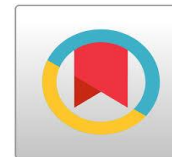


The Popularity of the Regent Figures and Slogans in the Perspective of Socio-Cultural Mediatization



Popularitas Figur dan Slogan Bupati dalam Perspektif Mediatisasi Sosia Budaya

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to find out the popularity of the figures and slogans of the Tulungagung regents. This study elaborates previous researches stating that figures and slogans are forms of messages in the peripheral route that influence the people's political attitudes. This study argues that the communal culture of the people corresponds to the processing of information through the peripheral route. This study uses a mixed method that quantitatively surveys 192 respondents to find out the popularity of the regent figures and slogans in the last 23 years, as well as qualitatively applies the concept of mediatization to understand the socio-cultural context underlying the way people interpret the figure and the slogan of the regent. This study finds that the people have experienced a peaceful and harmonious social situation during the reign of Heru Tjahjono who coined the slogan "guyub rukun". The people are trying to raise the spirit of togetherness and harmony by reconstructing the slogan of "guyub rukun" in various sites and activities. This makes Heru Tjahjono and "guyub rukun" popular in the people's daily lives.

Kata Kunci

*Figur Bupati;
 Slogan Bupati;
 Mediatisasi;
 Tulungagung;*

ABSTRAK

Tujuan studi ini adalah mengetahui popularitas figur dan slogan bupati Tulungagung. Studi ini mengelaborasi kajian sebelumnya yang menyatakan bahwa figur dan slogan adalah bentuk pesan dalam rute peripheral yang mempengaruhi sikap politik masyarakat. Studi ini berargumen, budaya komunal masyarakat sesuai dengan pemrosesan informasi melalui rute peripheral. Studi ini menggunakan metode campuran yang secara kuantitatif melakukan survei pada 192 responden untuk mengetahui popularitas figur dan slogan bupati dalam 23 tahun terakhir dan secara kualitatif menggunakan konsep mediatisasi untuk memahami konteks sosial budaya yang melandasi cara masyarakat memaknai figur dan slogan bupati. Studi ini menemukan bahwa masyarakat mengalami situasi sosial yang damai dan harmonis pada masa pemerintahan Heru Tjahjono yang mencetuskan slogan guyub rukun. Masyarakat berupaya membangkitkan semangat kebersamaan dan keharmonisan dengan terus merekonstruksi slogan guyub rukun di berbagai situs dan aktivitas. Hal ini membuat Heru Tjahjono dan guyub rukun populer dalam keseharian masyarakat.

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Introduction

Scholars such as Amălăncei, et al., (2017), Olokungboye (2019), and Newsome (2002) explain the importance of political figure and slogan for a leader. During the campaign, slogan and figure images become brands that distinguished each candidate from becoming a leader. The goal is that political figures and slogans can attract attention, motivate, and mobilize voters to support in turn. After being elected, the leader then may use the slogan during his/ her reign as a discourse or social mechanism to regulate people's actions (Billig, 1995). Likewise, a leader can create a mass base and participation for the success of the government.

Figures and slogans are political symbols or information that can persuade people's cognition (Hamad, 2008). Referring to the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), information can persuade and have a certain impact on society through two routes. First, people use the central route to process information actively and critically. Information in the central route will arrive at a cognitive structure that ultimately influences people's attitudes or actions strongly and hardly to change. Second, people who have a low ability or motivation tend to be interested in information from the peripheral route. As a result, attitudes and actions influenced by the information from the peripheral route are more volatile or easily to change.

In ELM, people's motivation in processing information includes three elements. First, there is a personal tendency, referring to the character of someone who prefers to think critically using the central route. Second, there are relevance and involvement, referring to someone who has relevance to a topic, figure, or involvement that will tend to use the central route. Third, there are differences of opinion, referring to someone who will think critically (using the central route) when many people talk about the information.

This study is interested in examining the information processing of the Tulungagung people as they interpret the regent figure and the political slogan. This study argues that the information processing is closely related to the socio-cultural context of society. The researcher associates three socio-cultural situations underlying the background of this study. First, in 2018, the people gave more votes to Syahri Mulyo as a candidate for regent who was suspected of corruption ahead of the election day. In addition, the Governor of East Java inaugurated Syahri Mulyo in the period of detention imposed by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) for less than five minutes. After that, Syahri Mulyo handed over the position to the deputy regent and served a period of detention again. By giving the explanation about Syahri Mulyo, it does not mean that this study is interested in studying his character. Nevertheless, this study will examine the interrelationship between the socio-cultural context and the information processing as the people construct meanings for the regent figure.

Second, the average number of people participating in the election of regent is still below the target. Tulungagung people's participation is only 73.46% (Sari, 2019) below the target of the regional General Election Commission (KPU) by 77.5%. Scholars are concerned that the below-target participation rate will reduce the effectiveness, legitimacy (Arif, 2020) and the degree of community representation in the local governments (Ardiantoro, et al., 2017). The number that has not reached the participation target also indicates the need for studies on the political communication and the media - especially regarding the information processing through the peripheral route related to the low motivation and involvement of the people of Tulungagung in choosing the regent.

Third, related to the political information on the peripheral route, the researcher observes the existence of several cultural sites bearing the regent's slogan. A slogan can be a government tool to integrate, mobilize, and generate public participation to play an active social role. On the other hand, the slogan is also meaningful as a spirit to maintain the social harmony and togetherness (Kriyantono & McKenna, 2017). In the last 40 years, the names and slogans of the Tulungagung regents are stated below in Table 1. Interestingly, not only the current regent's slogan that is written on parks or bus stops, but also the communities, radio and social movements have named themselves after the slogans of the previous regents.

Table 1. Names and Slogans of the Tulungagung Regents

Name of the Regent	Regent order	Year	Slogan
Moh. Ch. Poernanto	26 th	1983-1987	Bersinar Ingandaya
H. Jaifudin Said	27 th , 28 th	1987-1999	Bersinar Ingandaya
Budi Soesetyo	29 th	1999-2003	Bersinar Ingandaya
Heru Tjahjono	30 th , 31 st	2003-2013	<i>Guyub rukun</i>
Syahri Mulyo	32 nd	2013-2018	<i>Ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto</i>
H. Maryoto Birowo	33 rd	2018-2022 (now)	<i>Ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto</i>

Source: Interview with the staff of Protocol and Communication Section

The three reasons mentioned above become the research interest backgrounds to examine the interrelation between the sociocultural context, the information route and the information processing that increase the number of political participation. The researcher hopes that further studies can elaborate the interrelation between the three aspects for other contexts in Tulungagung or other regions.

In the context of Tulungagung, the political information processing through the central route and the peripheral route each has a role in influencing the decision to choose a regent. Related to its socio-culture, Tulungagung as a rural community has a communal culture.

Scholars explain that people within the communal cultures tend to prioritize the needs of other people or groups (Wilczewski, et al., 2017). Communal people also uphold the values of togetherness, cooperation, and harmony. In practice, communal people like to have discussions, community service, public dialogues, or face-to-face meetings. In the context of political elections, Ni'amah's study (2018) shows that communal cultures affect 56% of young voters as they “are interested” and 11% “are very interested” to vote with friends in the 2018 regional elections. It can be said that the people of Tulungagung with a communal culture have joint activities or group referrals as a form of information media from the central route.

Meanwhile, people's voting behavior can be analyzed from three approaches (Asfar, 2006). First, the sociological approach (traditional) emphasizes the socio-cultural closeness and tends to not consider aspects of political, economic, or welfare policies. Second, a critical-rational approach that considers various alternatives and makes a decision choice with a deep thought. Third, it is an economic rational approach that pragmatically considers and chooses based on the greatest benefits from political choices.

Referring to the mediatization argument - which states that there is an interrelation between the communication practice and the media development in one hand as well as sociocultural transformation in the other hand (Hepp, 2019; Krotz, 2017; Lundby, 2014) - this study assumes that the people of Tulungagung have a sociological (traditional) approach in interpreting slogans or choosing a regent. More comprehensively, this study will realize the socio-cultural context underlying the way of the people of Tulungagung in interpreting political information, conducting campaign practices, choosing media, and packaging campaign messages.

Method

This study quantitatively surveys 192 respondents to find out the popularity of the regent figures and slogans in the last 23 years, as well as qualitatively applies the concept of mediatization to understand the socio-cultural context and the information processing routes that shape the way people interpret the regent figures and slogans. This study also examines data from the Regional General Election Commission (KPUD) of Tulungagung Regency regarding the number of Permanent Voter List (DPT) and suffrage users. The information obtained from KPU becomes the secondary data to analyze the trends and distribution of political information processing routes. Then, this study describes the popularity of the figures and slogans of the regents who have ruled since 1999. This study sets the limits for the period of government since 1999 by considering the age of the respondents and the repetition of

slogans of two regents who served from 1983 to 1999.

This study conducts a survey on people aged 17 years and over in one central district and one suburban district. The age criteria are based on the requirement for the people to have the right to vote from the KPU. Moreover, people aged 17 years and over can take the advantage of or potentially get any information from various media about the history of the Tulungagung Regency as well as the previous regent figures and their slogans.

Meanwhile, the selection of the district characters is based on the consideration that the candidate for regent has more access, mobility, and opportunities to interact directly with the community in the central district. Direct interaction is an important campaign media, considering that digital media developed in 2000s in Tulungagung. Thus, the possibility of people having a central route will occur in the central district, that is the Tulungagung District. On the other hand, this study is also interested in comparing any different findings that possibly occurred with the people in suburban districts. The following Figure 1 is a map of the districts in the Tulungagung Regency.



Figure 1. Map of Districts in the Tulungagung Regency
Source: Tulungagung Regency in Figures 2022

Geographically, Tulungagung Regency is bordered by Kediri Regency in the north, Trenggalek Regency in the west and Blitar Regency in the east. Meanwhile, there are four districts - Besuki, Tanggunggunung, Kalidawir, and Pucanglaban - in the south which are located on the outskirts and directly adjacent to the Indian Ocean. Other suburban districts - in

the sense that they are not located around the central district or have long distances - are Sendang, Pagerwojo, Rejotangan, and Bandung. Among the eight districts located far from the central district, this study chooses Kalidawir as it has a large population and demographic condition of mountains and seas. Due to the geographical condition of Kalidawir, some of its areas experience limited mobility, lack of media infrastructure and internet access. Meanwhile, Rejotangan, which also has a large population and is located far from the central district, is not selected as the locus of this research since it is located in the provincial access and close to Blitar Regency. This means that it is easier for the residents in Rejotangan to move to the central district and get the internet access or other media infrastructure.

This study calculates the population in Kalidawir and Tulungagung Districts from the number of suffrage users, not from the number of permanent voter lists. This study takes into account the large number of Tulungagung people who become migrant workers abroad thus they are potentially unable to vote (Ardiyanti, 2019). Sari's study (2019) shows that in the period of 2011-2016, around 41.425 migrant workers are settled for an annual period abroad. This number is increasing related to the pandemic situation in Indonesia. From January-April 2022, the number of migrant workers from Tulungagung is increased by 2.000 people - throughout 2021, it is increased by less than 2.000 people (Radar Tulungagung, 2022).

The following Table 2 shows the number of suffrage users in each district in the 2018's Tulungagung Regent election.

Table 2. Number of Voters and Suffrage Users

District	Number of voter lists	Number of suffrage users	Percentage of suffrage users (%)
Bandung	38.401	28.703	74,7 %
Besuki	30.630	21.748	71 %
Boyolangu	63.832	48.240	75,5
Campurdarat	45.165	34.691	76,8
Gondang	46.382	35.473	76,4
Kalidawir	59.510	41.844	70,3
Karangrejo	33.997	25.516	75
Kauman	40.521	31.330	77,3
Kedungwaru	69.608	51.382	73,8
Ngantru	44.322	33.998	76,6
Ngunut	63.605	44.245	69,5
Pagerwojo	25.414	19.389	76,2
Pakel	42.078	32.425	77
Pucanglaban	20.935	14.490	69,2
Rejotangan	63.058	42.914	68
Sendang	37.480	28.186	75,2
Sumbergempol	55.533	38.723	69,7
Tanggunggunung	20.109	15.270	75,9
Tulungagung	48.533	35.191	72,5

Source: *The General Election Commission of Tulungagung Regency*

From the number of voters in the Tulungagung and Kalidawir Districts above, this study quantitatively determines the number of samples by using the Frank Lynch formula (Irawan, 2006). From a population of 35.191 in the Tulungagung District, samples of 96 people are obtained. Likewise, the Kalidawir District with a population of 41.844 shows a sample size of 96 people.

In term of depth interview, this study selects informants with a purposeful strategy (Patton, 2002). This is for the reason that the researcher has an interest in the knowledge of the informants in explaining the social and cultural context related to the awareness of the people of Tulungagung in voting for the regent. Table 3 below describes the profiles of the informants.

Table 3. Profiles of the Informants

Informant	Profile
Informant 1	Lecture, writer and director of the Institute for Javanese Islam Research
Informant 2	Radio announcer, media manager of the Department of Communication and Informatics (Diskominfo) Tulungagung Regency
Informant 3	Deputy chairman of the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD), party leader of Gerindra (Tulungagung Regency)
Informant 4	Head of the Department of Communication and Informatics (Diskominfo) Tulungagung Regency Cultural writer & activist
Informant 5	

Source: Research Data

Results and Discussion

This study finds that there is no significant difference between the respondents' answers regarding the popularity of the regents' figures and slogans both in Kalidawir and Tulungagung Districts. This is possibly due to the culture of the Tulungagung people which is homogeneous and communal. The character of the people will appear in more detail from the answers of the survey below.

In the conducted survey, respondents were asked to mention three remembered names of all the regents who have ever ruled Tulungagung. As shown in Chart 1 below, Syahri Mulyo's name appeared the most (153 times), followed by Maryoto Birowo (144 times) and Heru Tjahjono (140 times).

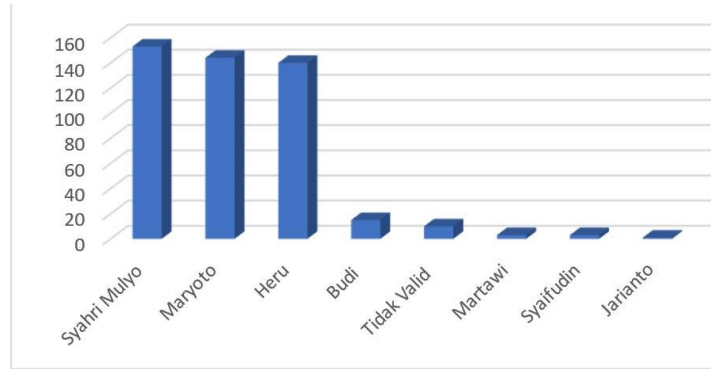


Chart 1. The Popular Regent Figures
Source: Research Data

The findings of the study show that among all the names, the people mostly remember the three regent figures, including Maryoto Birowo, Syahri Mulyo, and Heru Tjahjono. Maryoto Birowo is the current regent. Meanwhile, Syahri Mulyo, aside of being the previous regent in 2013-2018 and the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in 1999-2004, also becomes the public buzz due to a corruption case. In the other hand, Heru Tjahjono was a former regent who served for two terms, from 2003 to 2013. Those three names are regents who served in the latest periods.

The above three names of regents have a percentage of popularity with slight differences. It can be related to the age of the respondents who experienced the reign of the three regents. Moreover, it is possibly due to the reason that the people still often see the slogans of the three regents in various places or sites. Hence, those slogans continuously reconstruct the figures of the three regents. This confirms that the popularity of the regent figure is related to the socio-cultural situation of the Tulungagung community.

Chart 2 below shows that most respondents recognize the regent figure from the environment (neighbors, friends, relatives, family, community by 55.2%), the public facilities (parks, trucks, rickshaws, cars, billboards, posters, banners by 38.5%) and the success team/campaign and media for individuals (t-shirts, calendars, umbrellas by 34.9%). Meanwhile, at least respondents receive information about the regent figure from the national mass media (tv, newspapers, radio by 14.1%).

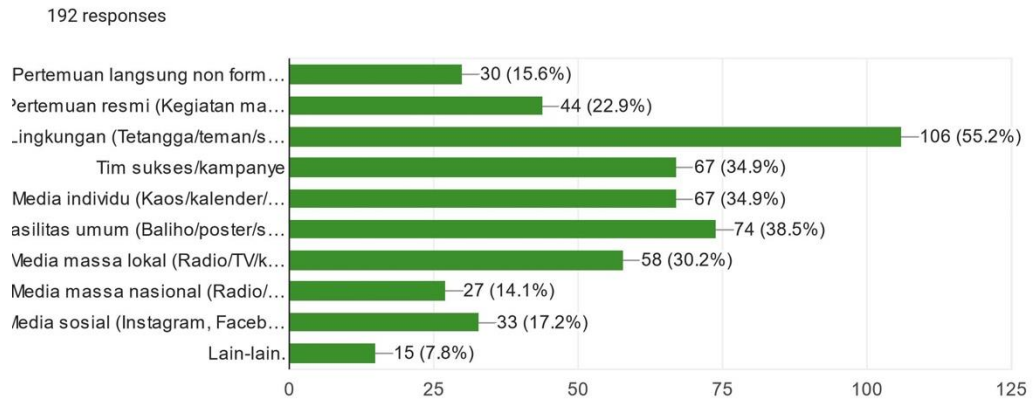


Chart 2. Information Sources for the Regent Figures

Source: Research Data

The people gain information about the regent figures from their social environment. Thus, the above findings emphasize that communal culture is still very strong among the people of Tulungagung. In the context of their daily life, communal culture can also be seen through the habits of the Tulungagung people who like to spend their time in coffee shops (*warung kopi*). Moreover, Tulungagung is known as the city of a thousand coffee shops - in 2003, there were 1.456 coffee shops and the growth of coffee cafes in 2017 reached 699 units (Anjelita, 2020; Kurniawan, 2021). Coffee shops represent the communal culture in the sense that people from various social backgrounds gather, discuss and interact with each other. A coffee shop is also one of the people's spaces and media to exchange information, including about the regent figure.

Meanwhile, the second and the third options are that the people obtain information about the regent figure from public facilities, success teams and campaign media for individuals regarding the campaign period and government. As for the last option, people have a slight knowledge about the regent figures from the national mass media. It is for the reason that the news about socio-political dynamics in Tulungagung is not widely broadcasted in the mass media. It is including the news about the Tulungagung regent that never becomes a national issue. However, this does not apply for the corruption case by Syahri Mulyo that appeared in several national media. Thus, the public is very enthusiastic in discussing Syahri Mulyo's news uploaded by the mass media.

In this study, respondents aged 17 years and over should be able to answer the names of the regents in the previous years. This is related to the purpose of the study, which is to find out the popular regent figures among the Tulungagung people. People aged 17 years or older may have known the names of the regents in the last twenty

years. However, people can also access information about the history of the regency through the digital media. The three names of regents mentioned by many people have left some legacy bearing the slogans of their government. This most likely becomes the reason why the people still remember the names of the three regents.

Figure 2 below shows the slogan of Heru Tjahjono - that is *guyub rukun* - as the name of (a) the radio (Radio Guyub Rukun) and (b) the logo of the Regional Leader Coordinating Forum (the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), the Police, the Attorney General's Office and the Indonesian National Armed Forces Territorial Unit (TNI) in the Regions). In addition, the slogan of both Syahri Mulyo and Maryoto Birowo - that is *ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto* - also appears in (c) the park and (d) bus stop.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 2. Regents' Slogans as (a) the Name of the Radio, (b) the Institution Logo, in the (c) Park and (d) Bus Stop.

Source: Research Data

In the conducted survey, respondents were also asked to name the three most remembered regents' slogans. The current regent's slogan - *ayem, tentrem, mulyo, lan tinoto* - is mentioned 76 times, followed by *guyub rukun* 57 times and *Bersinar* 39 times as shown in Chart 3 below.



Chart 3. The Popular Regents' Slogans
 Source: Research Data

Interestingly, respondents answer that *guyub rukun* - the previous regent's slogan - is the slogan that best describes the life of the people of Tulungagung (43.8%) as shown in Chart 4 below. This finding is interesting since it only differs by 5.3% from the current regent's slogans: *ayem, tentrem, mulyo, lan tinoto* (38.5%). Thus, the slogan *ayem, tentrem, mulyo, lan tinoto* is written in various places, such as bus stops, parks, or other public facilities.

192 responses

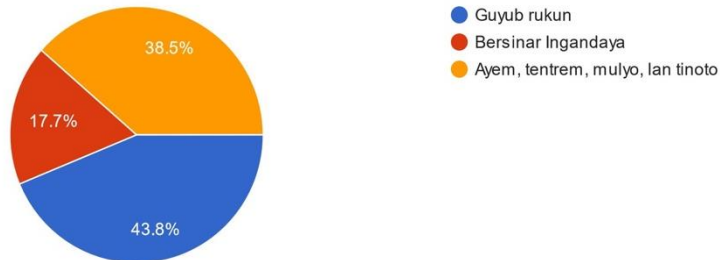


Chart 4. The Slogans that Best Describe the Life of Tulungagung People
 Source: Research Data

The above findings can be analyzed from the context of mediatization. First, it can be seen from the use of social media for the dissemination of *guyub rukun* in 2003-2013 through social instruments. In that year, the t-shirts of the cleaners, parking attendants and the rickshaws are mostly written with the *guyub rukun* slogan. Rickshaw is a popular public transportation. This means that the rickshaws have routes in the central district area. Meanwhile, other people's transportations such as buses or urban transportations only have certain routes.

People who meet and use rickshaws or other local instruments every day gain the remembrance of the slogan *guyub rukun*. In other words, the rickshaws and other social instruments reconstruct the discourse of *guyub rukun* continuously. Referring to Bengtsson's

(2020) statement, the media that is frequently used by people in their daily lives is a tool to construct an effective discourse. Thus, this study observes that the government's way of calling through the writing of *guyub rukun* on the rickshaws -as a local instrument- is an effective step in the process of disseminating slogans. People will also remember easily and unconsciously since the slogans are generally listed in their daily routines (Billig, 1995).

Second, culturally, *guyub rukun* has become the local wisdom. The slogan *guyub* means togetherness and *rukun* means harmonious social life. The people implement this local wisdom in their daily routines and habits. Thus, the community becomes related to the discourse of *guyub rukun*. Informant 1 explains *guyub rukun* as the local wisdom that can move the people in every social movement.

'Guyub rukun' becomes a social structure. In Tulungagung, whose power is it? Whose structure is it? There isn't any. Yes, the slogan itself is the awareness structure of the Tulungagung people and the strength to move the community in various social activities. (Informant 1, March 14, 2022)

Third, the people did not experience significant social conflict during the two periods of Heru Tjahjono's reign. A peaceful and harmonious life becomes a pleasant experience. The people then interpret Heru Tjahjono's leadership - which is identical to the slogan *guyub rukun* - as a cognitive idea of an ideal government. Informant 4 addresses Heru Tjahjono as a kind-hearted and generous figure.

Pak Heru is "lomo" (generous), helpful and easy-going. He is smart in, for example, discussing or treating different people. (Informant 4, 23 February).

Chart 5 below shows that the people's knowledge on slogans is also aligned with their knowledge on the regent figures. At the highest, the people receive information on the slogans from the social environment (47.9%), public facilities (44.3%) and media for individuals (39.6%). At the very least, the people recognize the regent's slogan from the national mass media (9.4%).

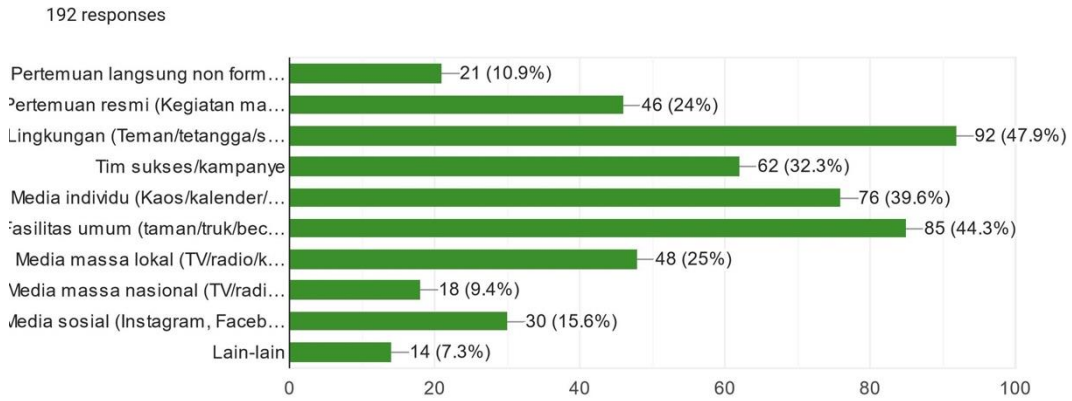


Chart 5. Information Sources for the Regents' Slogans

Source: Research Data

Interestingly to discuss is that the people's knowledge on the regents and slogans comes from the local media. This is related to the media involvement of rural people which is still closely related to the local wisdom (Seto, 2017). Thus, in addition to media development, socio-cultural aspects are more visible in encouraging and shaping the mediatization of rural people. Moreover, people prefer media that cover local information (Sen, 2003). Radio, for example, is still an effective medium on the regional or rural scale, as its local content makes people feel psychologically and culturally close.

The above explanation shows that the people's knowledge on the regent figures and slogans is conveyed through various media. The people, through the route of central thought, will process the media that contains information in a substantive, detailed, and comprehensive manner. This is because the receiver of the message will have a deep thinking and manage profoundly the substance of the information. Therefore, the information on the central route is more effectively to be conveyed directly to facilitate interaction, dialogue, or discussion. In the context of the Tulungagung regent election, people who have access or the opportunity to communicate directly have the potential to gain more information from the central route.

Concerning the participation rate in the regent election in Table 2 (column 4), the data shows that none of the sub-districts has a participation rate above the target (77.5%). However, 13 districts have a participation rate above the average (73.46%). Meanwhile, among the six districts that have a participation rate below the average (73.46%), four of them are in the suburbs (Besuki, Kalidawir, Pucanglaban, Rejotangan). Meanwhile, the level of people's participation indicates no big differences (68%-77.3%).

The above level and range of participations show that the people of Tulungagung have participated below the target. Scholars state that the below-target participation rate requires a communication strategy to avoid its impact toward the political dynamic or the local

government (Arif, 2020; Ardiantoro, et al., 2017). As Tulungagung people have communal culture, it is easier for them to process information via the peripheral route. This means that the people are easier to accept and trust information from groups or media in the surrounding environment. Furthermore, the low participation is possibly due to the lack of motivation and involvement, or due to the presence of certain social issues. Thus, a leader figure also requires a direct and interactive approach as well as builds personal closeness.

The above explanations indicate the reason why at the last regent election, the information about the arrest of the candidate Syahri Mulyo became a news and concern yet did not change the public's choice on him. This is for the reason that Syahri Mulyo already has an experience as a previous regent and builds a close relationship with the voters. Those experiences and relations become the information in the peripheral route that construct Syahri Mulyo's image as an inseparable part of the people. Sari's study (2019) shows that the information from the peripheral route becomes the background behind the people's decision to choose the regent in 2018. On the other hand, corruption cases also cause no conflict in the wider community. This can be seen through the communal society that in general, they still feel a calm and harmonious atmosphere. Thus, there is a possibility that the community feel no impact related to the corruption case.

The level of people's participation with no big differences (68%-77.3%) also indicates that the Tulungagung people have a homogeneity or communal culture. The majority of the people in various sub-districts still have a cohesiveness to respond or adapt to the social dynamics, including participating in the election of regent. This interpretation is emphasized by Sari's (2019) study showing that the communal character makes people tend to be neutral in some debates and are reluctant to follow political trends on social media. Referring to Ting-Toomey (2005), an attitude that tends to avoid conflict in people's media is a characteristic of collectivistic societies. In establishing relationships and resolving conflicts, collectivistic societies prioritize the values of harmony, group togetherness and the dignity of others. Thus, collectivistic societies will resolve conflicts or debates internally, not through open media such as social media.

In Tulungagung, a slogan does not only represent the figure of the regent. However, the slogan also reflects the government's focus, socio-cultural values and the cognitive ideals of the Tulungagung people. Informant 5 gives an example on the slogan of *ingandaya*, stating that *ingandaya* is related to the situation and the direction of development.

Each slogan represents the situation in its time. For example, Ingandaya is a slogan when the regent focuses on building industries, the food sector, especially agricultures, and cultures. Later when the people's situation or the regent's policy changes, the slogan must also adjust accordingly. (Informant 5, February 24)

Until 2003, the regent of Tulungagung focused on developing the industrial, food, and cultural sectors. For example, at that time, the regent was developing small and medium enterprises (SMEs), agricultures, promoting vocational schools and preserving cultures. Meanwhile, the slogan of *guyub rukun* reflects the socio-cultural values of the people that are far from conflict by maintaining harmony and togetherness. Informant 3 explains that the spirit of *guyub rukun* popularized by the Regent Heru Tjahjono is inherited and continued by the next regents, Syahri Mulyo and Maryoto Birowo.

The slogan of the Regent Heru is 'guyub rukun'. Yes, today, Syahri Mulyo and Maryoto Birowo's slogan "ayem tentrem mulyo lan tinoto" also continues the guyub rukun. It's just both have the same spirit, but on a different term. The spirit of getting along in guyub rukun is still there. The difference in terms does not matter, because it is the nature of the Javanese people to get together harmoniously, especially in Tulungagung. (Informant 3, 19 May 2022)

There is an interrelation between the socio-cultural values and the slogan construction process. In one hand, the regent absorbs the social values of the people and implements the values in a slogan to make the people feel related. At the same time, people who feel related to the slogan then live and affirm the values in it through the practice of everyday life. The people create a pattern of interaction and communication that avoids any conflict or debate.

The characters that fit the slogans of harmony, togetherness, calm and peace also underlie the way people use the media. Regarding the detention of the regent candidate, Syahri Mulyo, media managers in Tulungagung use a more subtle (tone-down) narrative that give no highlight toward the term of corruption. News about Syahri Mulyo appears in chronological form as shown in Figure 3 below. This means that the media managers carry out the function of disseminating information, but to a certain extent, they do not form opinions.



Figure 3. Syahri Mulyo's News on Local Media
Source: @radartulungagung IG account

Informant 2 as a media manager confirms that there is a reluctance to upload information that potentially causes any polemics. Thus, the manager prefers to upload information other than the news of Syahri Mulyo's arrest.

It's better to broadcast a positive news. It does not cause a commotion or social conflict. We convey information what the people need to know. But for things that have the potential to conflict, we minimize it even if we can avoid it. At least, for things that are important yet pro and contra, we will convey them factually without leading to any opinions. (Informant 2, February 17)

This is different from several mainstream mass media on a national or regional scale which reported Syahri Mulyo's case with dramatic narratives as shown in Figure 4 below.



Figure 3. Syahri Mulyo's News on National Media
Source: tempo.co

The election result of Syahri Mulyo as a regent, who has been found guilty in a corruption case, can not only be understood through reading the news in the media. However, scholars need to observe the socio-cultural context of the Tulungagung people. The study of mediatization can be an alternative in understanding the social practices behind the victory.

Likewise, the people consider *guyub rukun* as the slogan that best describes the life in Tulungagung because of the feeling of psychocultural closeness. The slogan *guyub rukun* was discoursed during the regent of Heru in 2003-2013. Nevertheless, the use of various media has reconstructed the discourse of *guyub rukun* and makes it still exists in the dynamical lives of the society, even in a variety of social practices or activities.

Conclusion

This study examines the interrelation between socio-culture context and information processing routes in the political context. This study shows that the peripheral route is suitable for people who have a low motivation and involvement, or are exposed to certain issues. Messages on the peripheral route prioritize audio-visual displays that are attractive, contain light substance and easy to understand, one of which is in the form of political slogans.

The people perceive the political figures and slogans as a form of awareness and cognitive ideals. The people will have an interest toward the slogans that are close to the nuances of the previous regent's slogan. Likewise, the candidate for regent will use the previous slogan as a reference to maintain the relay of relations, motivation and people's trust in the next government. The pattern -the political slogan- continues to be a mechanism for the community to maintain the group values. Reciprocally, the society forms a system that allows socio-cultural values to continue to be constructed.

Tulungagung society, as the character of rural cultures, has a communal and collectivistic character. Thus, the political approach can be through reference groups, communities or community leaders. Communal societies also take into account the social, cultural and personal closeness values. The implication is that the community is more related to the political messages reflecting the socio-cultural values and the local wisdom. At this stage, the mediatization occurs. It is when the people live and practice the political slogans in their daily lives - in the practice of communicating and using the media. Communication and the use of media also shape people's lives within the framework of local wisdom and socio-cultural values.

This study implies the importance of political and media literacy by having a sociocultural perspective and knowledge. Thus, this study recommends the study of political communication or media to understand the socio-cultural values contextually and specifically. Candidates for regent are also expected to pay attention toward the messages in the peripheral route, by having a social approach through figures, groups or communities in the society.

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