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Analysis Reception Cancel Culture Kpop Idol

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ABSTRACT

Keyword

Analysis reception; cancel culture; cancel celebrity

Social norms are shared rules that dictate acceptable behavior within a specific group, leading to social sanctions such as ostracism or reprimands. Online, these norms can manifest as Cancel Culture, commonly associated with boycotting individuals, brands, or companies for perceived offensive behavior. In the case of celebrities, this often involves fans calling for boycotts due to problematic actions. This research explores how audiences interpret media messages, guided by Stuart Hall's reception analysis theory, which acknowledges diverse interpretations based on social and cultural backgrounds. Specifically, it examines audience responses to the Moon Taeil controversy. Findings show that many fans support the cancellation movement against Moon Taeil, viewing it as a way to stand in solidarity with victims of sexual violence. This attitude reflects their experiences and loyalty to the NCT group. Social media discussions highlight the substantial impact of fan opinions on the issue, and official statements from SM Entertainment shape public understanding. Ultimately, supporting Cancel Culture is seen by many fans as the right course of action in response to the scandal.

1. Introduction

Human life is closely related to social interaction, which is the key to human existence; without social interaction, human life would not exist (Soekanto, 1985). According to Gilin-Gilin (Prasanti & Indriani, 2017), two social processes can arise in social interaction: associative and dissociative. Social interaction in cancel culture is an associative process in the form of accommodation, defined as a condition that arises due to balance in the interaction between individuals or groups related to social norms and values prevailing in society. In this research, there is accommodation among fans related to social norms, so when celebrities take actions that do not conform to norms, fans can engage in cancel culture. The implementation of cancel culture is a way of maintaining beliefs about social norms and the values held by fans.

Norms can be formed from values, where each social unit member must obey standard rules about human behavior, which can give rise to negative and positive sanctions. Norms are built upon social values and social norms. Social norms are defined as rules or actions by a particular group that are carried out simultaneously. According to Unbound & Sunstein (1996), regulatory policies can use social norms to prevent risky behavior effectively. Cialdini & Goldstein (2004) describe social norms as rules understood by group members that can limit or guide a person's social behavior without being forced by law. Social norms have a role in cancel Culture, namely the role that can arise in the form of social sanctions such as ostracism, cancellation of work and advertising contracts, and online reprimands (Ganefi & Hatikasari, 2022).

Cancel Culture has a role in media according to Ng (2022), the role of social media is as a space for content and discussion of dissatisfaction with the actions of celebrities that are considered inappropriate or deviate from social norms and values. Social media can be a place for cancel Culture to be carried out; the following are media that can be used: X, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and

TikTok. Cancel Culture, according to D. Clark (2020), is defined as a phenomenon where individuals or groups actively reject, isolate, and punish celebrities, companies, or public figures for controversial, inconsistent, or unethical actions that conflict with the values held by that group of people.

The interaction of celebrities and the public on social media is identical to consumerism, which gives rise to continuous social interaction in fan culture, consequently increasing changes in the economy and social life (Rojek, 2001). The social interaction of celebrities with the public can be through social media, such as through live broadcasts on Instagram or TikTok, creating a sense of personal connection with fans (Laughey, 2010).

"Cancel celebrity" is the cancellation of public expectations of individual behavior, which includes moral behavior (Rifon, 2023). Social media facilitates close relationships between celebrities and fans; when problems occur, fans will seem to condone or agree with the celebrity's actions (Finsterwalder, 2017). However, fans can engage in "cancel celebrity" when the violation contradicts their moral beliefs (Saldanha, 2023). Mortensen & Kristensen (2020) introduced the term "de-celebrification," that celebrities who have lost legitimacy, positive media visibility, and public image. Thus, "de-celebrification" will become a negative consequence of "cancel celebrity." The triggers of "de-celebrification" are serious violations such as allegations of criminal acts, violence, or sexual harassment. The consequences include the loss of public trust and recognition, status, and selling power.

Examples of Korean celebrities who have experienced cancel culture are Seungri, Kim Seon Ho, and Kim Ji Soo. They experienced Cancel Culture in the form of companies withdrawing involvement in all Kim Seon Ho activities in their events or advertisements. Furthermore, Seungri received insults from netizens on the Twitter platform using #CancelSeungri. In contrast, Kim Ji Soo received cancel Culture from fans and companies, where his fans began to unfollow Ji Soo's media accounts, did not listen to or watch his works and Kim Ji Soo was removed from the drama he was starring in.

Fandom has power over Cancel Culture, thus creating a conceptualization of fandom towards cancel culture. Ng (2022) defines celebrities as the cancellation target, with fandom or fans becoming the cancellation subject so that this cancellation practice can be carried out through social media. For example, ceasing to follow celebrities, publicly withdrawing support, and not spending money on their products and careers; this often happens online. Fans can become the jury, judge, and executioner for canceled celebrities. Fans can denounce and shame celebrities on social media and campaign publicly; this has the potential to cause celebrities to withdraw from work and discredit their celebrity status (Driessen, 2020).

Moon Tae-il is a South Korean singer at the peak of his career. Moon Taeil is known through the boy group NCT, under the agency SM Entertainment NCT has many fans in various countries. However, on August 28, 2024, news spread that Moon Taeil sparked controversy by committing sexual harassment and violating privacy rights. It began with the spread of spam posts by the Instagram account @agnes_121430, claiming that the account owner was a victim of an NCT member, which had been going on for 6 years. Shortly after the victim's confession, this news trended in Korean media and on Twitter. Based on Chosun Ilbo's investigation, this crime was not committed alone; instead, Moon Taeil and 2 of his non-celebrity friends committed the crime. This crime was reported to the police as a case of sexual violence against a woman in a drunken state last June. Moon Taeil underwent questioning on August 28, 2024, and his case was submitted to the prosecutor's office on September 12, 2024. NCT members and NCT agency accounts engaged in cancel culture by unfollowing Moon Taeil's Instagram account. This data was taken from Twitter @Yoengijalhe and @__3360 on August 28, 2024. NCT fans also engaged in cancel Culture by unfollowing and blocking Moon Taeil's account. This data was taken from Twitter @flowrtyong.

Research with a similar theme has been conducted by Bangun & Kumaralalita (2022). In that research, the researchers wanted to see how the participants constructed the meaning of cancel culture and found that some participants agreed with the implementation of cancel culture while others

disagreed. The conclusion from this cancel culture can be a good thing when we want to make them role models when they have positive behavior. On the other hand, cancel culture can be bad if it places public figures as material commodities that are easily canceled.

Furthermore, research was conducted by Wonkliping Sindy (2022). This research aimed to determine the meaning of cancel Culture and its impact on public figures as perpetrators of bullying scandals. It also aimed to determine the attitude of fans towards their idols who were involved as perpetrators of bullying scandals. The results of this study show that cancel culture has a significant influence on the perpetrators of bullying scandals, and fans prefer not to like artists involved in bullying scandals. When cancel Culture is carried out, it is difficult for public figures to return to a career in the South Korean entertainment industry.

Many reception analysis studies have been conducted, one of which was researched by (Lestari & Kusuma, 2023). The research aimed to see how K-POP fans and non-K-POP fans receive the "Safa Space" fan war phenomenon on Twitter. The results showed that the informants were dominated by oppositional reading, where the message conveyed was not in line with the informants' views due to differences in social, cultural, and experiential backgrounds.

Based on the descriptions that have been explained, three urgencies in this research make it interesting to study. First, there is little research that combines reception analysis with cancel culture, from the case of NCT idols, where the NCTzen fandom supports the cancel culture movement. The reception analysis reveals several opinions and receptions of news concerning the idols they like. Second, placing the perspective from NCTzen makes it more interesting to see the news of the scandal committed by Moon Taeil NCT from the point of view of the NCTzen fandom. Third, the subjects in this study are fans of the NCT fandom, a group of fans who have an element of loyalty to their idols. Thus, the problem formulation in this research is how NCTzen interprets Cancel Culture in the case of Moon Taeil.

Cancel Culture in the context of Participatory Culture

Participatory Culture is a theory developed by Henry Jenkins, which is defined as the common engagement in fandom practices. The emergence of participatory Culture is due to advances in digital technology, which gives rise to interaction through social media. In this modern era, consumers can act as producers, thus creating the disappearance of boundaries between consumers and producers so that they can be united and become players in this modern cultural flow.

Jenkins (2009) reveals that participatory Culture is divided into four types:

- 1. Affiliations: where members on digital platforms, whether membership is informal or formal, can join virtual communities because of shared interests.
- 2. Collaborative Problem Solving: Community members can work in teams to solve problems.
- 3. Circulations: Members form a new media flow, such as blogging, vlogging, or podcasts, the aim of which is to sharpen a piece of information that is followed according to its meaning.
- 4. Expression is a form of creative production in which works are displayed or created by members of the virtual community.

The forms that the NCTzen fandom has carried out towards cancel culture according to participatory Culture are affiliations, collaborative problem-solving, and circulations. The affiliation is formed by a virtual community of the NCT fandom, namely NCTzen, on various social media platforms. Collaborative problem-solving involves engaging in cancel culture by unfollowing Moon Taeil on Instagram and not buying merch related to Moon Taeil. Meanwhile, circulations involve dedicating themselves through creating threads on Twitter about the truth of the information and detailed case developments.

Reception Analysis

Reception analysis was carried out by Stuart Hall on (Baran & Davis, 2003), noting a direct focus on the analysis of social and political contexts, filled by media production (encoding) and consumption filled by media (decoding) in everyday life. Reception analysis focuses on individuals in the mass communication process (decoding), a process of deep understanding and interpretation of media texts. So that individuals can interpret the content of the media(Baran & Davis, 2003). Interpretation is a condition of actively thinking in activities and seeking meaning (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Meanwhile, the meaning of media message content can be constructed by the audience through a commitment to media texts in routine interpretation activities, while the meaning of media message content is temporary or not fixed. This can be interpreted as the audience actively interpreting the meaning of media texts (Hadi, 2008)

Reception analysis put forward by Stuart Hall (1973) found an encoding and decoding model with three positions as follows:

- 1. Dominated reading: The audience can fully accept a message constructed through the media.
- 2. Negotiated reading: The audience accepts the dominant ideology only at certain times. The audience can reject media constructions adapted to several prevailing cultural rules at this level.
- 3. Oppositional reading is the rejection of media construction, which can be done through interpretation by thinking from one's own point of view.

Through reception analysis, the researcher wants to know the audience's reception and understanding of the news about the Moon Taeil cancel culture case so that it can be known how the audience can interpret the media message. This is based on different social and cultural backgrounds and gives rise to different interpretations in interpreting a text.

2. Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method that can be interpreted as a procedure for solving a problem that can be investigated by describing and depicting the state of an object or subject based on apparent facts. In qualitative research, the investigation integrates a process of data collection, interpretation, and analysis organically so that they become one unit (Baxter & Babbie, 2012). The method used in the study uses reception analysis that the central concept of the meaning of media texts is not closely related to media texts but is created by the audience themselves after receiving media texts.

Media analysis was conducted in this study to determine the acceptance of readers' messages regarding Cancel Culture idol K-pop news about the Moon Taeil NCT case in online mass media. The participants studied involved NCTzen, who are fans of the boy group NCT as research subjects; the research subjects consisted of 4 NCT fans with different backgrounds.

Participant	Age	Sex	Status
A	21	Women	Student
В	26	Women	Housewife
С	25	Men	Employee
D	25	Women	Employee

Data Analysis Technique

The data analysis technique in this research employs qualitative content analysis. The researcher uses this technique to focus their research not only on the explicit (apparent) content of communication but also to understand the implicit (hidden) content. The purpose of using it is to identify, process, and discover the entirety of respondents' answers regarding the meaning of cancel culture in the news coverage of Moon Tae II. This allows for understanding the moral messages contained within the apparent and hidden messages. The application of each moral message is categorized according to the predetermined categories in the coding sheet. The data is then analyzed using the qualitative content analysis method to obtain and discover the moral messages of the research (Sartika, 2014).

Data Validity Technique

The data validity technique in this research utilizes a triangulation approach to test the validity of the research. According to Dwijonowinoto (Kriyantono, 2006), source triangulation can be defined as re-checking one source against other sources to strengthen the validity of the collected data from various origins. It takes other forms, such as comparing interview data with observational data. In this research, the researcher compares the fans' interview responses with what is presented in social media and their real-life experiences.

3. Result and Discussion

Timeline of news coverage regarding Taeil's scandal case

Date	resource	News/Tweet
28 Agustus 2024	X (Twitter) @SMTOWNGLOBAL	SM Entertainment stated on the official @SMTOWNGLOBAL account that it had removed Moon Taeil from NCT because he was involved in a case of sexual harassment and violation of privacy.
28 Agustus 2024	X account of @flowrtyong	Through his account, @flowrtyong tweeted, "LOL, so this means we should unfollow Moon Taeil, right?" from the tweet, many replied to the retweet with the answer that they had unfollowed Moon Taeil a long time ago and had blocked him. Other fans agreed with the invitation to unfollow Moon Taeil.
28 Agustus 2024	News from Chosun Ilbo https://www.chosun.com/national/national_general/2024/08/28/DT6UUZ7WD5DZREU2V4QPHV4Z3Q/?utm_sou	The Bangbae Police Station in Seoul has denied rumors stating that the victim in NCT Moon Taeil's assault case is a minor of the same gender.

	rce=naver&utm_medium=ref erral&utm_campaign=naver- news	
29 Agustus 2024	News from naver https://naver.me/GpCfFNsu	The Bangbae police revealed that Moon Taeil's report was filed last June, and as of August 29th, it has entered the investigation process. It has been confirmed that the victim who filed the report is an adult woman.
29 Agustus 2024	News from naver https://naver.me/GKUxDnH5	SM Entertainment denies covering up information regarding Moon Taeil's indictment from fans. SM Entertainment became aware of this news in mid-August, but Moon Taeil underwent police questioning on August 28, 2024, at the Bangbae Police Station.
07 Oktober 2024	News from naver https://n.news.naver.com/article/023/0003862628	Moon Taeil's sexual assault case has been classified as an exceptional level of rape. Following the investigation by the Seoul Bangbae Police Station, the case has now been forwarded to the Seoul Central District Prosecutor's Office.
16 September 2024	X (Twitter) @SMTOWNGLOBAL	Through its official account, SM Entertainment has decided to terminate Moon Taeil's exclusive contract, effective October 15, 2024, with the consent of the individual involved. 1 This decision was made because Moon Taeil is currently under investigation by the prosecution and has received an indictment for a criminal case, which became one of the reasons for the termination of his exclusive contract.

Reasons for Fans to Engage in Cancel Culture

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, "Cancel Culture" is a mass withdrawal of support as a form of public disapproval exerting social pressure. Currently, cancel culture is frequently observed in the Korean entertainment industry. It originates when celebrities commit actions that violate norms and ethics, whether intentionally or unintentionally, publicly or through social media. The emergence of cancel culture directly results from celebrity actions that subsequently elicit responses from fans.

Fan disappointment stems from the feeling of betrayal by celebrities or idols they once regarded as role models. This can trigger adverse reactions from fans who previously provided emotional and financial support to celebrities and idols involved in scandals and controversies (Hasna & Hendratomo, 2024).

"I engaged in cancel culture as evidence of my disappointment towards Moon Taeil" (A, October 25, 2024).

"Because this case can be considered a criminal case, someone violated the rules, so it is best for fans to carry out cancel culture, such as boycotting Moon Taeil" (C, November 4, 2024).

Based on the statements of the A and C sources, they fall into the dominant reading category. According to Anjarini (2020), the expression of disappointment over the spread of celebrity scandals can cause a dominant canceling reaction from fans. So that, the fans in this study agreed that the cancel culture movement was applied to Moon Taeil. Cancel culture is the right step for fans who feel disappointed with actions that violate the norms of their idols.

Background of Fans Engaging in Cancel Culture

Cancel culture can be caused by differences in cultural backgrounds. Culture can evolve according to modernization, spreading across countries. Thus, cultural backgrounds can lead to diverse societal responses, negatively impacting artists involved in scandals (Aniro, 2024).

Audiences, as producers of meaning connected to texts, can be influenced by their individual experiences and cultural competence, which they bring to the text. This allows audiences to form meanings differently (Ahmad Toni & Fajariko, 2018). This aligns with the statement of source D, who was a victim of sexual violence.

"I have experienced sexual violence before. In my opinion, the cancel culture movement showsthat sexual violence is a negative act. Because victims need mental recovery and trauma healing, which impacts their emotional health" (D, October 27, 2024)

Through the statements of the sources, it can be categorized into dominant reading. Hasna & Hendratomo (2024) cancel culture not only rejects or withdraws support for perpetrators of harassment, but this movement seeks to reduce the power of the perpetrators by canceling as a form of support for victims of sexual harassment where the source argues that based on the personal experience of one of the sources who was a victim of sexual violence, the actions of idols who have committed acts of harassment or sexual violence deserve to be canceled as a form of empathy and siding with the victim.

Fans Who Still Side with Their Idol

Fans are often seen as a collective of individuals who support and admire their idols for all their achievements and earnings. Factors that can influence support for an idol include situations where, even when an idol is involved in a scandal, fans may remain steadfast in their support regardless of whether the idol is right or wrong (Hasan, 2021).

"Supporting my idol means I continue to support all their activities, and I still engage in culture regarding sensitive issues like this" (A, October 25, 2024).

The source's statement can be categorized as a dominant reading. According to Qonita Putri & Anshari (2023), the reasons for responding to fans' support for idols are that many fans still have faith in and support them; this is based on their mindset and loyalty. The source believes the fan supports NCT while advocating for cancel culture on sensitive issues. This suggests a compartmentalized view in which the group's progress is prioritized despite the scandal involving Moon Taeil.

The Position of Female Fans

Women are often subjected to sexual harassment because they are viewed as objects. This action is a criminal offense that can have psychological impacts on the victims. The concern for consistently supporting victims of sexual harassment and violence modifier encourages them. This is based on cultural backgrounds, social norms, and moral values prevalent in society. With the existence of cancel culture, it is hoped that perpetrators will receive appropriate social sanctions. Perpetrators of sexual assault and harassment who are subjected to cancel culture face a societal response in the form of judgment for their actions against the victims. (Hasna & Hendratomo, 2024)

"As a woman, I feel what it is like to be in the victim's position" (B, october 26, 2024).

"Maybe it is because we are women, so as fans, we care about moral values, not just personal matters" (D, october 27, 2024).

The statements from sources B and D fall into the dominant reading category. According to Wulandari (2024), the public should get accurate information empowerment to respond with empathy towards victims, promote support for attitudes towards victims, and fight stigma because, according to them, as women and fans, they empathize with the victims of sexual harassment and violence by placing themselves in the victims' shoes, prioritizing moral values that support the victims. This raises awareness among fans in responding to cases of harassment or sexual violence to stand with the victim.

Cancel Culture Shapes Fan Opinions Through Social Media

Fan opinions can be created through media framing, thus forming a perception of the majority opinion, which can ultimately influence society's reaction to specific issues, including their idol's scandal (Labani Fasha, 2025).

Fan opinions are divided into two sides. On the first side, some fans still feel that the news is not entirely accurate and consider Moon Taeil innocent due to a lack of in-depth information, placing these fans in a phase of denial. On the other side, some other fans are already in the acceptance phase regarding what is happening to their idol, and they choose to verify the truth by investigating information circulating on various news platforms and from Moon Taeil's agency, SM Entertainment.

"Some fans are still in a denial phase and do not believe the facts, thus considering it a hoax. However, I believe fans can choose what is good and bad. This is positive because we can know the facts and the victim's feelings psychologically over these 6 years" (B, october 26, 2024).

In the statement, source B falls into the negotiated categorization. According to Agustin (2022), much information in the K-pop world contains facts and fakes, so K-pop fans can sort out the information circulating by not immediately believing the news that appears. The source argues that they opine that fans are still in the denial phase and disregard the existing facts, thus considering the news a hoax. Fans should be able to put themselves in the situation upon learning about this issue by seeking the existing facts and supporting the victim.

"Seeking information from trusted sources such as the agency or news outlets so that the information will be more filtered" (C, November 4, 2024).

Meanwhile, the statement from source C falls into the dominant reading category. According to Putra (2024). It says that the mass media has an important role in ensuring the news is accurate and reliable. The source argues that, according to them, it constitutes trustworthy information once news platforms and the agency have released statements or clarifications.

According to ramadhan in (Aniro, 2024) agencies always protect their artists to avoid scandals and controversies because they can damage the company's image. Consequently, many agencies cover up the bad things their artists do so that their image does not deteriorate, leading many artists to be molded by agencies to appear perfect in the eyes of fans.

"The entertainment world is inherently unreal; some are helped by agencies. So, as fans, we need to be more aware" (A, October 25, 2024).

"There are idols whom agencies shape, so their privacy is also not very good, allowing agencies to cover up the idol's wrongdoings" (C, November 4, 2024).

Based on the statements from sources A and C, they fall into the dominant reading category. According to the statement from Ayuniantari (2021), companies or agencies that can respond to the crisis will be the key to restoring the company's reputation. The source argues that The sources believe that agencies can cover up scandals in the entertainment world because they involve the company's image. Therefore, if an artist is involved in a scandal, the agency can cover it up or provide facts. With this incident, fans need to be more aware of the importance of supporting idols.

Participation fans of cancel culture Moon Taeil

In this modern era, consumers can act as producers, thus eliminating the boundaries between consumers and producers so that they can be united and only become players in this modern cultural flow. (Jenkins, 2009) revealed that participatory culture in this study falls into the Expression category. Expression is a form of creative production where work is displayed or created by virtual community members. In this case, fans flock to cancel culture by unfollowing, blocking, and not buying merchandise related to Moon Taeil.

"I canceled Culture to prove my disappointment toward Moon Taeil, unfollowing, blocking, and reporting his account, I did collect things in the past, but I ended up tearing them up." (A, October 25, 2024).

Based on the statements from sources A, fall into the dominant reading category. According to the statement from Putri Febrianti (2023) Canceling is a metaphor for refusing to follow a celebrity's social media account and participating in activities related to the celebrity to earn income. Source A believes that the impact of Moon Taeil's cancel culture is that fans will unfollow, block, and report Moon Taeil's social media accounts and stop buying products related to Moon Taeil.

The initial finding reveals that the informants unanimously agreed to engage in cancel culture against Moon Taeil due to their disappointment with his actions. The issues of sexual harassment and privacy violations directly shattered the image he had built with NCT and resulted in a loss of trust from fans. The cancel culture actions undertaken by fans, such as unfollowing, blocking, and destroying merchandise, expressed their disapproval of Moon Taeil's behavior. As stated in Wonkliping Sindy (2022), fans will choose to dislike artists involved in scandals, indicating that cancel culture has a significant impact on perpetrators of sexual harassment and privacy violations like Moon Taeil. This was also influenced by one of the informants having a personal experience as a victim of sexual violence. Consequently, the majority of the informants are categorized as exhibiting dominant reading.

The second finding concerns the decision of fans to still side with the idol group NCT and continue to support NCT despite one former member being involved in a scandal. The informants expressed the same sentiment they agreed to continue supporting all group NCT activities while still engaging in cancel culture against Moon Taeil. As mentioned in Annisa (2022), loyal fans are an asset to idols because their loyalty will maintain a positive image, and they will always support their idols in any activity. This reflects a strong loyalty and devotion from the fans, who continue to support and maintain their allegiance to the group NCT, thus categorizing the informants as exhibiting Dominant Reading.

The final research finding indicates that fan opinions are divided into two sides: fans who still deny the news of Moon Taeil's scandal (the denial phase) and fans who accept the truth based on statements from the agency and news platforms. Rahma (2024), while it is natural to support an idol, the news highlights the importance of vigilance and self-control to avoid being trapped in wrong behavior. The differences in understanding and interpreting the news of Moon Taeil's scandal fostered an awareness among fans about the importance of verifying disseminated information before concluding. Fans also realized that public figures have a potential self-image shaped by their Agencies, thus creating vigilance among fans in supporting idols. In this regard, this falls into the negotiated category.

4. Conclusion

This study focuses on the audience's reception of the Moon Taeil scandal news. According to the data obtained, it can be concluded that fans can accept and interpret Moon Taeil's cancel culture movement by supporting the cancellation culture as a form of support for the victim, however, fans still support NCT as a form of their loyalty and continue to carry out cancel culture against Moon Taeil. The formation of fan opinions on this issue forms an understanding and awareness of fans supporting their idols so that fans view cancel culture as the proper action in responding to this scandal. The encoding process can occur when individuals process information that produces a message. In this study, the decoding process is when the source interprets and receives information about the Moon Taeil scandal news. According to the Reception Analysis Theory, according to Stuart Hall, this study occupies two positions, namely dominant and negotiated. The differences are due to the source's cultural background, social values, and experience.

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