Social Media Managers' and Journalists' Role in Maintaining Local Wisdom in A Mediatized Rural Area

Reza Praditya Yudha[1], Hendriyani[2]

[1]ORCID iD: 0000-0002-4153-3765, Universitas Indonesia, Jl. Salemba Raya No. 4, Jakarta 10430, Indonesia
[2]ORCID iD: 0000-0002-3307-1345, Universitas Indonesia, Jl. Salemba Raya No. 4, Jakarta 10430, Indonesia
*Corresponding author, e-mail: reza.praditya@ui.ac.id

Abstract
Introduction: This study explores on how social media managers and journalists in Tulungagung narrating 'Aksi 212' (Action 212) protests. Social media managers and journalists are the actors who have an active role in producing, constructing and sharing information. The solidarity protests and the news about 'Aksi 212' had appeared in various media and regions in conflicting narratives. However, there was no news nor any solidarity protest occurred in Tulungagung.
Methods: This study applies digital ethnography to examine five media that keep updating their posts and interview six journalists and media managers who have a large number of followers in Tulungagung.
Findings: The social media managers and journalists avoid any information that may bring a potential conflict, eventhough it becomes a national issue. On the date of the 'Aksi 212', the @radar_tulungagung and @hits_tulungagung accounts did not share any posts. Meanwhile, the @jtv_tulungagung, @kacamata_tulungagung and @tulungagung_sparkling uploaded local news. The social media managers and journalists provide information in accordance with the local wisdom--the harmony and togetherness--as they realize the legal and social consequences.
Originality: The previous mediatization studies focus on the role of the media as institutions and examine the 'Aksi 212' in the context of political conflict. This study examines the 'Aksi 212' by using the socio-constructivist approach to understand the mediatization from the perspective of the rural society, that upholds the local wisdom in their media engagement and observes the society's practice in utilizing media.
Keywords: Mediatization, Local Wisdom, Social Media Manager, Journalist, Perspective of Rural Society.

Introduction

Studies show that political and religious issues have the potential to trigger any social conflicts in Indonesia (J & Hidayati, 2018; Kambo & Yani, 2021; Lim, 2017). Meanwhile, scholars state that society relates to the media when it comes to accepting, constructing, and responding to any social issues (Cui, 2016; Livingstone, 2009; Sirpa, 2018; Wohn & Bowe, 2014). By using the concept of mediatization, this study focuses on examining the events of 'Aksi 212' (Action 212), which were once a national issue in various media. This study aims to examine the processes that occur when the social media managers and journalist (Jacobson, 2020) play an active role in narrating, filtering, forming, and disseminating information (Hepp, 2016). This study uses a socio-constructivist approach which states that communication and media practices are related to the socio-cultural values (Couldry & Hepp, 2013). Thus, the socio-cultural context will shape the way people construct various realities, including when they are using the media to interpret and respond to the 'Aksi 212'.

This study is important because it offers two novelties. *First*, as mediatization research, this study shows the importance of using a socio-constructivist perspective in order to understand the practice and meaning from the side of society that constructs media reality. This is related to the many mediatization studies that examine the ability of the media in the function of institutionalizing society. In other words, mediatization studies that examine at the interrelationships between society and the media will get a picture from a different perspective, namely from the side of society. *Second*, previous studies have focused more on the context of the 'Aksi 212' in a conflict perspective. While the novelty in this study is that it focuses more on the cultural aspects surrounding the 'Aksi 212'. Researchers understand cultural values as the foundation of society in shaping various other social aspects, such as politics, education, or the economy.

In 2016, news about the December 2 Jakarta protests ('Aksi 212') appeared on various local and national media, including the social media (Kansong et al., 2022; Lim, 2017). More than two million people demanded the arrest of the reigning Jakarta Governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), against the suspicion of blasphemy through the protest. The antipathy of the masses towards Ahok was then attached to Joko Widodo--since both are the former governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta back in 2012-2014. Even after Ahok was detained in 2017, the mass sentiment became increasingly sharp ahead of the 2019's presidential election. Moreover, Joko Widodo was a presidential candidate in the 2019's election. Consequently, the mass of 'Aksi 212' gave support to Joko Widodo's opponent, as Joko Widodo's background was related to Ahok.

Although the 'Aksi 212' was centered in Jakarta National Monument (Monas), solidarity protests emerged in several regions. The researcher assumes that the public mobilization is related to the news of 'Aksi 212' that appeared in various media continuously. Another impact of the prolonged news about the 'Aksi 212' in the media is regarding the public polarization and disintegration (Lim, 2017). However, Ahok, Joko Widodo as well as the 'Aksi 212' have their own mass bases. As the public has the freedom to use social media, some of them express their religious sentiments as well as extreme groups support with insulting words and hate speech to slander (Santoso & Djauhari, 2019).

Around the period of 'Aksi 212' on December 2, 2016 and the protest reunion on December 2, 2019, the researcher observed that the local media in Tulungagung showed the nuances of news and a social life that were harmonious and peaceful--in contrast to the mainstream media and social media which showed the social, political, or religious tension. Interestingly, the news about the 'Aksi 212' did not appear in the local media. Likewise, the solidarity protests did not occur in Tulungagung as well on the date of the protests.

This study defines Tulungagung Regency as a rural society, reffering to the scholars' arguments that characterize the rural area as a countryside located on the outskirts or outside the urban areas. A rural society usually has a high value of group solidarity, local pride and a homogeneous cultural identity. In their daily life, Tulungagung society, with a population of 1.1 million people, has cultural and religious diversity, such as Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism and others, as shown in Figure 1. The local government has listed 13 out of 33 belief sects (Statistic Tulungagung Regency [BPS], 2022). Regarding the 'Aksi 212' which relates to the political and religious sentiments of Islam, Tulungagung with a muslim

population of 98.5% should also has the potential for group sentiment or movement.
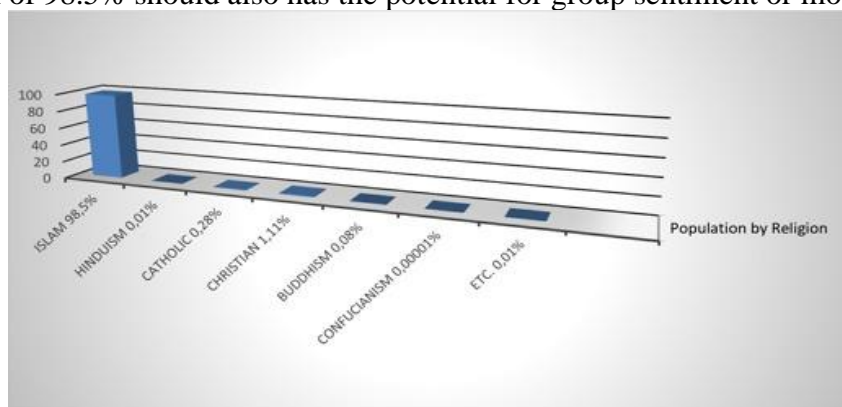

Figure 1. Population by Religion
(source: The Statistic of Tulungagung Regency [BPS], 2022)

This study argues that the communication and media practices of the Tulungagung people are interrelated to the socio-cultural values. Previous studies conducted in Tulungagung have shown that the social and religious life of the society is harmonious and peaceful (Sa'adah, 2016). Tulungagung people as a rural society also have a high group solidarity and local pride, as well as homogeneous social practices and cultural identities (Woods, 2005; Tönnies, 2001). Furthermore, Tulungagung has the cultural character of a rural society as they implement the socio-cultural values in the practice of choosing media and in understanding the information contained (Lekhanya, 2013).

Researches on the use of media in some rural areas show that there are still limitations in terms of media infrastructure or media literacy (Farrington et al., 2017; Introna & Nissenbaum, 2000; Philip & Williams, 2019). However, it does not mean that the rural communities receive no benefit from the media or experience no social transformation related to the media (mediatization). Scholars show that within the limitations of the media, rural communities can use the media for social activities, building relationship (Tseng & Hsieh, 2015), managing businesses (Nurlaela et al., 2020) and even for education (Hampton et al., 2021). Likewise, in Tulungagung, previous researches have shown the use of media by the community in the some social fields (Ni'amah, 2018; Panuju et al., 2018).

To strengthen the research argument, this study uses mediatization as a theoretical framework. Regarding mediatization, scholars state that communication practices and media development have an interrelation with the socio-cultural transformation (Averbeck-Lietz, 2013; Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Jansson, 2013; Krotz, 2007; Lundby, 2014). It means that the practices of communication and community media have a socio-cultural basis. Likewise, the communication and media practices can shape the socio-cultural dynamics (Lilleker, 2006).

Scholars use the socio-centric and the media-centric approaches as the two mainstream approaches in assessing the interrelationship between society and the media (Flew, 2017). The socio-centric approach has not received any spotlight since the rapid development of media in the 1960s, and since the emergence of new media around 2000 (Castells, 2022)--where various media have been integrated with the internet and digital technology (Madianou & Miller, 2013). Other scholars are more interested in the media-centric approach by seeing the dominant role of media in shaping social dynamics.

This study use neither the socio-centric nor the media-centric perspectives above. This study refers more to the mediatization, to argue that society and the media are

interrelated. Thus, society uses various media in almost all daily activities (Hepp & Krotz, 2014). Simultaneously, media becomes a tool wherever it is, until the society then constructs the meaning and the practice of media. In other words, the way humans use the media in certain practices creates different values and roles for the media. Scholars of mediatization argue that society has a role as human agents (Hepp, 2012) who control relationships and form social dynamics in their daily life by utilizing media to construct reality. Thus, the media and the society continue to be intertwined in the social dynamics.

Scholars of social and media use three approaches to study mediatization. The *first* is the institutionalist approach that looks at various social institutions, which in their daily life are increasingly related to the logic or system of the media (Hjarvard, 2008). The institutionalist argues that the media become an independent institution, as other social institutions have to adapt to the way the media worked, they interplay and influence each other. The *second* is the technical/instrumental approach that examines social dynamics related to the capabilities of the increasingly modern media (Bolin, 2014). The *third* is the social-constructivist/cultural approach that sees mediatization from the perspective of society (Block, 2013; Hepp et al., 2015; Knoblauch, 2013). The social-constructivist approach focuses more on people's daily processes, practices and engagement with media, which is interrelated with the social and cultural contexts (Lunt & Livingstone, 2016).

This study uses a social-constructivist approach as it examines the role of the society in shaping the social dynamics and the communication practices (Hepp & Hasebrink, 2018), as well as in interpreting the cultural values and narrating the media information. In other words, this mediatization study observes the interrelationship between the socio-cultural aspects in one side, and the development of media and communication practices on the other side. Meanwhile, the social and cultural contexts of each society is different and plural. Mediatization also involves various social aspects and cultural values in a society that is complex (Ekström et al., 2016), such as historical events, social actors, needs, economics or politics situations. Therefore, each society has a very specific process and form of mediatization (Krotz, 2009). Likewise, in a mediatized environment, each society will construct meaning and social practices-- including its communication and media practices--in a certain way (Encheva et al., 2013).

In the context of rural area that potentially has limited media infrastructure or literacy, scholars also explain that in some groups with no direct or active use of media, indirect mediatization can occur (Ampuja et al., 2014; Blumler & Esser, 2019). Indirect mediatization is social processes that make the people indirectly become dependent on the media and influenced by the increasingly mediatized environment. The spread of some information nowadays is increasingly dependent on the dissemination through various media, including mass media, social media, interpersonal media, etcetera. However, the group of media users may also be affected by those information, at least in the sense that their dependency on the information from the media users in their social network is increasing. In other words, some non-level or low-level media user groups may still experience the social dynamics or be connected to a media-related environment. Instead, study on these groups will be interesting because researchers can find the typical forms and processes of mediatization.

Mediatization has become a research trend in communication and media studies in the last 20 years (Deacon & Stanyer, 2014; Hepp et al., 2015; Lunt & Livingstone,

2016)--eventhough the concept of mediatization was written by Manheim in his dissertation (Manheim, 1933). Scholars also apply mediatization to research more in political contexts or urban areas (Averbeck-Lietz, 2013; Jansson, 2013). One of the reasons is due to the use of media by some politicians in specific and different practices in new media. Similarly, scholars also argue that urban areas are the centers of new media development. In Indonesia, there is no enough literature on mediatization in the context of rural society or social life over the religious or political aspects (Fakhruroji, 2015; Kansong et al., 2022).

This study confirms that mediatization research is not only about the media and its development. However, mediatization is a metaprocess (Krotz, 2009), a situation formed from the interrelation of various social aspects and communication practices over a long period. Thus, mediatization involves various media since people have their respective engagements with certain media. In other words, every society--as a user--has their own meaning and practices of media. For example, a user keeps a Facebook account to maintain the relationships with the family and the group identity. However, the user also creates an Instagram account to make relationships with new people in an independent and successful self-image (Yudha, 2021). Therefore, a mediatization research does not see the dominance of one media in people's lives. Instead, a mediatization research looks at the society's communication practices broadly and their social aspects comprehensively. In other words, the existence of new media does not mean eliminating the use of the old media (Jansson et al., 2013). Thus, a mediatization research provides space for discussion about community engagement in conventional media (radio, newspapers, or TV) in addition to the new media or social media.

Based on the explanation above, this study explores the society engagement in various media. This study focuses on observing the perspective and the practice of the social media managers and journalists in Tulungagung in utilizing the media. Hence, this study aims to examine on how social media managers and journalists in Tulungagung narrate the information or news about the 'Aksi 212'. This study assumes that the social media managers and journalists in Tulungagung have an active role in producing, constructing and sharing news. Thus, the news appeared in the Tulungagung media have a distinctive nuance or sentiment of its own.

Methods

This study uses digital ethnography as a research method (Murthy, 2008; Tacchi, 2004). This study collects data through interviews with social media managers and journalists, as the social actors or human agents (Jansson et al., 2013) that have an active role in shaping, narrating and sharing information with the public. Social media managers are individuals or groups of people who carry out activities to share information that is sometimes not available in the mainstream media (Canella, 2022). Managers use social media to interact directly with the audiences, reframe issues or strengthen connections to community identities and resources.

Data collection in this study also includes the documentation of news in local media (radio and newspapers) and posts crawling on social media accounts that upload social information. This study selects informants with a purposeful strategy (Patton, 2002). Interviews (direct and through media), crawling and documentation were conducted in the period of November 2020 to June 2022. This study selects and limits the news or information about the 'Aksi 212' occurred on December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019, since it becomes popular news appeared in various research

(Kansong et al., 2022; Lim, 2017; Santoso & Djauhari, 2019) and national media.

Results

This study selects informants based on the researcher's interest. The researcher observes the informants' profile and knowledge in explaining the socio-cultural dynamics, as well as their role and work experience in Tulungagung media.   The following Table 1 below describes the profile of the informants.

Table 1. Informant's Profile

Informant	Sex	Media
Informant 1	Male	Guyub Rukun Radio
Informant 2	Male	Radar Tulungagung Newspaper
Informant 3	Male	@kacamata_tulungagung
Informant 4	Female	@kacamata_tulungagung
Informant 5	Female	@hits_tulungagung & @mtma_ta
Informant 6	Male	Harian Bangsa Newspaper & bangsaonline.com

Note: This table explains the informant's profile and media

This study also has crawled and documented several Tulungagung public media accounts. The public media is in the form of an account on the instagram platform. This means that these instagram accounts may be followed by the general public. These instagram accounts are also not in the name of individual ownership and using the word "Tulungagung" to indicate the identity as part of the Tulungagung society.

This study refers to a previous research on digital media engagement that considers platform or account selection based on the number of followers (Taillon et al., 2020), views, likes, shares, retweets, comments, web traffic, promos, and actions (Shawky et al., 2019). This study then chooses instagram as it is a popular platform for the people of Tulungagung, that is often used whether personally to form relationships and self-image (Yudha, 2021), in groups to manage institutional marketing (Rahayu et al., 2022), or even in general to exchange information (Syafaah & Ari, 2021). This study then determines specific Instagram accounts that have many followers and active communication traffic--in the sense of consistently uploading information--as the object of this research. The accounts that become the object of this research are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Media's Profile

Media	Followers	Posts (per July 15, 2022)
@*radar_tulungagung*	41.300	8.456
@jtv_tulungagung	153.000	7.220
@hits_tulungagung	58.900	1.153
@kacamata_tulungagung	300.000	14.316
@tulungagung_sparkling	312.000	2.903

Note: This table explains the media's profile

News on the 'Aksi 212' that appeared in various media continues to encourage the solidarity actions in various regions--as shown in Figure 2 below. Media in the areas such as Pekalongan and Solo also carry the news about solidarity actions in their regions. Likewise, Kediri Regency--located in the border of Tulungagung Regency--also hold a solidarity action.

Figure 2. News and Solidarity Acts of 'Aksi 212' in various media and regions
(December 2, 2016-December 2, 2021)
(source: Radar Pekalongan, Surya Malang: https://tinyurl.com/3pkebf4x, detikNews:
https://tinyurl.com/774y9eny)

However, the researcher observes that there is no news or solidarity action shown related to the 'Aksi 212' in Tulungagung. The following Table 3 contains the news appeared in the Tulungagung media during the 'Aksi 212' on December 2, 2016, during the reunion of the 'Aksi 212' on December 2, 2019, and after the presidential election on April 17, 2019.

Tabel 3. Posts of @radar_tulungagung on December 2, 2016
and December 2, 2019

December 2, 2016	December 2, 2019

Note: This table shows there is no posts of @radar_tulungagung on December 2, 2016
and December 2, 2019

As can be seen in the Table No. 3, @radar_tulungagung's post after November 15, 2016 was on December 5, 2016. Meanwhile @radar_tulungagung uploaded information on November 26, 2019 and then December 5, 2019. There is no post from @radar_tulungagung on December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019.

Tabel 4. Posts of @jtv_tulungagung on December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019

December 2, 2016	December 2, 2019

Note: This table shows that @jtv_tulungagung posted labout ocal news on December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019

On December 2, 2016 the @jtv_tulungagung posts (from top left to right) were about the activities of the Majan Village Youth Organization, the invitations for Tulungageng Anniversary, the Lembu Peteng Bridge maintenance, accidents and the shop inauguration at SMKN 1 Boyolangu. While on December 2, 2019 the @jtv_tulungagung posts were about (from bottom left, middle and top right) Kedung Tumpang Beach, gold shop's advertisement and the winners of the Tourism Office Photo Contest. There is no post about 'Aksi 212' or its reunion on December 2, 2019.

Tabel 5. Posts of @hits_tulungagung on December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019

December 2, 2016	December 2, 2019

Note: The table shows there is no posts of @hits_tulungagung on December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019

The @hits_tulungaung share no post on the date of Aksi 212. On December 2, 2016, the right and left feeds show the order of @hits_tulungagung's posts on December 1, 2016 and December 9, 2016 respectively. The @hits_tulungaung also share no post on the date of reunion 'Aksi 212'. On December 2, 2019, the right and left feeds show the order of @hits_tulungagung's posts on June 22, 2018 and June 16, 2020 respectively.

Tabel 6. Posts of @kacamata_tulungagung on December 2, 2016
and December 2, 2019

December 2, 2016	December 2, 2019

Note: This table shows that @tulungagung_sparkling posted about local news on
December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019

On December 2, 2016, @kacamata_tulungagung posts (from top right to the bottom) were about the local government's tree planting action, the Lembu Peteng Bridge maintenance, the Lembu Peteng Bridge damage, accidents, the Besole River cleaning movements, Niama Landslide, Brantas flood, and the Scout Championship. While on December 2, 2019, @kacamata_tulungagung posts about the winners of the Tourism Office Photo Contest. There is no post about 'Aksi 212' on December 2, 2016 or its reunion on December 2, 2019.

Tabel 7. Posts of @ tulungagung_sparkling on December 2, 2016
and December 2, 2019

December 2, 2016	December 2, 2019

Note: This table shows that @tulungagung_sparkling posted about local news on
December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019

In the Table No. 7 above, the @tulungagung_sparkling account on December 2, 2016 uploaded a local news about the history of the Wonorejo Dam, as well as the profile of Gemah Beach in December 2, 2019. This study noted that while @jtv_tulungagung, @kacamata_tulungagung and @tulungagung_sparkling posted about local news, it can also be realized that two media accounts--@radar_tulungagung and @hits_tulungagung--did not upload any information on the date of the 'Aksi 212' on December 2, 2016, and on the date of its reunion on December 2, 2019.

Aside from studying documents in the form of online posts, the researcher also conducts interviews to understand the perspective and the media engagement of the Tulungagung society. Social media managers and journalists in Tulungagung are more interested in local contents. Informant 1 states that people who rarely experience conflict are also not fond of the news about social problems, such as the 'Aksi 212'

protest. Instead, the people in Tulungagung are interested in local news.

> *"Tulungagung people prefer local news. Even the people of Tulungagung who work abroad are still listening to the Guyub Rukun Radio by streaming. They often ask to play local songs, such as the traditional song 'campursari'. In Tulungagung, conflicts are rarely to happen. Therefore, the public is not interested in the news of exclusive group or the issues of social conflict. That is why, we as media managers keep the situation far from conflicts by broadcasting news about Tulungagung which is harmonious and peaceful."* (Informant 1, February 17, 2022)

In terms of media convergence in disseminating information, the account managers of @hits_tulungagung, @kacamata_tulungagung and @tulungagung_sparkling are easier to manage the posts since they have no ties to any media networks or other institutions. On the other hand, the @jtv_tulungagung account is the social media account of the JTV channel, as well as the @radar_tulungagung account is part of the Radar Tulungagung newspaper. Radar Tulungagung newspaper and JTV television channel as conventional media have institutional forms, journalist networks and access to the national news. However, the posts on the @jtv_tulungagung and @radar_tulungagung accounts seem to conform to the local values, including harmony, togetherness and peace.

Interestingly, Informant 5 states that apart from being independent in managing the media in choosing the news uploads, they have a close personal relationship. The media managers know each other and have informal forums, but still respect each other's freedoms in managing posts. Informant 5 states that the media managers know each other and have a WA group to communicate. The media managers also often drink coffee together, discuss or share information. However, they never influence, interfere with, or induce the posts of other managers. Each manager has a full control over selecting, editing and narrating their own news uploads.

The researcher also observes that the form of harmony and mutual respect of the media managers can be seen in the activity of sharing and marking each other's posts. Figure 3 below shows the @kacamata_tulungagung's post about the religious activities at the house of the deputy regent, Gatut Sunu Wibowo. Besides @kacamata_tulungagung, @tulungagungsparkling also uploads the same video.

Figure 3. The @kacamata_tulungagung managers tag each other's social media accounts (July 15, 2022) (source: https://tinyurl.com/5n7cjckm)

In Figure 3 above, the manager of @kacamata_tulungagung tags the source of the video, @radartulungagung. As previously explained, @radartulungagung is an account that refers to the mainstream media, the Radar Tulungagung newspaper. Meanwhile, Radar Tulungagung as part of Jawa Pos--the largest daily newspaper in East Java--also produces no news about the 'Aksi 212', as shown in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. The independency of Radar Tulungagung from Jawa Pos (Desember 2, 2016)
(source: Radar Tulungagung Newspaper)

Interestingly, Jawa Pos which circulates in East Java, Bali, Yogyakarta and some parts of Central Java carries the news about the 'Aksi 212' in the headlines. However, Informant 2 who is the Editor-in-Chief of the printed and online versions of Radar Tulungagung reveales that the absence of the news is because there is no action or relation between the people of Tulungagung and the 'Aksi 212'.

"We did not post the Aksi 212 because Radar Tulungagung has a local audience and indeed there was no Aksi 212 demonstration in Tulungagung. In the 2016-2019 period, when the social and political tension was sensitive, as I recall there was a visit by several Aksi 212 figures to Tulungagung. But they received a rejection from the local community, such as from the Banser." (Informant 2, April 15, 2022)

In line with Informant 2, Informant 6 explains that there is a responsibility to maintain the social harmony, as a media manager with a large following in Tulungagung. Thus, they avoid any news or narratives that may cause conflicts, such as political, religious or group nuances. According to Informant 6, the people of Tulungagung also have a communal culture (Wilczewski et al., 2017). For example, if there is a new thing or trend, then the surrounding community will easily follow it. Realizing that there are many people following his account, Informant 6 is cautious in providing information. Thus, Informant 6 avoids any posts about political, religious or group issues that may trigger the disintegration or conflict.

Meanwhile, it is undeniable that the public also has various opinions in responding to the information. Informant 3 as the manager of the @kacamata_tulungagung account states that he is trying to reply to all comments of the followers. Informant 3 sees that all followers have the same rights and desire to be noticed and replied to. Even, Informant 3 also gives a chance to the followers who give comments a little harshly. However, Informant 3 still tries to reply with funny words, thus the sharp commentary tension is read by the public in a more relaxed framing.

According to Informant 3, the characteristic of his @kacamata_tulungagung account is interactive. Informant 3 tries to reply to anyone's comments, without considering the educational background, group, religion, or the social identity of the followers. Even if there are comments that are a little rude, Informant 3 tries to provide an opportunity for it to be displayed. At the very least, Informant 3 replies to all rude comments with funny words, thus not to sound serious and the followers' emotions remain peaceful. Informant 3 tries to narrate, shape and change the unpleasant nuances into funny things, thus cause no atmosphere of conflict.

The researcher pays attention on how media managers have an attitude of respect

and upholding equality. They also seek to create an inclusive and free space for any followers to interact. However, media managers must maintain the social harmony and togetherness, thus they must extinguish the sources of problems. One of the way is to reframe the emotional statements into jokes, or delete comments.

Informant 4 expresses his opinion that the people of Tulungagung are the 'people in harmony'. The community prioritizes the values of equality, togetherness and harmony. Therefore, Informant 4 welcomes anyone to comment or post videos. Later, Informant 4 will check and display any comments or information that conform to the values of harmony. On the other hand, if there are comments that are too frontal, Informant 4 will delete them in order to maintain the values of harmony and peace.

Similarly, Informant 3 still understands the importance of the impact as well as the legal consequences of disseminating information. Therefore, as a public account manager, he prefers to upload popular things within the local people.

> *"We as managers must be socially and legally responsible. If there is an upload that violates the law or social conflict due to the upload, we as the manager will be the first party to be responsible. Therefore, the information we share is something that can be accepted by the whole community."* (Informant 3, December 18, 2021)

Meanwhile, Informant 5 reveales that once he had experienced a misunderstanding with a follower. A follower flagged the public account managed by Informant 5 and said that he had not yet received the giveaway he had won. Informant 5 then sent a direct message and confirmed that the delivery of the giveaway was delayed due to technical problems out of Informant 5.

Informant 5 states that the people of Tulungagung are very harmonious. However, this does not mean that the people have never had differences in opinion or social problems. The Tulungagung people actually build harmony through problem solving that ends peacefully and gives no harm to each other. Informant 5 personally shares his experience when he had a problem with one of his followers. He prefers to resolve the problem as soon as possible internally--via private messages--in order to minimize the scope and maintain the problem as simple as possible and not protracted.

The researcher realizes that in terms of socio-cultural values, that are harmony and peace--people as media users hate conflicts. The informants also resolve conflicts internally through peaceful means, by keeping the conflict from being reconstructed in the public space or causing social upheaval.

Discussion

A previous study on rural society shows the limitations of media infrastructure (Purbo, 2017). Those limitations imply the lack of public access (Mora-Rivera & García-Mora, 2021), knowledge of information and media literacy. However, Chart 2 below shows that the use of media and public communication tools in Tulungagungg is high--as it is above 50% (Ardiyanti, 2019). This means that the people of Tulungagung have the access to know about the national issues, including the news about the Aksi 212 which is popular in various media.
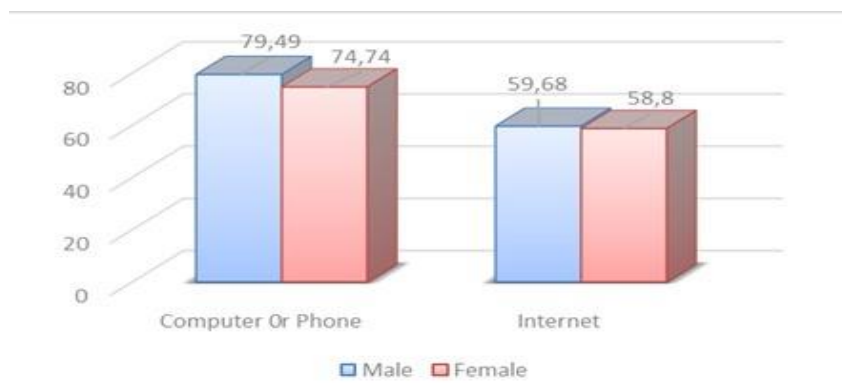
Figure 5. The use of media and communication tools in Tulungagung
(source: The Statistic of Tulungagung Regency [BPS], 2020)

The social dynamics emerged due to the societal relations with the media are not an isolated mechanism and occurred instantaneously (Driessens & Hjarvard, 2017). Slowly and gradually, the society penetrates and contextualizes the socio-cultural values in media practices. The society members continue to adapt and integrate all social elements into discussion through or in the media. Thus, a research about communication practices or the use of media cannot be separated from the history of cultural values and the real social life. Or in other words, understanding the communication practices and the media use also requires the social and cultural knowledge of people's lives.

Mediatization in Tulungagung shows the interrelationships between culture, society and media. The researcher realizes that the practice of social media managers and journalists is related to the media convergence (Madianou & Miller, 2013). Media convergence is about the integration of digital technology that facilitates the migration of information forms and the migration of users between platforms. In other words, media convergence makes the changing and transmission of information easy on several media forms. Thus, it is potential to cause similarity or duplication of information on various media platforms. Furthermore, the national media in Indonesia usually also have media networks at the regional or local level. This media convergence then allows any national information or issues to reach the public in various regions.

However, the social media managers and journalists in conventional or mass media (newspaper or radio) have integrated the internet and digital technology, by managing digital accounts on several platforms, such as Instagram. Social media managers and journalists also take the advantage of the digital formats that make it easier for their media to be reached and accessed personally and directly by the public. Moreover, the society can be authoritative, interactive and play an active role by giving responds through comments, likes, or sharing media posts. Thus, the convergence of media with the internet technology in Tulungagung can strengthen the identity and the collective socio-cultural values (Eriksen, 2006).

On the dates of the demonstrations on December 2, 2016 and December 2, 2019, there were two media accounts (@radar_tulungagung and @hits_tulungagung) that did not upload any information. Meanwhile, other media accounts such as @jtv_tulungagung, @kacamata_tulungagung and @tulungagung_sparkling give no report on the 'Aksi 212'. Social media managers and journalists prefer to upload local contents, such as news of traffics, tourist information, community activities or local news. The researcher sees that the uploading of those local news implies the awareness and knowledge of the social media managers or journalists to distance and avoid discussion about the 'Aksi 212' that has no relation with the political or the social

dynamics in Tulungagung.

However, one characteristic of public media activity is to interrupt the mainstream media discourses (Canella, 2022). However, both social media and mainstream/ conventional media in Tulungagung have the same narrative framework in uploads, by upholding peace and harmony. This means that not only the social media managers have a harmonious and respectful relationship, but also the social media managers and the mainstream media journalists have the same framework for framing news, by prioritizing the peaceful and harmonious local values.

During the interview process, the informant told the researcher that they had problems with certain people. Informants use the initial name to refer to those people. The researcher observes that the informant's action is a form of maintaining other-faces. It means that the informant maintains the concept or the self-esteem of others by not mentioning the bright/ well known names. Similarly, the way informants tell the problem is by presenting the objective facts. It means that the informants did not use any subjective perspective, express prejudice, or direct personal opinions. Thus, the attitude of the informant shows an effort not to exaggerate personal problems.

In the context of conflict resolution, social media managers and journalists maintain the group harmony with a mutual-face attitude (Ting-Toomey, 2005) and face-to-face meetings frequently. This is for the reason that the people pay attention to the harmony and inclusiveness in social relations. The practice of face-to-face communication provides a form of mediatization for the social dynamics in Tulungagung. Direct meetings transfer emotions, and form intimate relationships as well as effective communication. Thus, direct communications can minimize conflicts due to misunderstandings. In addition, the informant also explains that the delivery of criticism becomes more polite as the people know him personally.

The people in Tulungagung like group activities, as they have various social events including sports activities, children's games, traditional rituals, public ceremonies and even group discussions in casual coffee shops (Kurniawan, 2021). However, nowadays, it's not only the men who have a place for casual discussions in the coffee shops, but also it is common for the women, teenagers and even families to do meetings, assignments or business in modern coffee cafes.

Related to the indirect mediatization, the communication process can change through meetings or direct activities, although it does not involve the media directly. Scholars state that conversation is the simplest form of communication media (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Similarly, Krotz & Hepp (2013) define media as the all means that can modify or shape the communication process. In rural areas, face-to-face meeting remains as the common form of interaction. Thus, face-to-face meeting is also a form of communication media. In Tulungagung itself, face-to-face communication is also a symbol of respect, courtesy and social closeness. The interactive and intimate communication in face-to-face communication also makes conflict resolution faster, less offensive and simpler. It means that the conflict management becomes easier as media distortion and message misunderstanding are minimized. Therefore, face-to-face meeting as a communication media indirectly creates an atmosphere of harmony and peace.

The keywords of harmony, peace and togetherness often come out in the interview process. Several informants state that the existence of a government slogan legitimizes these values. For example, the slogan *'guyub rukun'* (togetherness and harmony) from the former regent, Heru Tjahjono (reign 2003-2013) and the slogan *'ayem tentrem'*

(peace and tranquil) from the former regent, Syahri Mulyo (reign 2013-2018). Indirectly, the informants confirm that the government's slogan become the basis or rules that shape the practices of communication and media. In other words, the social-cultural values frame the practice of the society to communicate and use media. As argued by the scholars, society deposits the socio-cultural values in their cognitive awareness and implements them in the daily social activities. In other words, people manifest the socio-cultural values in communication and media practices.

People, in their respective social roles and functions, maintain the socio-cultural values. In Tulungagung, people have social values and cultural wisdom to uphold the harmony, togetherness, inclusion, peace and mutual respect. Therefore, the communication and media practices of the Tulungagung people imply the meaning of harmony, togetherness, peace and the value of mutual respect. Likewise, as an active actors, journalists and social media managers avoid the dissemination of potentially conflicting information.

Social media managers and journalists also prefer to disseminate local contents, since the public has a relationship or involvement in it. Moreover, the selection of local content is a form of media marketing strategy. As a result, the people are increasingly integrated into local discussions (Olsen, 2021; Vermeer et al., 2020) and are distant from any information outside Tulungagung. Furthermore, the society does not feel the importance of being involved in the national issues or conflicts. On the other hand, the local government legitimizes discourses on social values and cultural wisdom as the government slogans. Thus, the values of harmony, togetherness, peace and mutual respect continue to be reconstructed (Olsen, 2021; Spash, 2014) and become suggestions that shape the social life of the Tulungagung people.

In addition to the specific background, the findings above are also contextual. It means that the findings of this study may be different for other media, other issues or other societies which have their own local wisdom. Based on their respective socio-cultural context, each society constructs its communication and media practices in specific way. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to other media or society's study. However, the diversity of societies will enrich the repertoire of the media, society's and mediatization studies.

Conclusion

This study shows that there is a socio-cultural context in the practices of communication and media. This is for the reason that the socio-cultural values underlie the practices of media and communication. Likewise, the use of media and communication reinforces the socio-cultural values. Particularly, rural societies have specific communication and media practices, as their socio-cultural contexts are still identical, binding and homogeneous. This study implies on the use of media for groups or subcultures in maintaining their socio-cultural values. People also can take the advantage from the integration of media with the internet technology to construct, select and limit social networks or information. Thus, to understand the dynamics of a society related to the media, further research requires a comprehensive study on the socio-cultural contexts and people's engagement to the media. The researcher recommends that the cultural or media studies in the future can realize the socio-cultural situation comprehensively and specifically. Including, the media or digital literacy movement requires the socio-cultural perspectives and knowledge-beyond the introduction of skills or regulation on the media use. Further, the study of mediatization in rural areas can

also examine any different situations, such as examining the political context, religion, limited literacy or media infrastructure. Likewise, the government needs to take a socio-cultural approach in formulating policies by considering a large number of rural areas and the high cultural diversity in Indonesia. Future mediatization studies can also use other methods to understand the process of social construction of issues in rural areas. For example, studies can examine the capability of the media in institutionalizing an issue-where in rural areas, some actors or opinion leaders use face-to-face communication. This is for the reason that there is still a group of rural people who use communication channels without any social media or mass media involved. Moreover, there are still rural areas that have limited infrastructure and media literacy.

Conflict of Interest

The researcher declares that there is no conflict of interest with any financial, personal or other relationships with other people or organizations related to the material discussed in the manuscript.

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