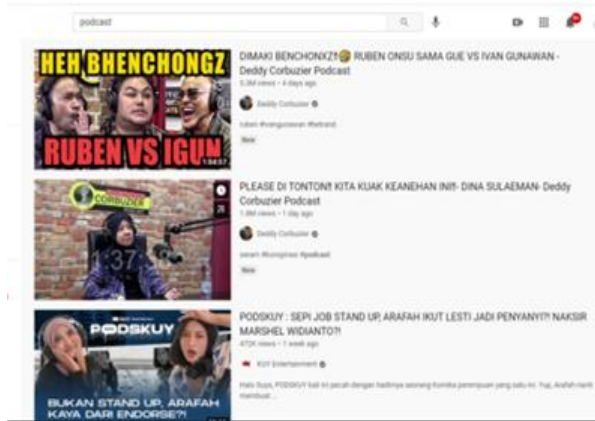


Figure 7. The dominance of the 'real' celebrity joining YouTube platform

Through the analysis above, we can see that skill and talent are just a starter and supporting capital for value creation on YouTube and could be overshadowed by another capital. Capital is what makes youtubers celebrities survive and could dominate the YouTube platform.

The second source of data is Baim Wong and his wife Paula Verhoeven. They are a couple of celebrities who have a YouTube account named Baim Paula. For the first time, they started creating YouTube content in 2016 and are still actively producing content. The type of content they publish is in the form of Vlogs of their daily activities.

Their YouTube channel account is growing rapidly and is active until now. Unlike the case with the YouTube Skinny Indonesia 24 account, which is no longer actively producing content anymore. So, the researcher compared celebrities YouTubers named Baim Paula YouTube

channel to non-celebrity YouTube channel named the Indonesian skinny channel 24 which is owned by Jovial and Andovi da Lopez.



Figure 8. Baim Paula's channel with 14.4 million subscribers and 735 videos

Based on published data (Kompas, 2020), there are 3 Youtube channels that have the highest income in Indonesia. The first sequence is Baim Paula's channel with 14.4 million subscribers and 735 videos. Until now, Baim Paula's YouTube account has grown to have 18.2 million subscribers. This youtube account publishes at least 2 content every day with an average number of viewers, which is over 1 million views. That's why this YouTube account can occupy the top 3 Indonesian YouTubers with high income, namely US \$ 59,300 - US \$ 949,100, equivalent to Rp. 830.20 million - Rp. 13.29 billion (exchange rate of Rp. 14,000 per US dollar) (Tamtomo, Akbar, B., 2020).

Based on the analysis using Bourdieu's theory, there are several capital gains owned by this pair, the first is Social capital. Before becoming a YouTuber, Baim Wong was well known as a soap opera player and Paula was a model. Through their background as famous artists, certainly they have a very large number of fans. Therefore, of course their fans will always monitor and follow Baim and Paula's activities, one of those always watching Baim and Paula's daily vlog on YouTube. This is very beneficial for both of them, where the content of baim and paula have a large audience and the fans needed to see their idolize is also fulfilled.

In addition, with this profession, Baim also benefits from having links to acquaintances with other well-known Indonesian artists. So this also makes it easier for you to collaborate to invite well-known celebrities to appear on their YouTube content. and through youtube baim paula easily builds social networking with other artists. Miller (2012) defines it even more comprehensively, drawing in a number of key features; "YouTube.com—a free, public, online video archive with built-in social networking features—has created a platform for countless virtual communities, many of which are focused

on transmitting knowledge in users' areas of interest and expertise" (Soukup, Paul A., 2014).

They also have economic capital, their source of income comes from their professions, whic are actors and models, then they also have a culinary business, and income from endorsements. Through a high level of economic status, it is easy for them to have the initial funds to build a YouTube, such as providing shooting equipment, recruiting a team of editors, providing a studio and others.

However, Baim and Paula did not have the same educational background as their professions. Baim, who only graduated from high school and Paula, finished his undergraduate education majoring in public relations. Their educational history has nothing to do with the career they have lived as artists and models. So, it can be concluded that the success of Baim and Paula in having a youtube account with a very high number of subscribers comes from their human capital and economy.

This is very different from the condition of non-celebrity YouTubers, namely Indonesian Skinny 24. Even though they started from scratch without anyone knowing who they were, both of them always served quality content which of course still entertained the

audience. This channel was built by two brothers Jovial and Andovi da Lopez. Until 2020 this channel has a total subscriber of 3.12 million with an average number of hundreds of thousands of viewers that can be seen in Figure 9.

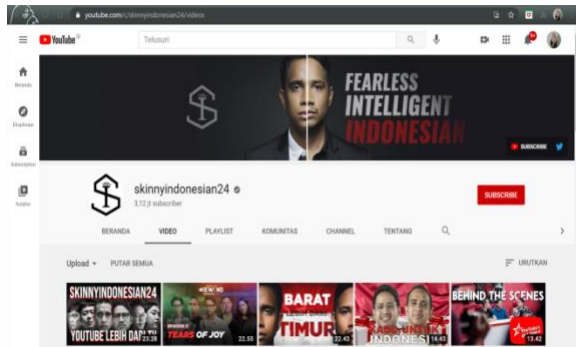


Figure 9. The Skinny Indonesia YouTube account does not have special benefits like celebrities

From this data, we can see that The numbers are very different from the YouTube channels owned by Baim and Paula. Aside from it, there is one of their contents that caught the eye and was trending at that time, namely Youtube's Got Talent that can be seen in Figure 10.



Figure 10. YouTube's Got Talent from SkinnyIndonesia24

This content tells about the search for talent to become a YouTuber with the judges, namely non-celebrity YouTuber creator content. In fact, this content is designed to discuss the state of the existence of Indonesian YouTube. There is one part where Indonesian skinny indeed insinuates the existence of a TV artist who enters YouTube, then this is the talk and trending on various social media and this content is the last offering from the Indonesian Skinny YouTube account 24.

On the YouTube content Got Talent part 1 at 4:16 - 6:52 minutes, Skinny Indonesia 24 alludes to how Baim Wong raises his YouTube subscriber by giving a giveaway to the Indonesian people with the terms and conditions. One of that way is by subscribing the YouTube channel Baim Paula. So, in this case, it is very clear that there is a sense of injustice conveyed by them.

Through the theory of class stratification theory in *Max Weber book on power and social stratification: an interpretation and critique by Routledge*. Breen, R., & Rottman, D. B. (2014). This case was answered already: who actually works as celebrities will still have the same class as celebrities who are famous with various kinds of privileges in any way, so that the Skinny Indonesia

youtube account which is not an artist profession does not have special benefits like an artist.

So, based on existing data, there is capital gain, Baim and Paula's economy and human resources make it easier for them to reach a large number of viewers and subscribe compared to YouTube con creator content that has been around for 9 year.

The third data we chose was RANS Entertainment, a Youtube channel by a married couple of artists, namely Raffi Ahmad and Nagita Slavina that were compared to a non-celebrity YouTuber, Edho Zell. We took both of these data from YouTube. We compared these two YouTube channels based on the same type of content, which is about vlogs. Edho Zell does not have an artist background. He has started to enter YouTube since 2006, longer than RANS Entertainment because Raffi and Nagita have started to enter YouTube since 2015.

Even though they have the same type of content, RANS Entertainment has more subscribers than Edho Zell. RANS Entertainment has a subscriber of 19.8 million while Edho Zell has a subscriber of 3.83 million. That's because Raffi and Nagita have social capital, which is a fairly broad network than Edho Zell.

Social capital is owned because Raffi and Nagita have artist backgrounds, so before becoming YouTubers, both of them were already known through TV shows. So that they are both quite well known among Indonesian people. Meanwhile, Edho Zell does not have an artist background, so he is only known through YouTube. The conclusion is that if someone has social capital, then it will support and facilitate one's future career.

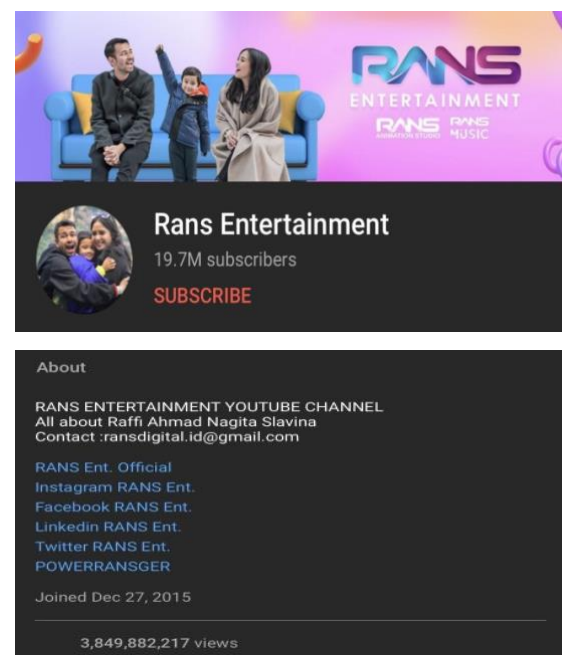


Figure 11. Rans Entertainment, a YouTube channel for the couple Raffi Ahmad and Nagita Slavina

Rans Entertainment is a YouTube channel for the couple Raffi Ahmad and Nagita Slavina. Raffi Ahmad began to enter the world of entertainment since 2002 through the soap opera *Tunjuk Satu Bintang*, starring a number of other

well-known artists, not only soap operas but Raffi also played in several Indonesian films. From there, Raffi increased his career as an advertisement star and singer in the vocal group Not the Ordinary Star (BBB). Raffi's name became widely known as a presenter of the Dahsyat program at RCTI in 2009. Raffi also studied at Paramadia University and continued to the Open University.

In 2014, Raffi officially married Nagita Slavina. Her wedding was broadcast live for two consecutive days on one of the national television stations so that her second marriage was called the most luxurious wedding party in 2014. Nagita Slavina, who is familiarly called Gigi, started her career in 2000 as a model for Biore's facial cleanser. Gigi then active in acting by starring in several soap operas. Not only concerned with career, Gigi also concerned with education. Gigi graduated from the Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia (UI). Education at UI only lasted 2 years because he continued his education at the Australian National University majoring in Commerce, faculty of the School of Accounting and Business Information System in 2009. After graduating from Australian

National University, Gigi also studied cooking at Le Cordon Bleu London.

After 1 year of marriage, Raffi and Gigi created the YouTube channel Rans Entertainment in 2015. The name RANS was taken from the merger of the initials Raffi Ahmad (RA) and Nagita Slavina (NS). The creation of this YouTube content stems from Gigi's favorite watching YouTube shows. However, Raffi's goal is different from Gigi, Raffi created this YouTube channel to capture moments with his family. However, as time went by, Raffi saw a pretty good opportunity on YouTube by earning a lot of income through AdSense YouTube. To support his YouTube channel, Raffi has a special work office to discuss and create content with other RANS crew.

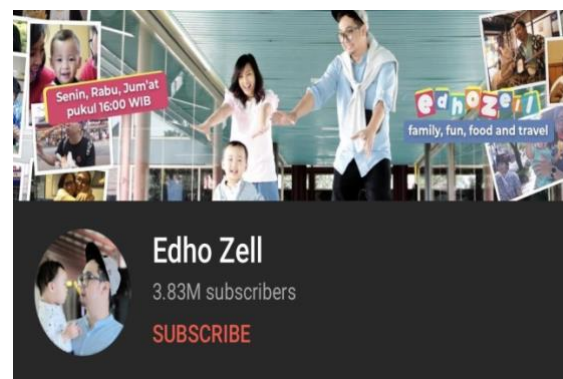


Figure 12. Edho Zell, whose real name is Pratama, a vlogger that does not have a TV artist background

Unlike Raffi and Gigi, Edho Zell, whose real name is Pratama, is a vlogger who does not have a TV artist background. So he is indeed known through his YouTube channel. Before becoming a successful vlogger, Edho worked as an internet cafe keeper and lived in a boarding house with plywood walls because he didn't have any money. Edho chose to live alone in Jakarta at that time because his mother and father divorced. Her mother then remarried and chose to join her husband to live in Papua. Edho also had the experience of being a perfume seller.

Edho has a talent for break dancing which is later used as a dance teacher. Besides having a talent for break dance, Edho is also smart, he was accepted at the University of Indonesia. However, he soon quit college and decided to work as a break dance teacher. Getting a sizable income from break dancing, Edho finally went to Japan. Before long, he decided to return to Indonesia because there he actually got into trouble. Edho finally made lip sync, the song snail raun which Sinta and Jojo made viral. After making the video, one

of the online video channels offered Edho to take part in training to improve the quality of content and videos. In 2004, Edho finally decided to become a full-fledged vlogger.

Analysis based on Bourdieu's theory, RANS Entertainment has 3 capitals, namely social capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital. RANS has social capital because Raffi and Nagita have extensive networks. For example, know fellow artists, officials, and people who already know them a lot. They have economic capital to support their video content. They provide a crew such as a videographer, editor and so on. Even Raffi and Nagita have a special office for the work of their crew. Their symbolic capital is due to their well-known status. Meanwhile, Edho Zell has only one capital, namely cultural capital. Edho's cultural capital has since he participated in training to improve content and videos. So that besides Edho being in the frame, he also understands how to properly record and edit himself. As a result, the more capital you have, the more people will see and watch the content. Nothing wrong with RANS who just entered YouTube than Edho Zell has more subscribers and of course income.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, ability and talent are only a starting point and supplementary capital for business growth on YouTube. These considerations may be eclipsed by another capital. Capital is what enables YouTube celebrities to thrive and potentially dominate the platform. Thus, economics and resources are extremely advantageous when it comes to becoming a YouTuber. In comparison to non-celebrity YouTubers, celebrity YouTubers have greater access to capital and human resources. As a result, the dominance of celebrity YouTubers has an effect on YouTube's algorithm, as their presence is more prevalent than that of non-celebrity YouTubers.

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