Ogoh-Ogoh Kampung Bali Bekasi As A Symbol of Tolerance in Digital Communication and Tradition Preservation

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ABSTRACT

The ogoh-ogoh tradition, which is closely associated with the Nyepi celebration, serves not only as a religious ritual but also as a symbol of tolerance and cultural interaction, particularly in Kampung Bali Bekasi. Although the majority of the residents in this area are not of Balinese descent, they actively participate in the ogoh-ogoh celebration, reflecting a process of acculturation and cultural openness. However, despite media coverage, the dissemination of information about this tradition remains limited and has yet to effectively reach a wider audience, especially the younger generation in the digital era. This study aims to analyze how the ogoh-ogoh tradition in Kampung Bali Bekasi serves as a symbol of tolerance and how digital communication contributes to its preservation. The research employs an ethnophenomenological approach, combining ethnographic communication studies and phenomenology. Data collection is conducted through participatory observation and indepth interviews with community leaders and individuals involved in the ogoh-ogoh celebration. Documentation in the form of the film Bhuta Kala in Tolerance is also used as research data. The findings reveal that digital communication plays a crucial role in introducing and preserving the ogoh-ogoh tradition. Through platforms such as social media, communities can share cultural experiences and foster a broader cross-cultural understanding. Thus, this tradition not only serves as an educational medium but also strengthens social harmony in a multicultural environment.

Keyword: Ogoh-Ogoh, Kampung Bali Bekasi, Tolerance, Digital Communication, Tradition Preservation

INTRODUCTION

The ogoh-ogoh tradition is an integral part of the Nyepi celebration in Bali, symbolizing self-purification and the cleansing of negative influences. However, beyond the Island of the Gods, ogoh-ogoh has also become a significant symbol of cultural interaction and tolerance, as seen in Kampung Bali Bekasi. Every year, the community in Kampung Bali Bekasi enthusiastically celebrates ogoh-ogoh, involving residents from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Ogoh-ogoh primarily serves as a representation of Bhuta Kala, created in preparation for Nyepi. Once completed, the ogoh-ogoh is then paraded around the village in a lively procession on the eve of Nyepi (Setyaningrum & Agus Cahyono, 2019). The broader community's involvement in both the creation and execution of this event demonstrates that the ogoh-ogoh tradition is not merely a religious ritual but also a means of fostering unity in diversity.

The cultural diversity in Kampung Bali Bekasi is closely linked to the broader social context of Bekasi City. This city is home to various ethnic groups, with three main ones Sundanese, Betawi, and Javanese (Adeng, 2014), each possessing distinct cultural characteristics. Additionally, other ethnic communities such as Batak, Minang, Ambonese, Chinese, Arab, and

Balinese contribute to shaping the city's social dynamics. This diversity creates a dynamic social environment where different cultural groups coexist and interact in daily life. Within cultural diversity, the unity of Indonesia is reflected in the people's ability to live in harmony and remain united despite coming from different cultural backgrounds (Sari & Fatma Ulfatun Najicha, 2022).



Figure 1. Ogoh-Ogoh in Kampung Bali Bekasi Source: Field Documentation by the Author

In this context, Kampung Bali Bekasi serves as a real-life example of how cultural acculturation occurs harmoniously. Acculturation is the blending of a local culture with a foreign culture, where both influence each other (Gotama et al., 2023). A unique fact about this Kampung Bali is that more than half of its residents are not originally from Bali. According to a survey conducted by researchers in collaboration with the Head of RT 11/RW 09 in Harapan Jaya, North Bekasi, only one-third of the population in this area consists of Balinese residents. Specifically, only 20 families have Balinese origins, while the rest are native Bekasi residents, along with some migrants from Java, Padang, and Medan. Despite this, they continue to uphold Balinese culture, actively participating in various traditional ceremonies and fostering harmonious social interactions with the Balinese Hindu community living there. Even non-Balinese residents have taken an interest in learning Balinese culture within the community. This demonstrates that Kampung Bali Bekasi reflects cultural openness and highlights that cultural identity is not solely inherited through genealogy but can also be embraced and respected by people from diverse backgrounds.

One concrete manifestation of acculturation and tolerance in Kampung Bali Bekasi is the annual ogoh-ogoh celebration organized by the local community (Poetra et al., 2023). In 2022, for instance, Kampung Bali Bekasi held a cultural carnival themed around the traditions of the Island of the Gods as an effort to strengthen religious tolerance among the residents (Supriyanto, 2022). Even when the ogoh-ogoh parade was not held in Kampung Bali Bekasi itself, its residents still participated by creating ogoh-ogoh figures or serving as organizers for similar parades in other areas of Bekasi or even in Jakarta.

Not only Hindu or Balinese-descended individuals took part, but also people from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds who live in the area contributed to the ogoh-ogoh creation and actively participated in the festivities. This phenomenon highlights that the ogoh-ogoh festival is not merely a religious ritual but also serves as a platform for strengthening social bonds, fostering mutual respect, and promoting religious and intercultural tolerance.

Tolerance is a result of strong social interactions within a community (Abror, 2020). In religious life, individuals cannot avoid social interactions, whether with their own group or with others who hold different beliefs or faiths. Therefore, it is essential for religious communities to cultivate peace and harmony in the spirit of tolerance to maintain social stability and prevent ideological conflicts among different religious groups. Social stability is a condition of calm within a country, nation, or society, even in the midst of various upheavals, disturbances, and conflicts related to political, ideological, economic, military, and other aspects (Nurjanah, 2023).

Several media outlets, including TV One, Metro TV, and Trans TV, have covered the unique Balinese culture in Kampung Bali Bekasi, particularly its ogoh-ogoh tradition. These reports have helped document and share information with the public. However, in today's digital era, which is dominated by platforms such as Instagram and TikTok, traditional media approaches alone are insufficient to reach a broader and more relevant audience. Whereas in the past, people had to seek information through print and electronic media, now access to information has shifted to internet-based platforms (Siregar, 2022). While these media have made efforts, they lack the consistency and continuity of digital content on social media. Therefore, a more strategic approach to documentation and information dissemination is necessary, one that aligns with contemporary digital media consumption patterns, so that the cultural dynamics and intercultural interactions in Kampung Bali Bekasi can become more widely recognized and appreciated, especially by the younger generation.



Figure 2. TV Program Clip: The Origins of Kampung Bali on Insertlive Source: Screenshot by the Author from Inserlive's Youtube Channel

In the digital era, communication through social media platforms plays a crucial role in fostering cultural awareness and maintaining social harmony. Social media has become an integral part of daily life, used by everyone from the general public to politicians as a tool for interaction and communication (Rully, 2018). The community of Kampung Bali Bekasi can leverage digital media to share their stories, experiences, and cultural values. By sharing their cultural experiences through social media, they not only introduce Balinese culture to a wider audience but also foster understanding and appreciation of the cultural diversity in Bekasi. Additionally, digital communication allows them to stay connected and preserve their cultural identity amid modernization. A strong understanding of the concept of local cultural identity in the context of the modern era holds significant relevance in contemporary cultural studies (Saputra et al., 2024).

Kampung Bali Bekasi has an active Instagram account that regularly shares various information about Balinese culture in the area. Through this platform, the public can easily access engaging content, including traditional Balinese arts, Balinese-style home decorations, and authentic Balinese cuisine. The consistent activity on Kampung Bali Bekasi's Instagram account demonstrates that social media has been effectively utilized as a means to introduce and preserve Balinese culture within a broader community.



Figure 3. Kampung Bali Bekasi's Instagram Source: Screenshot by the Author from Kampung Bali Bekasi's Instagram

Beyond being a promotional tool, Kampung Bali Bekasi's Instagram also serves as an educational resource for those interested in learning more about Balinese culture in the area. With features such as posts, reels, and stories, this account can provide insights into the traditions still preserved in Kampung Bali Bekasi, including the deep philosophical meanings behind them. This

presence on social media adds to its appeal, attracting both local tourists and individuals eager to explore Balinese culture without traveling directly to the Island of the Gods.

One of the traditions that can be highlighted through social media is the ogoh-ogoh festival, which is not only an artistic performance but also carries a profound message of tolerance. Ogoh-ogoh, a significant part of the Nyepi celebration, symbolizes negative traits that must be eradicated to achieve balance in life. In Kampung Bali Bekasi, this tradition reflects how people from diverse cultural and religious backgrounds can coexist harmoniously. By optimizing its Instagram presence, Kampung Bali Bekasi can further establish itself as a compelling and inspiring center for Balinese cultural education.

Documenting their digital communication practices provides insights into how traditions and local values can be preserved through digital media. The rapid development of digital communication has transformed how people interact and communicate in this era (Andzani & Irwansyah, 2023). Furthermore, digital communication serves as a means to introduce Balinese culture to the broader public while fostering increasingly inclusive cross-cultural interactions. Through digital platforms, the Kampung Bali Bekasi community can reach a larger audience and showcase how diversity can be effectively managed within a community.

This study shares similarities with the research conducted by Rahmawati and Farida (2024), which examined the Multicultural Communication of the Interfaith Social Agency (BASOLIA) in Weaving Tolerance in the Era of Society 5.0. However, it focuses specifically on the context of Kampung Bali in Bekasi and the Ogoh-Ogoh tradition. Rahmawati and Farida's research highlights that life in the Society 5.0 era is characterized by sophistication and speed, which serves as a means for people to more easily solve problems within society. Bogor City has emerged as the city with the highest level of tolerance in the category of government actions. This indicates that becoming a leading city in terms of tolerance cannot be separated from the efforts of the local government in fostering interreligious harmony and tolerance in Bogor (Rahmawati & Farida Hariyati, 2024).

Ogoh-ogoh is not just a symbol of tolerance in a multicultural society but also an essential part of cultural heritage that must be preserved, especially in ethnically diverse environments like Kampung Bali Bekasi. Cultural heritage, according to Willis in Ramadhan, includes values, knowledge, art, and traditions passed down through generations, playing an important role in shaping the identity of a community (Ramadhan & Adi Prasetijo, 2023). Preservation involves a series of activities aimed at protecting, maintaining, safeguarding, utilizing, nurturing, and developing cultural elements to ensure their continuity (Triwardani & Christina Rochayati, 2014). The presence of ogoh-ogoh in the Nyepi celebrations of this area illustrates how traditions can remain alive and adapt within a pluralistic community. However, its preservation requires more than just an annual celebration; it necessitates active participation from both Balinese descendants and other ethnic groups to understand and support the sustainability of this tradition. By organizing various educational activities, workshops, and widely accessible digital documentation, ogoh-ogoh can become not only a symbol of cultural identity but also a means to strengthen social harmony in a diverse environment. Social harmony refers to a condition in which individuals live in alignment and harmony with the collective goals of society, and each member is able to lead a proper life according to their role and position within the social structure (Putra, 2017).

This study is also relevant to UNESCO's guidelines on the preservation of digital heritage, which emphasize the importance of accessibility, authenticity, and sustainability. UNESCO's guidelines view digital preservation of traditions as a strategic process involving collaboration with content creators, selection of essential materials, data protection, and access management that adapts to technological developments. The goal is to ensure the continuity of access to digital information in a secure, efficient, and sustainable manner (National Library of Australia, 2003). In the context of Kampung Bali Bekasi, digital communication can be seen as a tool to enhance the accessibility of the Ogoh-Ogoh tradition to a wider audience.

Traditionally associated with purification rituals during Nyepi, ogoh-ogoh also serves as a medium for cultural expression and an educational tool for diversity awareness. Through the ogoh-ogoh festival, the Kampung Bali Bekasi community not only celebrates their traditions but also demonstrates that culture can serve as a unifying force in social diversity. Using a digital communication approach, this study explores how the community utilizes social media and other digital platforms to interact, introduce their culture, and build understanding and tolerance. Therefore, this research aims to interpret how communication activities within the Kampung Bali Bekasi community support the preservation of the ogoh-ogoh tradition as a symbol of tolerance in a multicultural environment.

This study aims to address the following two research questions:

- 1. To explain the role of digital communication in preserving cultural traditions and promoting tolerance.
- 2. To identify how digital platforms expand the reach and preserve the ogoh-ogoh tradition as a symbol of tolerance.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative method by combining two approaches, communication ethnography and phenomenology, to understand cultural interactions in the ogoh-ogoh celebration at Kampung Bali Bekasi. This combined approach, known as ethnophenomenology, aims to analyze communication patterns within the community and explore the subjective experiences of individuals involved in the tradition. In qualitative research, reality is viewed as a social construct shaped through collective agreements, where the results are influenced by the researcher's engagement with the subject of study (Mulyana, 2016).

According to Kuswarno in Rifa'i, communication ethnography considers communication behavior as the result of integrating three key skills possessed by individuals as social beings (Rifa'i, 2017). These skills include linguistic competence, interaction competence, and cultural competence. Meanwhile, the aim of ethnographic work in communication is to provide a comprehensive understanding of a community's worldview and values, in order to explain the attitudes and behaviors of its members (Firdausi, 2017).

The communication ethnography approach was applied through participatory observation, which has been conducted since 2023. The findings from these observations are presented in a documentary titled Bhuta Kala in Tolerance, which documents how the Kampung Bali Bekasi community practices and preserves the ogoh-ogoh tradition in the context of religious and cultural tolerance.

The observation was conducted in three main stages:

- 1. First stage: Observing the initial process of making ogoh-ogoh, from planning to completion.
- 2. Second stage: Documenting the ogoh-ogoh parade, which takes place one day before Nyepi, involving people from various backgrounds.
- 3. Third stage: Examining post-celebration social dynamics, including community reflections and the use of digital communication in preserving this tradition.

Phenomenological research examines human experiences based on the perspectives of individuals who experience them firsthand (Hendro et al., 2021). The phenomenological approach was applied through in-depth interviews conducted from 2023 to 2024. These interviews aimed to explore the experiences of individuals directly involved in the ogoh-ogoh tradition and the meaning they associate with the celebration.

This research employed purposive sampling by selecting informants based on criteria that aligned with the research objectives. A total of three informants were involved: two members of the Kampung Bali Bekasi Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) and one local neighborhood head (RT). The interviews were conducted in an open and conversational manner, guided by a prepared outline but not rigidly structured, allowing informants to share their stories more comfortably.

In the data analysis process, the researcher reduced the data obtained from interviews and observations. The data were then categorized according to relevant topics, and the key points were synthesized to form the research findings.

The primary interviewees in this study included Nyoman Yudik Bagiarta, an ogoh-ogoh maker responsible for designing and crafting the symbolic giant statues. Additionally, I Ketut Budiasa, the Vice Chairman of the Kelompok Sadar Wisata (Pokdarwis) Kampung Bali Bekasi and a lecturer in Hindu Religious Philosophy at Bina Nusantara University (Binus), provided academic

insights into the philosophical significance of ogoh-ogoh and its impact on the continuity of Hindu culture in a multicultural environment. Both were also key informants in the documentary film Bhuta Kala in Tolerance, which explores ogoh-ogoh as a symbol of tolerance in the diverse community of Kampung Bali Bekasi.



Figure 4. Movie Poster Bhuta Kala in Tolerance Source: Applied Research Findings Processed by the Author

The researcher also interviewed I Wayan Agus Sumarjaya, the Secretary of Pokdarwis Kampung Bali Bekasi, who plays an active role in welcoming guests and external parties interested in collaborating with the community. His role in building communication networks with various stakeholders makes his perspective crucial in understanding how this tradition is presented to the wider public. Additionally, Puji Lestari, the head of the Kampung Bali Bekasi neighborhood association (RT), who is of Javanese rather than Balinese descent, was interviewed to understand how non-Balinese community members contribute to maintaining harmony and tolerance in Kampung Bali Bekasi.

These interviews aimed to explore individual experiences in practicing and witnessing the ogoh-ogoh tradition, as well as how they interpret the cultural symbols embedded within it. Furthermore, this research highlights how digital communication is utilized to disseminate information, document traditions, and strengthen cultural sustainability in a multicultural community.

Through this ethnophenomenological approach, the study seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the ogoh-ogoh celebration in Kampung Bali Bekasi as a symbol of intercultural tolerance. This tradition is not only a part of Balinese cultural heritage adapted outside the island of Bali but also serves as a medium of digital communication that enhances interactions between different social groups in the modern era.

This research was conducted in Kampung Bali Bekasi, located at Jl. Merpati Bali, RT.011/RW.009, Harapan Jaya, North Bekasi District, Bekasi City, West Java. The research period spanned from February 2023 to December 2024. The data analysis process was carried out after obtaining recorded and documented observations through the film Bhuta Kala in Tolerance, as well as interviews conducted throughout 2024. Subsequently, the collected data underwent a reduction process to filter relevant information, followed by systematic presentation before drawing conclusions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study aims to answer two main questions focused on the role of digital communication in the preservation of the ogoh-ogoh tradition and its contribution to strengthening intercultural relations in Kampung Bali Bekasi, a multicultural community. In the face of globalization and rapidly accelerating social change, local traditions such as ogoh-ogoh face challenges in remaining relevant amid technological advancements and evolving cultural dynamics. Therefore, it is important to analyze how digital communication can be used as a tool to preserve this tradition while facilitating cultural adaptation in the modern era.

In addition, this study also explores how ogoh-ogoh, originally a Balinese Hindu tradition, has now become an important symbol in building tolerance among communities in Kampung Bali Bekasi. Through digital media, this tradition is not only introduced to younger generations but also strengthens intercultural relationships through cross-community participation. The study aims to identify the positive impact of using digital media to disseminate messages of tolerance and harmony in a diverse society.

The Role of Digital Communication

In the modern era, the preservation of traditions such as ogoh-ogoh requires adaptation and innovation, particularly in communication methods. Communication media play a crucial role in conveying messages and information (Daryanto, 2011). In a multicultural society like Kampung Bali Bekasi, effective and inclusive communication is essential to fostering mutual understanding and intercultural tolerance. In this context, the ogoh-ogoh tradition is not merely a symbol of religious ritual but also serves as a means to strengthen relationships among various ethnic groups living side by side in Kampung Bali Bekasi.

Initially, ogoh-ogoh was often perceived as something frightening and intimidating by non-Hindu communities. The representation of terrifying giants often led to misunderstandings that ogoh-ogoh symbolized evil or mystical practices. However, through education and effective communication, non-Balinese Hindus have come to understand the philosophical meaning behind ogoh-ogoh. This tradition actually represents Bhuta Kala, a symbolization of negative traits within humans that must be controlled and harmonized. The ogoh-ogoh parade before Nyepi is not just a spectacle but a form of spiritual reflection depicting self-cleansing and the purification of the environment from negative energy.

Through open communication and knowledge sharing within the community, the Hindu residents of Kampung Bali Bekasi actively share insights into the meaning of ogoh-ogoh in the context of cultural diversity. The exchange of ideas and experiences helps strengthen a sense of unity and mutual respect among different cultural and religious groups. By listening to each other's perspectives, the community creates a richer narrative about living together in diversity. This tradition exemplifies how inclusive communication can build tolerance and harmony in social life.

With technological advancements, the community has begun utilizing digital communication platforms to introduce the ogoh-ogoh tradition to a wider audience. Through social media, they can share stories and information about the meaning behind this tradition while emphasizing the importance of tolerance in maintaining intercultural harmony. Visual content depicting the process of making ogoh-ogoh and participation from various ethnic groups helps educate the public about diversity and mutual respect. Additionally, Kampung Bali Bekasi has gained attention from various media outlets such as TV One, Trans TV, InsertLive, and has even become the filming location for the movie Komang, further highlighting the cultural diversity present in the area.

Ogoh-Ogoh as a Symbol of Tolerance

Digital communication also opens up space for two-way interaction, allowing people to discuss and exchange views on the ogoh-ogoh tradition and its underlying values. By creating online forums or discussion groups, individuals from different backgrounds can learn from and understand one another. This presents an opportunity to foster empathy and reduce prejudice, ultimately strengthening tolerance within society. Furthermore, every ogoh-ogoh celebration in Kampung Bali Bekasi is not only attended by Hindu or Balinese descendants but also involves people from various backgrounds. They participate in making ogoh-ogoh and in the grand parade held one day before Nyepi.

Beyond being just a cultural ritual, the ogoh-ogoh celebration in Kampung Bali Bekasi has evolved into a true symbol of tolerance. Residents from various religious and cultural backgrounds are now not only spectators but also active participants in the celebration. Those who previously held negative views or felt unfamiliar with ogoh-ogoh, after gaining a deeper

understanding, now take part in its creation. This interaction fosters stronger social bonds and nurtures a sense of togetherness among the residents of Kampung Bali Bekasi.

Digital communication plays a vital role in preserving the ogoh-ogoh tradition. By utilizing platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube, the community can document and disseminate information about this tradition. These platforms function not only as historical archives but also as engaging tools for education and knowledge sharing. By involving various sources, including the Chairman and Vice Chairman of Pokdarwis (Tourism Awareness Group), ogoh-ogoh artists, and Kampung Bali Bekasi community members, digital communication can convey the meaning and process of making ogoh-ogoh in a clear and accessible manner.

Additionally, digital communication enables the tradition to reach a wider audience, both locally and globally. By leveraging digital platforms, Kampung Bali Bekasi can introduce the ogohogoh tradition to more people. The use of social media and official websites also helps spread information about celebrations and activities related to ogoh-ogoh, which in turn increases awareness and appreciation for cultural diversity. Interaction and shared experiences regarding the ogoh-ogoh tradition through digital communication can help form a community that supports cultural preservation.

As part of efforts made during 2023-2024, applied research on ogoh-ogoh, documented by researchers, has also resulted in the documentary film Bhuta Kala in Tolerance, which showcases the ogoh-ogoh tradition as a symbol of tolerance in society. This film not only documents the process of making and celebrating ogoh-ogoh in Kampung Bali Bekasi but also highlights the role of various communities in preserving this tradition. The research findings have also been disseminated in the National Seminar on Community Service Results organized by the State College of Accounting (Politeknik Keuangan Negara STAN) and published in the Sembadha 2024 proceedings. This demonstrates that the preservation of traditions through digital communication and documentary media can be an effective strategy for introducing culture to younger generations while strengthening tolerance among different social groups.

These findings reinforce the argument that digital communication can be an effective tool for cultural preservation in plural communities. However, this study also highlights the importance of local context in shaping how such technology is used and its impact on social dynamics, an aspect that is less emphasized in the study by Rahmawati and Farida. Rahmawati and Farida's research shows that multicultural communication plays a role in delivering messages of tolerance, both on a personal and group level. BASOLIA has become a meeting space for nurturing and maintaining diversity in Indonesia, especially in Bogor City. Initially focused on social issues and disaster response, BASOLIA has transformed into a space for fostering relationships and communication. In this multicultural communication between different religious communities, the understanding of meaning during communication is an essential part of symbolic interaction. In this study, the symbol of tolerance among the residents of Kampung Bali Bekasi is the Ogoh-Ogoh tradition.

Thus, digital communication not only serves as a medium for information dissemination but also builds collective awareness of the importance of maintaining diversity and social harmony. By adapting traditions to contemporary contexts, the people of Kampung Bali Bekasi are not only working to preserve their cultural heritage but also shaping an identity that remains relevant for modern generations. This initiative helps the ogoh-ogoh tradition adapt to changing times, ensuring that it remains an essential element of community life while honoring its cultural origins. In this way, the tradition is not only preserved but also empowered to provide new meaning and value amid the ever-evolving dynamics of society.

CONCLUSION

The preservation of the ogoh-ogoh tradition in Kampung Bali Bekasi requires adaptation to changing times, particularly in how the community communicates. As a community with diverse cultural backgrounds, effective and inclusive communication plays a crucial role in fostering tolerance and strengthening interethnic relationships. Ogoh-ogoh not only serves as part of a religious ritual but also functions as a symbol of cultural expression and a unifying tool within a diverse society.

In the digital era, utilizing social media and online communication platforms has become a key strategy in introducing and documenting this tradition to a wider audience. Digital content showcasing the process of making and celebrating ogoh-ogoh helps educate the public and raise awareness about the importance of preserving cultural diversity. Moreover, interactions through social media and online forums create spaces for discussion and the exchange of perspectives, ultimately reinforcing tolerance and reducing misunderstandings between different community groups.

This preservation effort is further strengthened by the documentation of the tradition in the form of the documentary film Bhuta Kala in Tolerance, which presents ogoh-ogoh as a symbol of tolerance in social life. The film not only captures the celebration process but also highlights the community's role in maintaining the tradition. The publication of research findings in academic forums demonstrates that digital communication and documentary media are effective strategies for introducing culture to younger generations while promoting social harmony. Thus, digital communication is not merely a tool for information dissemination but also a means to build collective awareness of the importance of diversity and social harmony in modern society.

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