Gender-bender: Perceptions of College Students in Tangerang on the Portrayal of Gender Roles in Popular Media

Juan Osbert Ethan Widjaya, Deborah N. Simorangkir

Swiss German University

Email: juan.widjaya@student.sgu.ac.id, deborah.simorangkir@sgu.ac.id

Abstract

Media representation defines social reality by virtue of meanings negotiated through symbols, creating symbolic boundaries that define identities, including gender. The purpose of this study is to analyze how college students in Tangerang respond to modern representations of gender boundaries and perceive symbolic boundaries of gender found in Dove Cameron's "Breakfast" music video. Focus group discussions with male and female participants were conducted. Data were analyzed using the Stuart Hall's Reception Analysis perspective. Results showed that Indonesian younger audiences -male and female- react positively and are receptive to the messages of gender boundary-crossing, and they actively reconstruct the symbolic boundaries of gender. The study finds that participants have progressive definitions of gender, with various aspects of their background influencing their views on gender. The symbolic boundaries of gender include characteristic traits, appearance, and sexualities. Ultimately, similar results were gleaned from both the male and female groups.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization positions media as a mirror of real life, playing a crucial hand in constructing and reconstructing society through information dissemination (Luhmann, 2000). Mass media contains messages in the form of images, symbols, and narratives that represent a social reality, thus producing media representations of social groups. These representations, however, can fall into stereotypical portrayals which are then reflected upon individuals in real life (Sparks, 2014).

As a social group, genders have also been subject to media stereotypes. One's construction of gender develops through social interactions and self-regulated concepts (King et al., 2021; Breda et al., 2020; Preece & Bullingham, 2022), with mass media becoming an increasingly active force in socializing gender roles (Signorielli, 2012) through certain symbols. Consequently, the media creates, supports, reinforces, and challenges symbolic boundaries of gender (Lamont & Molnár, 2002).

Symbolic boundaries of gender rely heavily on the traditional way of viewing the gender binary, synonymizing masculinity to men and femininity to women (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1996). Furthermore, Western media have portrayed the stereotypical woman as hypersexual, largely in part due to old Hollywood's commission of the male gaze putting women under the sexual spectacle of men, both within the media product and for the male audience (Oppenheimer et al., 2003; Hollinger, 2012).

The male gaze, however, is only one of many examples of how mass media feeds into and creates hegemonic masculinity, a subculture of "manly men" asserting dominance over femininity through violence and aggression, which births femmephobia (Hoskin, 2020). Femmephobia does not exclusively target women; it is ubiquitously aggregated toward individuals assigned male at birth (Eguchi, 2011; Skočajić et al., 2019; Hoskin, 2020).

Van Zoonen (1994) posits that media representation is, instead of a singular face value of on-screen portrayals, a collaborative result of meaning production and audience reception. Creatives helming the inception of a media product influence media content, directly tying media representation to media production (Lauzen & Dozier, 1999). This concept is further reified by auteurism, positioning film directors as mass media authors who imbue personal visions into the films they create (Giannetti, 1987). This inevitably situates audience reception of media messages under the direct influence of media producers. In other words, representation behind the scenes contributes to representation on screen and perceptions of social groups in social reality.

Feminist media grows in a rise as a counteract to the patriarchal sexism rife in the media industry. It becomes the genesis of transcending reified gender boundaries, resulting in the portrayal of gender fluidity, non-conformity, and subversion that results in gender boundary-crossing (Thorne, 1994; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; Kožuchová, 2018). Some examples in recent media include cult classic The Rocky Horror Picture Show (1975), global reality show franchise RuPaul's Drag Race (2009-present), and even children's cartoon Steven Universe (2013-2019).

In other forms of media, American singer Dove Cameron's music video for her 2022 single "Breakfast" presents itself as a newer example of gender boundary-crossing in the media, with the portrayal of female and male traditional roles being switched. Released on August 23, 2022, this video comes as a response at the peak of the Roe v. Wade overturning in America. With a meager contextual analysis of symbolic gender roles in the media exercised on multimodal media, especially within the realm of the music industry, this study seeks to examine gender roles represented in Dove Cameron's "Breakfast" music video using Stuart Hall's Reception Theory within the context of Lamont and Molnár's (2002) concept of symbolic boundaries.

Long before the invention of modern internet, Marshall McLuhan envisioned the world becoming a global village, in which ordinary people would function as extensions of media messaging and modern technologies would connect people regardless of their geographical location (Hughes, 2023). This means that people will be easily exposed to the

cultural products of other nations and communities. Nevertheless, the effects of such exposure on people of different nationalities, cultural backgrounds, age groups, and genders must be studied. Moreover, different groups of people may perceive cultural messages differently. Therefore, this study seeks to assist in fulfilling such need by analyzing how young Indonesians living in Tangerang perceive the politically charged messages conveyed through an American cultural product.

Media Representation
Media Representation Theory explains the various processes in which the media constructs representations of reality. With its power in constructing social reality, the media positions itself as a social actor in shaping culture—including societal values, identities, norms, and worldviews (Hodkinson, 2017). Images and narratives make up media representations, reflecting consumer lives through actions and practices unto themselves and others (Orgad, 2012).

Stuart Hall (1997) posits representation as the conduit by which language produces meaning, which becomes culture based on said meaning being shared among and across groups. Consequently, this marks media representation as a deciding factor in creating subcultures in multicultural societies, including race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, age, and gender (Orgad, 2012). Furthermore, language also produces discourse, which also has a hand in creating identities and subjectivities, maintaining and challenging hegemonic power, as well as creating knowledge for consumers (Hall, 1997; Hall, 2020; Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2015). Therefore, representation is the integral process of producing meaning and exchanging it between members of a culture, using language, images, and signs that represent things. It links concepts with language and thus allows us to what is considered the 'real' world or an imaginary world of fictional people, events, and objects (Hall, 2020).

Gender Roles
Gender is a means of identification of oneself or another individual by the basis of the spectrum wherein masculinity and femininity lie. Most often, gender is explained as a dichotomous variable: woman/man or feminine/masculine (Lindqvist et al., 2021), but sociological advances have expanded to include those who identify outside the gender binary. Feminine gender roles are often positioned as subordinate to masculine roles, relinquishing women and   feminine individuals from portrayals in higher positions of power. Additionally, feminist media studies discovered female representation in the media to be demeaning, patronizing, and ignorant (Milestone & Meyer, 2020).

During childhood, boys and girls tend to form groups that are exclusively of their own sex. Boys and girls gradually develop different subcultures within their segregated groups. Sex segregation and the different subcultures of boys and girls provide the social context for the development of distinct gender roles during childhood (Archer, 2022). These traditional gender roles are then translated and reproduced by the media to become stereotypes (Sparks, 2014).

According to Giuliano (2017), the way different cultural norms view gender roles is a response mechanism to their respective historical conditions. However, these views are persistent despite changes in conditions. This is why traditions and gender role stereotypes often remain unchanged through generations.

Gender Role Stereotypes

Stereotypes constitute a type of generalization that diminishes the complexity and heterogeneity of human identities. In gender, it takes the form of hegemonic masculinity and femininity, "the ideology of what men and women should and should not be" (Eguchi, 2009). Stereotypes turn into mental shortcuts that people use to categorize things, analyze the world, and make predictions (Gazzaniga, 2018) that can be damaging and "false overgeneralizations made by socially dominant groups about socially oppressed groups" due to the prevalence in the media (Beckermann, 2019).

Media representation of stereotypes is a shortcut to homogenize and oppress a social group (Kidd, 2016). Female gender-role stereotypes often involve   submission to men, reducing women to serve a decorative purpose, measuring their worth through physical appearance (Grau & Zotos, 2016; Neroni, 2016). There are three main categories of female gender-role stereotypes in media (Hodkinson 2017): homemaker, glamorous career woman, and sexy heroine. Intersectionality with race complicates these stereotypes, with black women, Asian women, and Latinas all being depicted as sexually exotic (Azhar et al., 2021).

Symbolic Boundaries

Symbolic boundaries are a form of symbolic interactionism where meaning is negotiated through self and social interaction to create arbitrary boundaries of categorization (Lamont & Molnár, 2002; West & Turner, 2018). These boundaries are "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). They are reinforced through symbolic   resources that create, maintain, contest, or dissolve institutionalized social differences.

Gender boundaries are born through the assumption that men are masculine, and women are feminine, creating a line of division that separates masculinity from femininity. To belong within these boundaries, individuals must construct an identity that revolves around societal norms and participate in upholding them. Due to its relational nature, gender boundaries are constructed in relation to others through interaction with a specific other (Lamont & Molnár, 2002).

Furthermore, gender symbolic boundaries activate borderwork, consolidating 'the boys' and 'the girls' as separate and reified groups. However, the concept of neutralization can undermine the division of gender, resulting in boundary-crossing (Thorne, 1994), which is in line with the   Symbolic Interaction Theory (West & Turner, 2018). Through borderwork, hegemonic gender is constructed, acting out, reinforced, and evoked by gender boundaries rooted in heteronormativity.

Music Video as Film
Media convergence has led to the rise of   music videos, which blur the lines between promotion and product in the music and film industries (Railton & Watson, 2011; Manghani, 2017). These multimodal media, characterized by their postmodern, post-structuralist nature, transcend audiovisuals and aesthetics, making them a cultural object (Vernallis, 2013; McKerrell & Way, 2018).

The convergence of music and film began with classic Hollywood movie musicals and its rising popularity in the early 1900s (Mundy, 1999), before segueing into integrating popular music into musical movies by the early 2000s (Shuker, 2016; Saffle, 2017). Further blurring the lines between music and film, movie soundtracks become crucial in film industry multimedia marketing, commercializing music and film. (Shuker, 2016).

Technological advancements have led to the rise of platforms like YouTube and TikTok, which dissect movie musical clips into "music video" partitions for repeated viewing and commercialization (Vernallis, 2013; Shuker, 2016; Manghani, 2017). This intersectionality between music and film has resulted in music videos, short-form visual films accompanying the release of musical singles. Music videos serve as a means of artist exposure and brand awareness, highlighting the importance of visual components in commercial success in the music industry (Manghani, 2017; Martinez, 2018).

Film Analysis
Film, despite being primarily considered entertainment, plays a crucial role in shaping culture through its storytelling and acting as a cultural actor. Film analysis begins with textual analysis, which delves into narrative and contextual meaning beyond visuals. Meaning is interpreted against ideology, which is widely accepted by culture. Film analysis does not aim to differentiate between good and bad films (Geiger & Rutsky, 2013).

Ideology
Ideology is an internalized image of one's place within social dynamics related to power and hierarchy. It guides individuals to   determine their fit in society through social practice, cultural ideals, and action   frameworks. However, one's ideological identification depends heavily on his/her assessment of the social groups associated with that ideological label (Devine, 2015). Film plays a crucial role in expressing, reflecting, and representing ideologies (Driscoll, 2011). Complex societies often introduce two types of ideologies: dominant, which upholds existing power and hierarchy, and alternative, which seeks to dismantle it through resistance and subversion (Nichols, 2010). As a product of alternative ideology, feminism challenges patriarchal structures through alternative reimagination of women and femininity (Rishoi, 2003; Krijnen & Van   Bauwel, 2015). The media plays a crucial   role in constructing and disseminating gender ideologies (Brooks & Hébert, 2006).

Reception Theory
Media audiences are active participants in media consumption and interpretation, as per the Symbolic Interaction and Uses and Gratifications Theories (West & Turner, 2018). This active audience leads to the development of audience research, which forms the basis of

reception studies. Reception analysis, an audience-centered theory, focuses on how audiences make sense of specific forms of polysemic content (Baran & Davis, 2015). Stuart Hall's Reception Theory (1973) identifies sociopolitical and everyday-life contexts in media content production (encoding) and consumption (decoding).

The Reception Theory follows Hall's Encoding/Decoding model of communication, but places extra focus on the production, circulation, distribution, consumption, and reproduction processes of communication. It emphasizes the importance of meaning production from code, both from communicators (encoder) and audiences (receiver) within distinct moments, highlighting the role of semiotics in shaping social reality (Hall, 2014; Ridell, 2021).
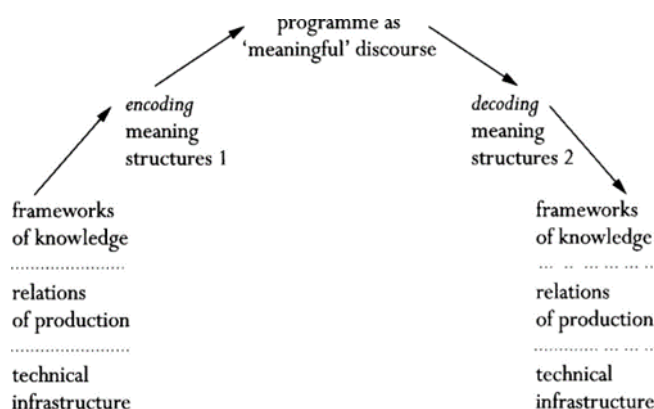

Figure 1. Diagram of Hall's Encoding/Decoding model (Hall, 1999)

The Reception Theory emphasizes audience interpretation as the primary factor in interpreting textual meaning (Meidasari, 2014). It suggests that active media consumers may interpret messages in a way that do not align with how the messages are intended, a concept Hall (2014) coined as degrees of symmetry, which highlights the importance of ideological context and the role of receivers or audiences as decoders. This theory posits three types of audience responses to media messages:

1. Dominant reading, in which audiences interpret messages as intended during encoding and accept them.
2. Negotiated reading, in which audiences may interpret messages according to encoders, but accept some while rejecting or resisting others.
3. Oppositional reading, in which audiences interpret messages differently, or in an opposite way than they are intended and reject them.

METHODOLOGY

This study examines the symbolic boundaries of gender in Dove Cameron's "Breakfast" music video through focus group discussions. The method allows for in-depth exploration of how individuals within specific societal communities interpret gender symbolic

boundaries. The focus group discussion method is chosen due to its focus on unique individuality in audiences and their subjective perspectives on gender symbolic boundaries. This research uses purposive snowball sampling based on gender segmentation to represent gender variance and reach saturation. Six self-identifying male and six self-identifying female individuals are chosen to compare and contrast audience reception to symbolic gender roles in media based on self-assigned gender. Despite being divided by self-identified gender, the two groups are referred to as "male" and "female" groups to maintain simplicity in reference to the two groups.

Additionally, further sample requirements are applied. The sample respondents must be:

1. College students aged 18-25 based on Dove Cameron's target audience.
2. Attending Tangerang's higher education institutions. Tangerang is chosen because it is one of the cities with the most higher education institutions (Jahari, 2023).
3. English-speaking individuals since the music video is delivered in English.
4. Have never seen the music video or listened to the song to ensure authenticity, validity, and organicity of the message reception.

The study includes six participants from each gender group, with each discussion lasting around 70-90 minutes.

Dove Cameron's song "Breakfast" is the second single from her extended play Girl Like Me, released on June 24, 2022. Shortly after, on August 24, 2022, she followed up the promotion of the song with a music video directed by Lauren Dunn.

It is set in a world reminiscent of 1950s America with the traditional male and female roles switched. In the video, the women hold positions of power while the men are portrayed in domestic and secretarial assistantship roles. Additionally, Cameron is also shown portraying a vintage 1950's-style housewife in a retro cleaning product commercial with a hyper-feminine expression, a stark contrast to the in-universe character of Cameron as the businessperson.

Released as a response to the overturning of Roe v. Wade, this video includes poignant scenes where Cameron's businesswoman character belittles her male subordinate's call to an abortion clinic. Further solidifying the nature of the music video as a political statement, the music video ends with a call-to-action listing ways to get involved with women's rights and voter organizations.

This research examines audience reception of Dove Cameron's "Breakfast" music video, as it challenges gender norms and represents a young, queer woman in a male-dominated industry. The music video is chosen as a recent example of gender boundary-crossing in popular media, as there is limited research in music videos. The study focuses on music videos instead of full-length feature films to concentrate the number of stimuli on the audience while maintaining the visual, filmic aspect of mass media.

This study gleans two types of data: primary and secondary. Primary data for this study are collected from in-depth observational analysis in the form of focus group discussions. Secondary data come from literature review on previous journal articles and books, including four popular magazine articles containing interviews with artist Dove Cameron.

For the purposes of this research, the data analysis begins with familiarization, through transcription of FGD recordings. Next, keywords were identified to define the thematic framework, especially in terms of gender symbolic boundaries. Finally, to interpret the data, each participant was noted as having a dominant, negotiated, or oppositional response type to the messages.

Data source triangulation is used to validate the data gleaned from focus group discussions, citing three different sources to validate collected data: the two focus group discussions, literature review, and an interview with Hera Diani, a communications expert with a special interest in gender equality issues. Additionally, this research also employs theory triangulation as an additional data validation method for the overall conclusive findings using Wilbur Schramm's SEMDR model.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Encoding Process
Because of the difficulty in securing interviews with the producers, writers, and/or creators of the "Breakfast" music video to analyze the encoding process, the researchers resorted to secondary data gathered from four magazine articles: Liam Hess for Vogue, published August 23, 2022; Alistair James for Attitude, published August 24, 2022; Jack Irvin for People, published August 25, 2022; and Alexandra Whittaker for Cosmopolitan, published August 27, 2022. These four articles were chosen because they were published in close proximity to the precedent of the music video's release, which was on August 22, 2022. More importantly, these four articles contain unique information that supplement and complement one another in gathering data on Dove Cameron's encoding process.

Cameron initially wrote "Breakfast" due to feeling disempowered as a young woman, influenced by a power dynamic that disadvantages women. Even though not originally intended to be a political message, the overturning of Roe v. Wade changed the trajectory of the music video for "Breakfast" from beautiful and campy to kitschy and strongly political. It aims to connect with women on a larger scale and broaden the conversation by highlighting the damaging, limiting, and diminishing experiences of being a woman Cameron's 1950s-inspired music video, highlights reproductive rights struggles by flipping gender roles "to show that it's inhumane for one gender to carry the burden of the reproductive conversation" (Hess, 2022). She aims to start a conversation that includes those disproportionately impacted by the Roe v. Wade overturning. "It's meant to be informative entertainment," Cameron reiterates. Additionally, Cameron describes the video as "uncomfortable to watch at parts, and that was the aim" (Irvin, 2022).

Cameron also tells Attitude how she wants to have a further impact on society through this music video. She candidly spoke about her intended message, a desire to "contrast stylized femininity and masculine power and the gender stereotypes that plague our social commentary" and "highlight how ingrained these roles really are in our nervous systems" (James, 2022).

Dove Cameron's "Breakfast" music video effectively conveys her political statement against political backsliding in women's and reproductive rights in the U.S. As a queer artist, her goal in reversing gender roles is to showcase the absurd speculative reality in hopes of carrying the message of gender equality across.

The Decoding Process
Six participants comprise the self-identifying female group: A.T. (she/her; cisgender woman), S.T. (she/her; cisgender woman), N.H. (she/her cisgender woman), F.M. (she/they; non-binary, genderqueer, or third gender, assigned female at birth), V.C. (she/her; transgender woman), and S.H. (she/her; cisgender woman). Individuals selected for this group are cisgender women, transgender women, or individuals who were assigned female at birth.

The other six participants comprise the self-identifying male group: E.F. (he/him; cisgender man), M.R. (any pronouns; unlabelled, assigned male at birth); W.T. (he/him; cisgender man), B.A. (he/him; cisgender man), F.D. (he/him; cisgender man), and I.F. (any; transmasculine non-binary, assigned female at birth). Individuals selected for this group are cisgender men, transgender men, or individuals who were assigned male at birth. Despite being assigned female at birth, Participant B6 wished to identify themself as transmasculine, therefore being placed in the self-identifying male group.

For the most part, both the male and female groups agree that sex and gender are fundamentally different but interrelated, attributed to external cues like environment, society, culture, and media. However, most participants who do not fit into the male-female binary of gender view and experience gender slightly differently and articulate gender more than their cisgender counterparts. Both groups mentioned the expected gendered traits in discussing traditional gender roles, agree that gender boundaries are constructed by socially and culturally ascribed cues, and acknowledge how patriarchy reinforces gender roles which in turn reinforces heteronormativity. However, only females discuss power dynamics in gender roles.

Out of twelve participants, only two are active followers of Dove Cameron; four are somewhat familiar with her; and the other six are not familiar with Dove Cameron at all. Meanwhile, when it comes to the phenomenon of the Roe v. Wade overturning by the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS), only two participants are very familiar with it and understand the phenomenon. Most of the other participants in the female group are only somewhat familiar with the overturning of Roe v. Wade, having heard of it in passing but not truly understanding the issue. On the other hand, most of the male participants are unaware of the Roe v. Wade overturning. This finding does not come as a surprise,

considering the crux of Roe v. Wade is reproductive rights, in which women and birthing people are the most disproportionately affected by the landmark decision. An additional factor would be the fact that this phenomenon takes   place in the United States, a political environment that might not have much overlap with the political environment in Indonesia. However, after further explanation from the researcher, participants were able to engage in a conversation about politics in the entertainment industry.

Upon watching the music video for "Breakfast", both male and female groups immediately acknowledge the role reversal aspect prominent throughout the video. The female group uses a lot of emotional cues to describe the video, such as scary and intimidating. Meanwhile, the male group took a more analytical approach to discussing the video by attributing the role reversal as a starting point of conveying the reality of gender equality in society and visual interpretation through aesthetics and portrayal of power dynamics via sexuality. A particularly poignant scene in the music video set in an abortion clinic scene invokes a deeper emotional response in the self-identifying female group and individuals assigned female at birth. The discussion slowly morphs into the topic of rape culture, sexual assault, and victim-blaming. Those who are assigned male at birth and are masculine-presenting, however, still react to this discussion the same way the female group did, albeit less through personal experience and more on a reactionary level.

Most participants agree with Dove Cameron's encoded messages in the "Breakfast" music video. The messages Cameron intended are well received by the participants. The retro visuals representing traditional gender roles as a symbolization of the past, social commentaries on power dynamics signified through the uncomfortable role reversals, and calls to political action are all repeated back by participants in both male and female groups despite not having prior data or information on Dove Cameron's encoding processes. Thus, the audience response type to Dove Cameron's encoded messages in the music video for "Breakfast" can be defined as a dominant reading, as shown on Table 1.

Audience Response Type	Female Group	Male Group
Dominant	✓	✓
Negotiated		
Oppositional		

Table 1. Audience Response Type of Focus Groups

Discussion
Gender roles socialized through media construct reality, creating barriers for the creation of symbolic boundaries of gender. Cultural background plays a significant role in shaping participants' perceptions of gender roles and their symbolic boundaries. Some participants,

particularly those who identify as transgender or outside the gender binary, challenge these boundaries by dismantling the consolidation of male and female, leading to boundary-crossing.

Appearance also plays a role in defining gender boundaries, with clothing, cosmetics, and visible body parts like breasts being used as demarcations. This phenomenon is evident in Dove Cameron's music video and the participants' own notions of their perceived gender. Genderqueer, non-binary, and transgender participants, as well as cisgender individuals with subversive gender behaviors, are more active in discussing topics of gender in the discussion. Participants practicing gender boundary- crossing identify as members of the LGBTQ+ community; meanwhile, some cisgender participants also view gender boundary-crossing as synonymous with the LGBTQ+ movement. Media representations shape culture and reality, reflecting society and shaping behaviors. The FGD participants acknowledge media as a precursor to socializing gender roles and constructing heteronormative expectations of romantic relationships.

Despite slight differences, most respondents were mostly receptive, with a dominant reading of women empowerment and departure from traditional gender roles. However, individual responses took different approaches, with some emphasizing sociocultural and cultural implications, while others focused more on political statements. The results are mostly positive, possibly due to the similar educational background and socioeconomic status of the participants from snowball sampling. The study also investigates if the political messages carry across to audiences outside the United States. Despite being out of touch with the Roe v. Wade phenomenon, participants are generally receptive to topics on reproductive rights as a facet of women's rights by contextualizing within Indonesian society and their personal environments.

CONCLUSION
The encoded messages focus on gender equality through reproductive rights and power dynamics between masculinity and femininity. The decoded messages are similar to those encoded by the receivers, indicating that each audience decodes the polysemic messages based on their unique perspectives and knowledge. The study finds that participants have progressive definitions of gender, with various aspects of their background influencing their views on gender. The symbolic boundaries of gender include characteristic traits, appearance, and sexualities. Ultimately, similar results were gleaned from both the male and female groups.

Still, the findings of this result are not representative of all college students in Tangerang. Even though the researchers did not know the participants, and measures were taken to ensure that the participants did not know each other, the snowball sampling technique may have led to similarities in the participants. Moreover, Indonesia is a highly diverse nation, with deeply-rooted traditional, cultural, and religious norms, in which homosexuality and abortion are commonly regarded as sins and even criminal. Nevertheless, the findings from this study brings to light the power of popular media as a

means of coding and encoding shared experiences, as evidenced by the ability of the participants to relate to the messages conveyed through the music video despite the little to no knowledge of the artist and the specific political issue portrayed.

Future research could focus on different gender identities to study how diverse gender identities decode polysemic messages on gender, symbolic boundaries of gender, and gender boundary-crossing. It is also recommended to consider intergenerational participants and participants with differing political backgrounds to better represent traditional versus non-traditional perceptions of symbolic boundaries of gender.

In practice, this study provides insights for media producers on understanding the nature of the active audience and each individual audience's process of decoding messages. It also highlights the need for media producers to be more attuned to unique audience responses when encoding polysemic messages as well as help raise audience awareness for sophistication in digesting unfamiliar elements in foreign media products. Additional research can be done to fully comprehend media products and texts representative of a foreign culture.

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