

*Journal Communication Spectrum:
Capturing New Perspectives in
Communication*



Vol. 11(1) pp. 39-51, (2021)
DOI: 10.36782/jcs.v1i1.2098

Hegemonic Relations in Gendering the Technology: The Case of Apple's @iDevice.Indonesia Community

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ABSTRACT

This article dissects the practice of gender typification of the iPhone through three layers and explores how the hegemonic relationship between Apple, the community; the moderator, and its members. Combining Judith Williamson's semiotics approach and the theory of encoding-decoding from Stuart Hall, it was found that there were differences in gender construction between Apple and the moderator of @iDevice.Indonesia community and its members. Apple has never explicitly proclaimed the iPhone as a sexed product, if so they have used subtle gender typifications through color-coding, objects, and design. Whereas the @iDevice.Indonesia community and members, carry out gender typification closely with stereotypes within patriarchal culture. This finding explains that prosumer such as @iDevice.Indonesia community and its member has benefited Apple because as a producer, they continue to echoes iPhone through various uploads and comments on Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia. On the other hand, prosumer was detrimental to Apple in terms of ideology because it was destitute the gender awareness and gender bender ideas that Apple has carried throughout the iPhone's marketing effort. The @iDevice.Indonesia community and its member has ultimately looked at iPhone as a feminine product in a binary gender perspective.

Keywords

Gender typification, prosumer, participatory culture, gender stereotype, gendering messages

To cite this article (7th APA style):

Kania, D. (2021). Hegemonic relations in gendering the technology: The case of Apple's @iDevice.Indonesia community. *Journal Communication Spectrum: Capturing New Perspectives in Communication*, 11(1), 39-51. <http://dx.doi.org/10.36782/jcs.v1i1.2098>

INTRODUCTION

This study discusses gender practices within iPhone product consumption practices in the Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia online community. At first, researchers saw the practice of iPhone consumption within the @iDevice.Indonesia community as only limited to "craving" the desire to buy towards the product, especially cellphones, as one of Apple's products. Owning or using an iPhone not only differentiate someone in terms of appearance, but it also has a more prestigious effect -not to say the highest- among other cellphone's product. This prestige and status effect can be seen from the brand and price aspects. Apple as a trademark in the world of gadgets is well known and/or widely known as the topnotch brand produced by the United States. The iPhone as a smartphone offers a different, more sophisticated look, service, and quality features to its competitors, say Samsung, Xiaomi, Asus, and other smartphone brands. Therefore, this company is brave and confident in selling their smartphones at a higher price than others when they are thrown at consumers. Its brand and its price (that are considered high and expensive) are the two things

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that seem to be inherent within Apple's iPhone. Brand (Apple) and price (high) tend to be able to present their prestige for consumers. The phrase "*price determines quality*" seems to be able to represent the reason why smartphone consumers -from certain circles- in Indonesia choose to buy iPhone rather than other brands.

Changes in Apple's device in terms of its appearance that prioritizes slimmer and thinner body in its design were surprisingly implemented during the launch of the iPhone 6 series with its flashy color: rose gold at the end of 2015. This step is considered as a big breakthrough by Apple considering that for many years the company had only dared to manufacture its smartphones with two monotone colors: white and black. Previously, the iPhone was more concerned with design and technology quality, while color options tended to be ignored. This choice seems to be also related to the meaning of color, such as black and white which tends to be associated with "seriousness" and "maturity" rather than playing with bright colors like red and gold that are "judged" as youthful and even childishness. Furthermore, is Apple's breakthrough affirming the logic of sex-typed products that are closely coupled with market trends by releasing products that are more segmented or specific gendered products? As far as researcher's observations, the Apple's company on the Apple.com page never offended let alone openly discuss or narrate this phenomenon in every launch of their latest gadget products.

However, if we search the @iDevice.Indonesia online community on Instagram, uploading images from the admin or moderator along with comments from followers, tends to present a gender message in each of their images and conversations. That is, the iPhone image that is fed with various series and variants, whether realized or not, is full of gender content, both referring to and reinforcing aspects of masculinity and femininity.

Then what is interesting about this phenomenon? As was mentioned earlier, Apple's company itself has never directly classified its products into a gender dichotomy: feminine and masculine. However, when it reaches the moderators and members @iDevice.Indonesia, the practice of gender division tends to occur. What researchers want to look deeper into is how this practice was built by the admin or moderator in the online community @iDevice.Indonesia on Instagram? What kind of gender practices are built, both in terms of femininity and masculinity?

Furthermore, the researcher also wants to examine how and to what extent followers or other users respond in this online community when gender practices are "played" by the admin or moderator. Therefore, researchers see in terms of the hegemonic relations formed between Apple, the community @iDevice.Indonesia, and members regarding gender typification embedded in the iPhone. This hegemonic relation departs from Stuart Hall's thought about the decoding process of message recipients which positions it into three types namely hegemonic reading, negotiated reading, and oppositional reading (Hall in Durham & Kellner, 2006). Also, the involvement of moderators and members of the online community @iDevice.Indonesia as prosumer in the perspective of participatory culture, which turned out to have an impact on Apple as a producer. Based on these things, this study focuses on gender practices in technological products by examining the online community Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia, an Apple's online consumer community.

METHOD

The data used in this study are qualitative (images and text) collected in the online brand community Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia counted from September 2015 - July 2016 as many as 8 pictures and press conference material from Apple in September 2015 as many as 22 pictures. While for the text, the researcher took 111 text comments from the members of the whole picture fed by the community @iDevice.Indonesia. Thus, this study will use as many as 30 images and 111 texts as research data. This study seeks to identify, describe, understand, and interpret sign systems that give birth to certain patterns, certain trends, and certain themes from the data obtained (Schatzman et al in Creswell, 2017, p. 298).

In collecting data, several stages were carried out including (1) documenting iPhone images and text in the online community Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia; (2) selecting data in the form of text and images following the feasibility of the binary gender technique (binary opposition gender) (data selected purposively); (3) reducing data according to the research domain and the theoretical

framework used; (4) data presentation consisting of identification and classification of data based on the gender binary.

The data is grouped into three sections based on data sources namely data sourced from Apple.Inc about the iPhone, data fed by the admin or moderator in the Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia online brand community, and response or comment data by members of the @idevice community Indonesia.

After being grouped, the researchers analyzed using the semiotic analysis model combined with the encoding-decoding approach. All data collected is analyzed with semiotic techniques to identify units or units of data that refer to gender typification in the form of images or text, ranging from shape, position, color, and so on. Besides being used to find out the meaning of denotation and connotation, semiotics is also used to see the patriarchal ideology contained therein.

The practice of gender typification was carried out by Apple.Inc and reproduced by the admin in the Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia online brand community was identified in several layers.

Layer 1, this stage is called the first layer analysis, which is the encoding analysis (production of messages) from Apple as the first (visual and verbal) message producer that will be captured and then interpreted by the online community admin @iDevice.Indonesia. So researchers conducted a series of decoding of various signs and visual code that Apple displayed through its press conference material.

Layer 2, moderator involves the process of decoding and encoding simultaneously. The moderator decodes the iPhone 6S launching broadcast which is then digested and interpreted by the moderator. The interpretation is encoded to produce a new message, especially in producing messages about the iPhone 6S Rose Gold which is the focus of this research. Researchers will see how the alignment of messages (hegemonic relations) made by the moderator @iDevice.Indonesia with original messages from the Apple company at the launch event. To see the harmony (hegemonic relation), researchers will compare the encoding and decoding of moderator messages using the semiotics of Roland Barthes. Through Barthes semiotics, this layer will be seen from the denotation and connotation of the message.

Layer 3, analyzing the encoding and decoding process carried out by members. After receiving a message from the moderator, the members decode and then respond through the comments column after encoding the message. Researchers will see how the hegemonic relationship that occurs between moderators @iDevice.Indonesia and the members.

The second step, Hall's encoding-decoding analysis is carried out at the (re) stage of producing and consuming messages from the admin to members of the Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia online brand community. The data fed by the admin and the data in the form of responses from the members are analyzed by the encoding-decoding model and dividing the response based on reader position based on Hall. This analysis is also used to see the practices of the admin and the members doing gender typification in the online brand community. This mixture of semiotic analysis and encoding-decoding technique models will also answer research questions about relations (hegemony) that occur between these three parties: Apple.Inc, admin, and members of the Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia online brand community.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Gender Typification Practices in iPhone 6 and iPhone 6s

In form, the press conference material delivered by Apple is indeed unlike conventional advertisement distributed through traditional television, radio, or billboards as well as new media such as social media. This material can be streamed via Youtube and can be accessed by the general public and included as a promotional channel. The content contains product exposure and introduction, which aims to increase awareness of new products released to increase the loyalty of Apple users. So, researchers see the press conference material as well as one part of advertising.

To embed gender codes into the iPhone, Apple uses intermediary objects that represent gender. The relationship between iPhone and object representation is like a currency, as stated by Judith Williamson about products like currencies when they have a representation of value and contain exchange rates with other objects, which provide a metaphor. There are several important points that Williamson analyzes for color: the color tells the story; oral intercourse; connecting

objects with other objects; connecting objects with the world; connecting objects with people; and a re-colored world of advertising. Some of these points are also used in analyzing the color encoding process and visual objects that Apple uses as follows:

Dahlia Flowers and iPhone's Evolution

Dahlia wallpaper is present on the iPhone 6 series in 2014, which was not previously done by Apple. Flowers, literally understood as parts of plants that will become fruit, with beautiful colors and fragrant odors (KBBI online version, 2016). Universally, interest tends to be associated with women. It is assessed or constructed to be able to represent the feminine aspects of women such as beauty and elegance. This could be taken from the beautiful concept and fragrance of flowers that make other objects (humans and animals) interested in approaching and fondling. The femininity of women which is metaphorical with a flower, or vice versa, is referred to from the properties of flowers: beautiful, fragrant, attractive, the forerunner of fruit (yields), as well as weak, not long, and not moving, just waiting.

The purple color presented by dahlias in the wallpaper is a secondary color that emerges from a combination of 2 primary colors: red and blue. This color is often associated with luxury, royalty, strength, well-being, creativity, wisdom, and attachment to something magical. The presence of this purple color based on Williamson's analysis (1978) fulfills the aspect of color that tells the story. Dahlias are used as meaningful symbols. One of them appears in the mythology of Lithuanian society that uses dahlias as a representation of the goddess of luck and encouragement for humans. The goddess of fortune, full of femininity represented by flowers. So that the iPhone has a meaning that is more than just a smartphone, but also brings 'luck', dignified and feminine.

On the other hand, the presence of dahlias also coincides with the evolution of the iPhone's body, becoming thinner with a wider screen, and more curvy angles. Tim Cook even called the evolution of the iPhone "*the biggest advancement in the history of the iPhone*", which also explains the evolution of technology in terms of speed, durability, camera, and operating system.

Then, what kind of evolution happened to the iPhone 6 and 6 Plus? The history of the appearance of the iPhone tends to position itself as a gender-neutral device (unisex). Every iPhone series that is released, consumers are faced with only two choices: black and or white. Users, whether female or male, are free to choose which color. In terms of form, the previous generation also looked firmer, thicker, and still displayed a simple impression for the user. This differs greatly when the iPhone 6 and 6 Plus series were introduced.

The iPhone comes with a physical form that is softer, colorful, and with two sizes at once (smaller and larger) -I see this as an iPhone strategy (including the iPhone rose gold series)- to accommodate the size of the palms and grips of women and men who different. As previously discussed, Apple displays purple dahlias as iPhone wallpapers that had never before in iPhone history. Apple, which usually issues gender-neutral (unisex) products, suddenly comes as a surprise with a rather dim appearance. Changes in product style are certainly reasonable. Is it to attract more female consumers to use more devices? Or is it part of the influence of the rise of (Eastern) Asian cultures which in the eyes of the West are seen as more feminine as a strategy to seize a wider market -for that iPhone must look more "friendly" to Asians-?

Rose Gold and Male Betta Fish

One year after the launch of the iPhone 6 (September 2014), Apple, Inc re-launched the next-generation iPhone 6s and iPhone 6s Plus in the same month of 2015. In its launch, Tim Cook talked about the iPhone as the most popular and popular smartphone in the world. iPhone not only stole the attention of the American public but also the foreign public spread across India, Turkey, Spain to China.

Apple's interest in reaching the Eastern market seems to be confirmed through the figures in the East-facing press conference material. Especially with the many female figures who always seem to hold the iPhone Rose Gold. Women and countries in the East are very synonymous with femininity and subordinate positions, which are always emphasized by Apple. However, the woman in the picture was accompanied several times by a male figure which implies the position of the Rose Gold iPhone which is - almost - gender-neutral. Although it always raises women as the main users, so it becomes something paradoxical. Apple does not want to explicitly designate women as

the main target of these pink smartphones, phones with colors that are identical to women. Showing as if neutral, but still embed stereotypes of women as pink enthusiasts.

Using Williamson's point of view, the presence of women and iPhones fulfills the points of connecting objects with a world. The Rose Gold iPhone is part of the 'world of women' that is always identified with the color pink, likes to socialize and gather. Both indoors or outdoors. The iPhone is like a part that completes the ritual of gathering through the camera features that capture the meeting. In addition, the points connecting objects with people are also fulfilled, because the iPhone implicitly reflects that it is the woman. The iPhone and women are both the main stars in control and the center of attention, which implies that the iPhone wants to play a superior product in the market.

The outer appearance of the Rose Gold iPhone that looks soft, turns out to be very different from the power inside the iPhone's body. Apple wants to show these differences through the Beta Fish wallpaper, which represents the toughness of the iPhone. Visually, betta fish are not displayed in their entirety and are only visible from behind so that they emphasize the breadth width of the fish like a wedding dress. Wide tails and sway gently in the water, a source of beauty for fish, also known as Siamese fighting fish. Uniquely, male fish have fins and tails that are wider than females. Behind its beauty, there is also fighting talent. Betta male here is a symbol for the iPhone 6s: beautiful and mighty.

The iPhone 6s not only have beautiful and captivating visuals but also have toughness and can "fight". Apple does not want to "pawn" the quality of their products that are known as "the most popular and loved phone" just by presenting a device that is pleasing to the eye. Instead, the eye-catching device also becomes a device with top-notch quality in its class. In this section, it can also be explained how Apple through its iPhone 6s rose gold formed the concept of "new" women, brave, strong, and tough femininity. This formidable feminine concept can be found in both historical facts and entertainment fiction. In historical facts in Indonesia, there are Cut Nyak Dien (a hero of war women) to Pocahontas (women fighters building peace between the Americans and the British colonial). Here, the iPhone tries to combine femininity and masculinity until the 'partiality' of one gender becomes blurred, and is more easily accepted by anyone.

The Process of Encoding-Decoding of Gendered Messages in Online Community @iDevice.Indonesia

In implementing gender messages in various uploads on the Instagram community, several points explain the position of the community, reasons, strategies, and objects used to strengthen gender stereotypes.

Empty Space as Fertile Land for Online Community Growth

Online communities such as iDevice Indonesia play a role as a mediator of meaning, which brings the iPhone back to the subject so that it looks more meaningful and symbolic. iDevice also acts as an agent to bring the product back to the consumer. This activity is certainly not separated from the presence of iDevice moderators, who direct how the community chooses certain discourses so that the iPhone looks more 'alive'.

In Apple's press conference practice, the audience was not only presented with the usefulness of the device and how recently the new features were launched but also presented various signs that were full of gender. Using guidelines from Judith Williamson (1978), researchers look at how the iPhone integrates the signs in its material into our reality. Because advertising -one of which is also iPhone material- besides selling things to us, also functions to create structures of meaning like art and religion. Through advertising, we are involved in the process of meaning that continuously produces markers and markers, so that makes us see the meanings in it as important even replace identity. This certainly explains that a product not only offers a use-value but also offers a symbolic exchange rate that is conveyed through advertising.

However, the process of transferring the meaning of products to us takes place in a long stage. This stage requires an active 'subject' and contributes to the meaning of advertising messages. Quoting Williamson's explanation (1978), "there is a space, a gap that is left where the speaker should be; and one of the hallmarks of advertising is that we are drawn into it to fill the gap so that we become listeners as well as speakers, subjects as well as objects."

The existence of this gap is indeed also provided by Apple through its press conference material. The public is free to access the message with all its visual content. But how the meaning of the symbols that are displayed, released to us. This space on the other hand becomes fertile land for those who have an interest, especially those who have an impact and can be heard by many people. At that moment, communities like iDevice Indonesia entered, at least to contribute to the iPhone/Apple market in the country.

Apple initially presented a narrative that looked 'hanging'. He never explicitly mentioned that products such as the iPhone 6s Rose Gold were aimed at female consumers. He only displayed a series of images containing signs, which were captured by iDevice Indonesia, especially the account moderator (admin), as a message with gender content. The moderator finally wrapped the Rose Gold iPhone with the ideology that the device was a representation of women today. A woman who has good and trendy taste is a Rose Gold woman.

Gender Messages Packed through Seasonal Marketing Strategies

A brand can be marketed at certain times based on the season's (seasonal) and also follow the context of the situation that occurs at certain times. According to Perzyńska (2017), seasonal marketing is carried out as an online marketing effort that is adapted to special ways and or events such as celebratory days or national holidays. This seasonal marketing strategy cannot be separated from consumer behavior that is strongly interspersed with culture. The relationship between consumer behavior and culture is like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated from one another. On the one hand, the products and services offered must be adjusted to market tastes, while on the other hand all of the products and services are a reflection of a certain cultural dominance at a certain time (Solomon et al., 2006).

Apple Inc. chose September as the month of launching the iPhone 6 (September 2014) and 6s (September 2015). The public does not understand why this month was chosen. But at least, for the context of the United States culture, this month is approaching the months of celebration of Halloween, Christmas, and New Year, and shortly thereafter Valentine's Day celebration. These days are full of myths and become a ritual every year for the American public and the public in other parts of the world, call it Christmas, New Year, and Valentine. In that season, consumer behavior is different, meaning the day is also different. Even so, in its launch, Apple never linked directly with seasonal marketing as a strategy. This contrasts with what is done by the moderator @iDevice.Indonesia in Indonesia. Although the Rose Gold iPhone was launched in September, the moderator "repackaged" this iPhone marketing during the holiday season such as Christmas and Valentine's Day. This strategy is also used to produce sexed messages through the iPhone Rose Gold.

Rose Gold turns into something that is further interpreted when it is associated with Valentine's Day. The feeling of "love" which is generally expressed through objects that were previously posted as something romantic (chocolate, dolls, and/or roses), has now changed. The moderator seems to want to wear off that, that being romantic is not just that. The Rose Gold iPhone (now) is a romantic and very "Valentine-able" expression of love. Valentine's sentimental day gifts turned into something 'luxurious'. On the other hand, the Rose Gold iPhone's position as a valentine-able gift that is positioned by the moderator is so strong for gender typification. The Rose Gold color that is in harmony with the roses in a box is automatically correlated by the moderator with the female figure. Rose Gold iPhone is not just any gift, but a gift given by men to the woman they love. Luxury and women are becoming increasingly attached to the stereotype of women as materialistic. Moderators indirectly make women happy to be showered with luxury, like the song "Diamonds Are A Girl's Best Friend" by Marilyn Monroe. But this time it's not a diamond, but the iPhone Rose Gold. Which, unfortunately, from the perspective of a moderator, will or must be provided by men.

Although it's not as straightforward as Valentine's upload, at this point we know that moderators continue to carry out gender typifications and place women as figures that should be rewarded with the Rose Gold iPhone. So, in addition to fulfilling the concept of 'connecting objects with other objects, the picture also fulfills the concept of Williamson (1978) about 'colors tell stories'. The pink color of the furry material and the Rose Gold iPhone have a visual connection that seems to refer to femininity and women, which are soft and also warm. Both of them can be

assumed as something intended for women, who wear fur-made warm clothes during the winter which is also experienced at Christmas (although in Indonesia, what happens is the rainy season).

Although the relationship that occurs between the moderator and Apple is a negotiated reading relationship -Apple never gave the Christmas and Valentine context for the Rose Gold iPhone- in the hands of the moderator, the Rose Gold iPhone is one of them, especially gifts that will be given to women. The Christmas and Valentine moments used by the moderator as the context attached to the Rose Gold iPhone place women as gift recipients with clarity - men as gift-givers. A moderator who is a man packs his message with a man's point of view. He, as a man, is aware that he has a "responsibility" to give gifts to his partner (who are female) both on Christmas let alone Valentine's. Although the target of the Rose Gold iPhone is women as users, men are also invited to know, be aware, and be more sensitive so they take the initiative to give it to their female partners.

Gender Messages through Various Objects

In addition to discussing gender messages in the context of seasonal marketing, researchers also found several objects used to form gender messages. The objects used are flowers, betta fish, female figures, rose gold color, and the iPhone itself. To be clearer, this time the researcher will analyze by comparing how these objects are used by Apple and the moderator to forming gender messages. With this comparison, there will be a hegemonic relationship between the two in wrapping gender discourse.

Dahlia Flower vs Rose Flower

The moderator presents a visualization of a rose when juxtaposed with the iPhone, in contrast to Apple who chose dahlias as sweetener iPhone wallpapers. In presenting interest, moderators tend to carry out strong gender typifications with aspects of femininity in a patriarchal culture. The Rose Gold color that is in harmony with the roses in a box is automatically correlated by the moderator with the female figure. Rose Gold iPhone is not just any gift, but a gift given by men to the woman they love. This was emphasized through the words of the moderator "*who has a boyfriend/wife who is ready to be hardcoded*".

Similar to flowers, women are described by moderators as being passive and waiting; in this case, women are waiting for men to be given gifts in the form of iPhones and roses. Whereas men like bees come to flowers (active, have power, and act); in this context, men determine women's happiness in the form of gifts. But in reality, giving gifts on Valentine's Day can be done by both men and women. But the moderator instilled the 'ideology' in the sexed message that women are people who are required to be given gifts from men on Valentine's Day.

When Apple displays the image of a flower to the public, the object does not directly refer to women and femininity. Purple dahlias are displayed by Apple as a representation of high quality, elegant and dignified. Unlike moderators who blatantly associate flowers with women, Apple is still ambiguous in displaying sexed messages. Like the combination of masculinity and femininity together.

Rose Gold: Gender Neutral vs. Feminine

When Apple officially introduced Rose Gold to the public, it never clearly stated who the target of the pink device was. This is very different from the moderator @iDevice.Indonesia who attaches a gender label when introducing the Rose Gold iPhone through its Instagram account with the caption "👉 A tough year for apple girl users 😊 for agans (guys) who have boyfriends and birthdays by the end of the year this... finish your life, bro... #appleiphone #iphone6s #rosegold #ikaskusgallery #IM".

Through the caption, the moderator pointed out women as the target of the Rose Gold iPhone, especially with the use of the #rosegold hashtag. On the other hand, Apple which launched the device is very different in introducing the device. It tends to be vague in conveying sexed messages. At its launch, Phil Schiller at the Apple Press Conference only said "*this new iPhone is absolutely beautiful*" [This latest iPhone is absurdly beautiful].

Female: Independent vs Dependent

The moderator linked the Rose Gold iPhone to a piece of news titled "*Boyfriend Doesn't Want to Buy iPhone 6s, This Woman is Nude in the Road*". Looking at the hashtag #kenaracun used by the moderator explains about people who were affected by the appearance of the iPhone 6s Rose Gold and is seen as a 'victim', namely women who are willing to be naked on the streets. As a person

who is called 'poisoned', women in the perspective of a moderator are individuals who depend on men.

On the other hand, Apple also presented a female figure in its press conference material. But the discourse presented is far different from the moderator. In a series of images, Apple presents women as the main figure who holds the iPhone in various locations and social spheres. Even so, it seems Apple's attempt to reflect that is the woman. Because both the women and the iPhone they hold are both the main stars in control and the center of attention. Apple is trying to challenge the stereotypes of passive women and just listeners. Here we see how women (and the iPhone) are being discouraged as role models, who are at the same time full of stereotypes of masculinity; active outside, an active and controlling figure. Very different from the discourse raised by @iDevice.Indonesia moderator about women who are dependent and do not have power compared to men.

iPhone Evolution: Gender Bender vs. Gender Binary

Speaking of gender messages in this study, it is not just talking about femininity. Especially when we relate it to technology, which has been closely related to masculinity. As was discussed earlier that Apple, as a technology company that gave birth to the iPhone, has never explicitly stated who the target is in marketing the device, especially in the context of gender. Apple is consistent not to be frank about gender, even though it has begun using visual codes that contain feminine connotative messages. However, the masculine aspects that were felt since the beginning of the iPhone did not just disappear. Or in other words, we can still find it.

Apple's ambiguity in gender bias makes it a party that combines various genders into it or gender bender. Discovered how Apple continues to display masculinity and femininity at the same time. Especially when the Rose Gold iPhone is known to the public. The device looks good as a feminine masculine product as well as a masculine-feminine product. At this point, Apple seems to want to oppose the mainstream opinion that has always linked the Rose Gold iPhone to women and femininity. But this ambiguity is an attempt to maintain the masculine impression that has been inherent in the realm of technology -and the iPhone- before the Rose Gold variant. But, what needs to be underlined is Apple's ingenuity to present its gadgets without the frills of gender. It does not change 180 degrees and is not automatically present for women identified with that color. The iPhone hides gender with a combination of masculine and feminine traits so that it can be accepted by anyone.

A far different thing was done by the moderator @iDevice.Indonesia in responding to the presence of the Rose Gold variant. The moderator strongly stated that women were the targets of Apple's pink device. Repetitively and straightforwardly, moderators refer to "girls", "women", to "wives" when presenting Rose Gold iPhone content on Instagram. In fact, in the period before the appearance of the pink device, moderators tended to display the iPhone more as a masculine device. The moderator's shift from masculine to feminine messages is subtle compared to Apple's gender bender. Thus, the community seems to have changed from being very masculine to being feminine, by siding with the binary genders.

iDevice Community Leads Members Compliance

The presence of members in the community @iDevice.Indonesia is seen not only as an audience that acts as a 'consumer' message but also as an agency and as a message producer who responds to the moderator upload via the comments column. But the response of these members is not without direction. As a message consumer who has carried out a series of decoding processes, the response given is a measure of harmony between the perspective of the members and the moderator. Or, it can be said, member responses play an important role in reflecting the ideology they have: whether fully, partially, or not at all hegemonized by the moderator.

Member responses were found to be fully hegemonic towards the content delivered by the moderator. Like the people who are obedient to religious leaders, iDevice members are inclined to 'obey' the ideology conveyed by the moderator. Unconsciously, members are invited to continue to perpetuate gender stereotypes embedded in the iPhone. So that later, it will be seen how the members agree with the moderator ideology that the iPhone, especially Rose Gold, is for women. But it can only be had with the intervention of men.

Hegemony and Participatory Culture in Online Communities @iDevice.Indonesia

Behind the gender message presented by the community @iDevice.Indonesia, lies the ideology of patriarchal culture absorbed by the moderator from the iPhone's visual codes. The existence of the moderator is finally seen as a mediator of meaning, which fills the space between Apple as a producer, and consumers in Indonesia. Gender messages from Apple that are difficult to digest, feel simpler through the intervention of a moderator. That is because the moderator's strategy to raise gender discourse through the romanticism approach makes the message more easily digested and accepted by members who incidentally are within the scope of patriarchal culture. Like soap operas and romance stories, stereotypes of women and men embedded in gender messages flowed in an 'entertaining' way. With the melting of stereotypes into sexed messages, the iPhone is being talked about not only as goods and commodities. But also as part of the daily life and identity of the wearer, which represents women and men in the community.

The romanticism approach used by the moderators on the other hand also encourages the involvement of members to interact in the comments column of the Instagram @iDevice.Indonesia account. At the same time, the involvement of members in the community also indicates that there is a culture of participation in digital media. As stated by Henry Jenkins (1992) that the culture of participation is present in the consumption practices of the popular culture industry that consumers not only enjoy but also make it a reference for knowledge in everyday life. From here, members are consumers who consume popular culture on social media along with the iPhone. The romantic approach taken by the moderator elevates the love story like a soap opera as a 'vehicle' to display the Rose Gold iPhone and always gets enthusiastic responses from the members.

From the above discussion, it is known how hegemonic relations formed between the three parties, namely Apple. Inc, Moderator @iDevice.Indonesia, and Member @iDevice.Indonesia as follows.

Hegemonic relations between Apple. Inc. and Moderator @iDevice.Indonesia

Alur Encoding – Decoding Pesan Bergender Antara Apple, Inc. dan Konsumen



Figure 1. The flow of gendering messages in Apple-consumer communications

On layer 1, decoding a gender message created by Apple in positioning the iPhone 6 and 6s. From the decoding, it was found that Apple tends to display the iPhone as a universal impressed device through ambiguous, very subtle, and subtle gender messages. What is seen is the use of visual codes that overlap masculine and feminine nature simultaneously. In other words, Apple uses a gender-bender approach in displaying the iPhone. Decoding this sexed message is then processed by the moderator @iDevice.Indonesia which is then used to form a new gender message by encoding. This is where layer 2 occurs, it is known that the moderator @iDevice.Indonesia as a decoder turns out to accept opposing reading gender messages. Moderators form gender messages

about the iPhone 6 and 6s which are full of gender stereotypes through the binary gender approach, inversely proportional to Apple which tends to disguise its partiality towards one gender through the gender bender approach. From layer 1 and layer 2, it was found that the hegemonic relationship formed between the moderator @iDevice.Indonesia against Apple. inc was oppositional reading.

Hegemonic relations between moderator and member @iDevice.Indonesia

On layer 2, it is known that moderators form gender messages on the iPhone 6 and 6s which are full of gender stereotypes through the binary gender approach uploaded to the Instagram account @iDevice.Indonesia. The upload turned out to be, received and approved by the members of the community. This is where layer 3 occurs when members decode messages from the moderator and then respond in the form of comments after encoding. From the comments made, it is known that the members accepted the patriarchal ideology brought by the moderator. The members also gave comments that were loaded with gender stereotypes with a binary gender approach, which in other words had done hegemonic reading of the gender messages from the moderator.

Alur Encoding – Decoding Pesan Bergender Dalam Komunitas @idevice.indonesia

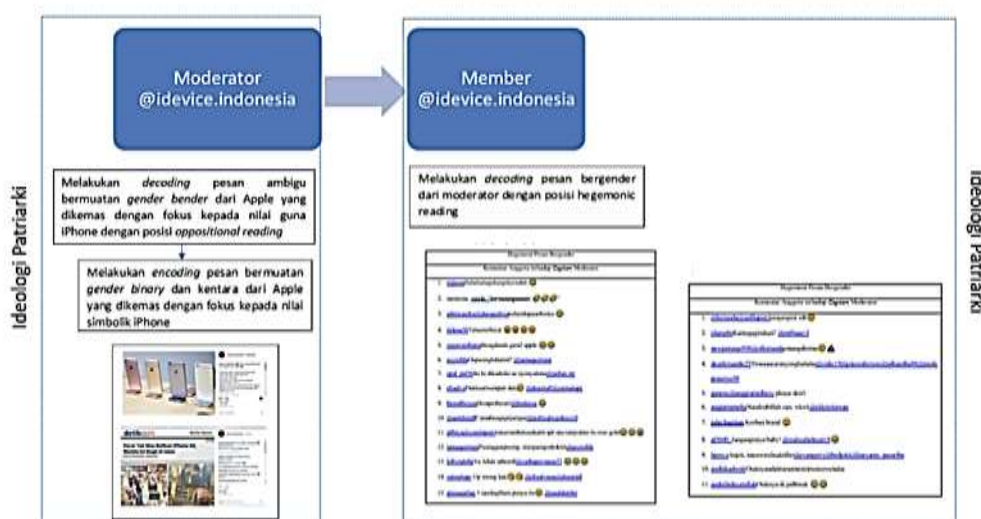


Figure 2. The flow of gendering messages in the @iDevice.Indonesia community

CONCLUSION

Through research that examines images and text contained in community @iDevice.Indonesia, it was found that the gendered messages play an important role in shaping the hegemonic relationship between Apple.Inc, moderators, and members. From the hegemonic relations formed, it is known that the @iDevice.Indonesia community driven by the moderator interpreted gender messages as opposing, or oppositional reading. This community reinforces gender stereotypes through gender typification into iPhone products when Apple promotes iPhone as gender-neutral. The ideology brought by the community @iDevice.Indonesia was accepted and reproduced by its members can be seen in various comments that agreed to numerous gender stereotyping practices, or in other words the members had done hegemonic reading from the messages from the community. In short, both the community and members @iDevice.Indonesia are equally opposed to Apple by linking iPhone with gender thus applying gender practices toward the product.

Meanwhile, from a different perspective, the involvement of the community and members here shows an active role that consumes messages and reproduces them or can be called prosumer, in line with the concept of participatory culture put forward by Henry Jenkins (2009). Members who joined the community @iDevice.Indonesia are a group of consumers affiliated with iPhone products. This community finally produces something new as a form of expression that continues to echo the iPhone, which in this dissertation is found in the form of uploads and comments that contain messages complete with gender-stereotyped patriarchal culture.

Recommendations that need to be emphasized for further research are criticizing prosumer and the impact given to the sustainability of producers and consumers. Prosumer who has been seen more as an 'accomplice' that benefits producers must see the potential for the emergence of a dual relationship between producers and consumers. That prosumer can have a positive effect when participating in marketing and continues to produce messages related to the product, but at the same time also gives a negative effect that affects branding and ideological conflicts as happened in the community @iDevice.Indonesia.

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