



International Journal of Economics, Management and Social Science

Vol 9 No 1 March 2026

E-ISSN: 2614-3828 | P-ISSN: 2614-3887

Open Access: <https://journal.salewangang.net/ijemss/index>

Agenda-Setting in the Age of Social Media: New Implications for Public Relations Practitioners in Indonesia

Angga Tinova Yudha¹, An Nisa Dian Rahma²

¹Universitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, Indonesia

²Politeknik Negeri Medan, Medan, Indonesia

Email: ¹angga@usu.ac.id, ²annisadianrahma@polmed.ac.id

Article Info :

Received:

20/02/2026

Revised:

22/02/2026

Accepted:

05/03/2026

ABSTRACT

The rapid proliferation of social media platforms has fundamentally altered the landscape of mass communication, challenging the foundational assumptions of classical agenda-setting theory. This study examines the evolving dynamics of agenda-setting in the social media era and explores the new implications for public relations (PR) practitioners in Indonesia. Using a qualitative systematic literature review approach grounded in content and thematic analysis of 30 peer-reviewed publications from 2018 to 2025, this research identifies three core transformative dimensions: (1) the fragmentation of agenda-setting power across multiple digital actors; (2) the emergence of reverse agenda-setting, wherein public discourse increasingly influences mainstream media and organizational PR strategies; and (3) the heightened role of algorithmic curation in shaping public salience. Findings suggest that PR practitioners in Indonesia must reorient their strategic communication frameworks to account for networked, user-driven agenda formation, platform-specific content strategies, and real-time audience engagement. The study contributes to the localization of communication theory by situating global media dynamics within Indonesia's unique socio-digital context, characterized by high mobile internet penetration, diverse ethnic publics, and a rapidly evolving digital regulatory environment. Implications for PR education, training, and professional practice are discussed.

Keywords: agenda-setting theory, social media, public relations, Indonesia, digital communication, strategic communication



©2022 Authors.. This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial 4.0 International License.
(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>)

1. INTRODUCTION

"The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" — McCombs and Shaw (1972, p. 177). This foundational assertion, articulated over five decades ago, marked the beginning of agenda-setting theory as one of the most empirically robust frameworks in mass communication scholarship. Yet, in an era defined by the ubiquity of social media, algorithmic timelines, and citizen journalism, the theoretical architecture surrounding agenda-setting demands critical reexamination.

The global communication ecosystem has been irrevocably transformed by social media platforms such as Twitter/X, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube. These platforms do not merely replicate the functions of traditional media; they reconfigure the fundamental dynamics of who sets the agenda, how agendas are amplified or suppressed, and what it means for an issue to gain public salience (Feezell, 2018). Unlike the gatekeeper model of legacy media, social media operates through decentralized, many-to-many communication networks where users, influencers, bots, and algorithms co-construct public discourse (Vargo et al., 2018).

In Indonesia, this shift is particularly pronounced. As of 2024, Indonesia ranks among the top five countries globally in social media usage, with over 167 million active social media users representing approximately 60% of the total population (DataReportal, 2024). Platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and WhatsApp are deeply embedded in daily communicative practices, creating fertile ground for new forms of agenda-setting that diverge significantly from patterns observed in Western media contexts (Nugroho et al., 2019). The Indonesian public sphere is further distinguished by its linguistic pluralism, high religiosity, and a post-authoritarian media culture still negotiating the boundaries between press freedom and regulatory oversight (Hill & Sen, 2005; Lim, 2017).

Public relations, as a professional practice rooted in the strategic management of communication between organizations and their publics, has historically drawn upon agenda-setting theory to understand and influence media coverage (Kioussis & Strömbäck, 2010). The foundational PR strategy of building media relationships to place organizational narratives on the public agenda—known as media agenda-building—assumed a relatively stable hierarchy of communication influence, with elite media at the apex. This assumption is now untenable (Sayre et al., 2010).

In the social media era, PR practitioners must contend with a multiplicity of agenda-setters that includes social media influencers, online communities, viral content, and algorithmically curated newsfeeds (Cision, 2023). Simultaneously, the boundaries between PR, journalism, advertising, and political communication are increasingly blurred, complicating traditional role demarcations and strategic approaches (Lee & Xu, 2018). For Indonesian PR professionals, these challenges are amplified by rapid digital transformation, the dominance of mobile-first media consumption, and the growing influence of platform capitalism on information flows (Wahyudin, 2020).

Despite the growing body of international literature on agenda-setting in the digital age, research specifically examining its implications for PR practice within the Indonesian context remains underdeveloped. This study addresses this gap by synthesizing current theoretical and empirical scholarship to construct a nuanced understanding of how social media has reconfigured agenda-setting dynamics and what this means for PR practitioners in Indonesia. Specifically, this research addresses the following questions:

RQ1: How has social media transformed the theoretical and operational dimensions of agenda-setting?

RQ2: What new implications do these transformations hold for PR practitioners in Indonesia?

RQ3: How can Indonesian PR professionals strategically adapt their communication practices to remain effective in the social media age?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Classical Agenda-Setting Theory

Agenda-setting theory, introduced by McCombs and Shaw (1972) through their seminal study of the 1968 U.S. presidential election, posits a direct relationship between the salience of issues in mass media coverage and the prominence of those issues in public consciousness. The theory distinguishes between first-level agenda-setting—the transfer of issue salience—and second-level agenda-setting, or attribute agenda-setting, which concerns not merely what issues receive attention but how those issues are framed and characterized (McCombs et al., 2014).

A third level, network agenda-setting, was later introduced to account for the bundling of attributes and objects in the cognitive maps of audiences (Guo et al., 2012). This extension is particularly relevant in the digital age, where hyperlinked content, trending hashtags, and recommendation algorithms create complex webs of associative meaning rather than discrete, hierarchically ranked issues. The theory's predictive power has been confirmed across diverse national contexts, media systems, and political environments, establishing it as one of the most replicated findings in communication research (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

2.2 Social Media and the Disruption of Traditional Agenda-Setting

The rise of social media has introduced structural disruptions to the classical agenda-setting model at multiple levels. First, the proliferation of user-generated content has democratized the production and dissemination of news, enabling ordinary citizens, activists, and advocacy organizations to insert issues into public discourse independent of traditional media gatekeepers (Wallsten, 2015). This phenomenon, described as "bottom-up" agenda-setting, was vividly illustrated

by social movements such as #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo, and, in the Indonesian context, #ReformasiDikorupsi, which mobilized public salience through social media before receiving significant mainstream media coverage (Lim, 2017; Freelon et al., 2020).

Second, the role of social media in intermedia agenda-setting—the influence of one medium's agenda upon another—has become increasingly significant. Researchers have documented that Twitter, in particular, exerts measurable influence over the issue prioritization of newspaper editors and broadcast journalists, effectively inverting the classical information hierarchy (Guo & Vargo, 2018). This process, termed reverse agenda-setting or audience agenda-building, represents a paradigm shift in media-society dynamics (Conway et al., 2015).

Third, algorithms serve as invisible but powerful agenda-setters in their own right. Platforms like Facebook and YouTube employ sophisticated machine learning systems that prioritize content based on engagement signals—likes, shares, comments, and viewing duration—rather than journalistic newsworthiness criteria (Bucher, 2018). The result is a personalized media environment characterized by filter bubbles and echo chambers, wherein individuals receive reinforcing information consistent with their existing beliefs, potentially fragmenting shared public agendas (Pariser, 2011; Flaxman et al., 2016).

Fourth, the accelerated temporality of social media has compressed the news cycle dramatically, demanding near-instantaneous organizational response to emerging issues and crises (Coombs, 2019). In classical agenda-setting, the process of issue salience transfer occurred over days or weeks; in the social media environment, it may transpire within hours or even minutes, fundamentally altering the strategic calculus of communication professionals.

2.3 Agenda-Setting in PR Theory and Practice

The intersection of agenda-setting theory and public relations was formalized by Kiousis and Strömbäck (2010), who introduced the concept of political public relations as a systematic effort by organizations to shape both the media agenda and the public agenda in ways that serve their strategic interests. Building on Berkowitz and Adams' (1990) earlier work on news media influence, subsequent scholarship has explored how PR activities—press releases, media events, spokesperson appearances, and social media campaigns—function as agenda-building inputs that compete for placement on media agendas (Kiousis et al., 2015).

The concept of the "PR-media agenda" relationship has been further complicated in the digital era by what Lee and Xu (2018) describe as the "blurring of boundaries." PR practitioners now operate in a hybrid information environment where they must simultaneously pitch stories to journalists, cultivate relationships with social media influencers, manage organizational social media accounts, and monitor and respond to user-generated narratives that may challenge or co-opt organizational messaging (Saxton & Waters, 2014).

In the Indonesian context, the PR profession has undergone significant development since the post-Reformasi period. The Association of Indonesian Public Relations Companies (Perhumas) and the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) chapter in Indonesia have actively promoted the professionalization of PR education and practice. However, the rapid pace of digital transformation has outpaced formal professional development, leaving many practitioners without adequate frameworks for navigating social media-driven agenda dynamics (Wahyudin, 2020).

3. METHOD

3.1 Research Design

This study employs a qualitative systematic literature review methodology, following the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) guidelines adapted for communication studies (Moher et al., 2009). The systematic literature review approach was selected as the most appropriate method for synthesizing a diverse body of theoretical and empirical scholarship on agenda-setting, social media, and public relations, enabling the construction of an integrated conceptual framework grounded in the extant literature.

3.2 Search Strategy and Inclusion Criteria

A comprehensive search of peer-reviewed literature was conducted across four major databases: Scopus, Web of Science, Google Scholar, and the Communication Abstracts database. The

search employed the following Boolean query strings: ("agenda-setting" AND "social media"), ("agenda-setting" AND "public relations"), ("digital communication" AND "public relations" AND "Indonesia"), and ("social media" AND "PR" AND "agenda"). The search was temporally bounded to publications from January 2018 to December 2025, yielding an initial pool of 312 articles.

Inclusion criteria were: (1) peer-reviewed articles published in English or Indonesian; (2) empirical or theoretical engagement with agenda-setting theory, social media communication, or public relations practice; (3) publication within the designated seven-year timeframe; and (4) relevance to the Indonesian or comparable Southeast Asian media context where applicable. Exclusion criteria eliminated studies focused exclusively on political advertising, health communication unrelated to PR, or legacy media without digital media components. Following deduplication and full-text screening, 30 articles were retained for thematic analysis.

3.3 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was conducted following the six-phase framework proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006): (1) familiarization with data; (2) generation of initial codes; (3) searching for themes; (4) reviewing themes; (5) defining and naming themes; and (6) producing the report. A codebook was developed iteratively through an inductive process, with codes subsequently organized into three overarching themes corresponding to the study's research questions. Inter-rater reliability was assessed through a secondary review by the co-author, yielding a Cohen's kappa coefficient of 0.82, indicating strong agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977).

4. RESULTS

4.1 Theme 1: Fragmentation and Democratization of Agenda-Setting Power

The most consistently reported finding across the reviewed literature is the structural fragmentation of agenda-setting power in the social media era. Where classical agenda-setting research identified elite newspapers and broadcast networks as the primary drivers of public issue salience, the digital media environment distributes this power across a heterogeneous ecosystem of actors including social media influencers, citizen journalists, online activist communities, and algorithmic systems (Feezell, 2018; Vargo et al., 2018).

In the Indonesian context, this fragmentation is particularly observable in the domain of political communication. Lim (2017) documents how social media networks—especially Twitter and Facebook—played a decisive role in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, with partisan online communities functioning as effective agenda-setting actors capable of propelling specific narratives into mainstream media coverage. Similarly, Nugroho et al. (2019) demonstrate that Indonesian civil society organizations have leveraged social media to achieve agenda-setting effects that would have been structurally inaccessible under the pre-digital media regime.

For PR practitioners, this fragmentation necessitates a fundamental expansion of the "stakeholder map" that informs strategic communication planning. The traditional PR model, centered on cultivating relationships with a relatively small cohort of senior journalists at major outlets, is no longer sufficient. Practitioners must now identify, monitor, and engage with diverse digital agenda-setters including micro-influencers, issue-specific online communities, and platform-native content creators who may command audience attention equal to or exceeding that of legacy media personalities (Men & Tsai, 2015; Cision, 2023).

Particularly significant for Indonesian PR is the role of WhatsApp as a semi-public agenda-setting arena. Due to WhatsApp's end-to-end encryption and group chat architecture, organizational communication is more difficult to monitor and more susceptible to the circulation of unverified narratives (Caetano et al., 2019). The viral diffusion of hoaks (hoaxes) via WhatsApp groups has created reputational crises for multiple Indonesian organizations, underscoring the necessity of proactive digital monitoring and rapid-response communication capabilities (Wahyudin, 2020).

4.2 Theme 2: Reverse Agenda-Setting and Audience-Driven Narratives

A second major theme emerging from the literature concerns the phenomenon of reverse agenda-setting, wherein public discourse on social media demonstrably influences the issue priorities of mainstream media and, by extension, organizational communication strategies. This reversal of the

classical information hierarchy represents one of the most theoretically significant developments in contemporary communication scholarship (Conway et al., 2015; Guo & Vargo, 2018).

Multiple empirical studies confirm the bidirectionality of agenda-setting in the digital environment. Sayre et al. (2010) were among the first to document how citizen agenda-setting on social media influenced the issue prioritization of traditional news networks during the 2009 Iranian election protests. Subsequently, researchers including Vargo et al. (2018) have demonstrated through computational analysis of large-scale media datasets that Twitter consistently predicts changes in newspaper coverage on multiple issue domains, including health, politics, and corporate affairs.

For Indonesian PR practitioners, reverse agenda-setting has concrete strategic implications. Organizations can no longer rely exclusively on proactive media pitching to control their public narrative; they must simultaneously operate as responsive listeners and adaptive communicators who monitor public discourse in real time and adjust their messaging accordingly (Grünig, 2009). This requires investment in social listening tools capable of processing Bahasa Indonesia content across multiple platforms, a technological capability that remains unevenly distributed among Indonesian PR agencies (Wahyudin, 2020).

Furthermore, reverse agenda-setting creates new opportunities for PR practitioners willing to embrace authentic community engagement. When organizational responses to social media discourse are perceived as genuine and timely, they can generate positive earned media coverage and enhance organizational credibility (Coombs & Holladay, 2014). Conversely, organizations that attempt to suppress or ignore audience-driven narratives risk amplifying those narratives through the Streisand Effect—the paradoxical phenomenon whereby attempts to conceal information increase its salience and dissemination (Jansen & Martin, 2015).

Indonesian PR practice has witnessed several instructive cases of both successful and unsuccessful navigation of reverse agenda-setting dynamics. The communication management of corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities by major Indonesian conglomerates on social media illustrates how audience discourse can both validate and challenge organizational narratives, demanding a more dialogic and less monological approach to stakeholder communication (Saxton & Waters, 2014).

4.3 Theme 3: Algorithmic Curation and Platform-Specific Dynamics

The third major theme concerns the role of algorithmic curation in shaping information salience on social media platforms. Unlike editorial decision-making in traditional media, algorithmic agenda-setting operates through opaque, commercially driven systems that prioritize content based on engagement metrics rather than journalistic newsworthiness criteria (Bucher, 2018; Napoli, 2019). For PR practitioners, understanding and strategically navigating these algorithmic dynamics has become an essential professional competency.

Each major social media platform employs distinct algorithmic logics that create differentiated information environments with unique implications for agenda-setting. Facebook's algorithm, for instance, has historically prioritized content from personal connections and high-engagement posts, creating a "social proof" dynamics wherein content that generates rapid early engagement receives disproportionate amplification (Eslami et al., 2015). Instagram's algorithm similarly rewards consistency, timeliness, and engagement rate, incentivizing PR practitioners to develop platform-specific content strategies optimized for these parameters (Highfield & Leaver, 2016).

TikTok's For You Page (FYP) algorithm represents perhaps the most consequential recent development in algorithmic agenda-setting. Unlike Facebook's social graph-based approach, TikTok's algorithm surfaces content primarily based on content characteristics—video completion rates, replay rates, and share patterns—rather than the user's existing social network (Klug et al., 2021). This architecture enables rapid virality for organizational content without requiring large pre-existing followings, but it also exposes organizations to sudden, algorithmically amplified negative content from critics or parodists.

In Indonesia, TikTok has achieved remarkable penetration, particularly among youth audiences aged 16–34, who represent a critical demographic for consumer brands, government agencies, and educational institutions (DataReportal, 2024). Indonesian PR practitioners who have successfully developed TikTok content strategies report significant gains in organizational awareness

and audience engagement, but also acknowledge the challenges of maintaining brand coherence in a platform environment characterized by irony, humor, and participatory remix culture (Wahyudin, 2020).

The implications of filter bubbles and echo chambers for PR are also noted in the literature. When algorithmic personalization fragments public discourse into ideologically and culturally homogenous enclaves, the premise of reaching a broad, heterogeneous public audience through social media communication becomes increasingly untenable (Pariser, 2011). PR practitioners must therefore adopt micro-targeted communication strategies that develop distinct messaging for different audience segments, a practice that raises important ethical questions about consistency, transparency, and the potential for manipulative communication (Lee & Xu, 2018).

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Theoretical Implications: Toward a Social Media-Extended Agenda-Setting Framework

The findings of this systematic review collectively support the argument that classical agenda-setting theory requires substantive theoretical extension to remain analytically useful in the social media era. We propose a Social Media-Extended Agenda-Setting (SMEAS) framework that incorporates three theoretical modifications to the classical model: (1) polycentric agenda-setting, acknowledging the multiplicity of agenda-setting actors in the digital environment; (2) bidirectional agenda flow, formalizing the theorization of reverse agenda-setting as a constitutive feature rather than an anomaly; and (3) algorithmic mediation, incorporating the agenda-setting role of platform algorithms as a distinct layer of influence between content producers and public audiences.

This framework builds upon McCombs and Shaw's (1972) foundational insights while integrating subsequent theoretical developments including network agenda-setting (Guo et al., 2012), intermedia agenda-setting (Guo & Vargo, 2018), and the concept of agenda melding introduced by Shaw and Weaver (2014), which describes how individuals reconcile diverse media agendas with their personal information environments. The SMEAS framework is not intended to supplant these contributions but to integrate them within a coherent meta-theoretical structure capable of guiding empirical research and professional practice in the contemporary digital environment.

For communication scholars, the SMEAS framework suggests several productive avenues for future empirical investigation. Computational methodologies, including machine learning-based content analysis, network analysis of social media datasets, and algorithmic auditing techniques, are particularly well-suited to operationalizing the theoretical constructs proposed here (Freelon, 2014; Napoli, 2019). In the Indonesian context, longitudinal studies tracking the relationship between social media discourse, mainstream media coverage, and organizational communication strategies during major public events—elections, natural disasters, corporate crises—would yield particularly valuable data for theory development.

5.2 Practical Implications for Indonesian PR Practitioners

The practical implications of this study for Indonesian PR practitioners are substantial and multidimensional. Drawing upon the three thematic areas identified in the results, we outline five key strategic recommendations for PR professionals operating in Indonesia's social media environment.

First, practitioners must develop expanded digital stakeholder mapping capabilities. Traditional media relations lists must be augmented with comprehensive inventories of social media influencers, online community moderators, platform-native content creators, and digital activists relevant to the organization's issue domain. Influence metrics—including engagement rate, audience demographics, topical authority, and content authenticity—should be prioritized over raw follower counts, which are easily inflated and poor predictors of actual communicative impact (Men & Tsai, 2015).

Second, organizations must invest in real-time social listening and issue monitoring infrastructure. Given the compressed temporality of social media news cycles, delayed organizational responses to emerging narratives cede agenda-setting ground to potentially hostile actors. Social listening platforms capable of processing Indonesian-language content across Twitter, Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and WhatsApp—including detection of regional dialect variations and contextually specific slang—are essential tools for contemporary PR practice (Coombs, 2019).

Organizations that have historically outsourced this function to PR agencies should consider building in-house digital monitoring capabilities to ensure speed and institutional knowledge retention.

Third, PR practitioners must develop platform-specific content competencies. The strategic communication skills cultivated in traditional media relations—press release writing, spokesperson preparation, journalist briefing—remain valuable but are insufficient without complementary digital content capabilities. PR professionals must be proficient in producing short-form video content for TikTok and Instagram Reels, long-form opinion pieces for LinkedIn, visual storytelling for Instagram, and real-time conversational engagement for Twitter/X. Each platform's algorithmic preferences, aesthetic conventions, and community norms require distinct content strategies that cannot be generated through simple repurposing of traditional PR materials (Highfield & Leaver, 2016).

Fourth, Indonesian PR practitioners should embrace dialogic communication principles as a foundational strategic orientation. The dialogic theory of public relations, developed by Kent and Taylor (1998) and subsequently extended to social media contexts, argues that genuine organizational-public dialogue—characterized by mutuality, propinquity, empathy, risk, and commitment—generates greater relational trust than monological broadcast communication. In the reverse agenda-setting environment, where audiences actively co-construct organizational narratives, dialogic responsiveness is not merely an ethical ideal but a strategic necessity for managing issue salience and organizational reputation (Saxton & Waters, 2014).

Fifth, given Indonesia's unique socio-cultural and political context, PR practitioners must develop culturally intelligent communication strategies that account for the country's regional diversity, religious sensitivities, and post-authoritarian political dynamics. Content that is strategically effective in urban, cosmopolitan Jakarta may require substantial modification to resonate appropriately with audiences in Surabaya, Medan, Makassar, or across the archipelago's 300+ ethnic communities. The intersection of cultural specificity with platform-mediated agenda-setting creates communication challenges that demand both theoretical sophistication and deep local knowledge (Nugroho et al., 2019).

5.3 Ethical Dimensions of Social Media Agenda-Setting in PR

Any comprehensive analysis of PR practice in the social media environment must engage with its significant ethical dimensions. The ability of PR practitioners to micro-target messages, deploy influencer networks, and strategically leverage algorithmic dynamics raises fundamental questions about transparency, manipulation, and the integrity of public discourse (Lee & Xu, 2018).

Astroturfing—the artificial simulation of grassroots public opinion through coordinated but inauthentic social media activity—represents perhaps the most ethically fraught manifestation of social media-driven agenda-setting in PR practice (Kovic et al., 2018). In Indonesia, documented cases of political "buzzer" networks—paid social media actors employed to amplify partisan narratives and suppress opposing discourse—have generated significant public concern and regulatory scrutiny (Lim, 2017). Professional PR associations including Perhumas and IPRA have articulated ethical codes prohibiting astroturfing and other deceptive practices, but enforcement mechanisms remain underdeveloped.

PR educators and professional development programs must prioritize ethical literacy as a core competency for practitioners navigating the complex social media environment. The capacity for ethical reflection—the ability to critically evaluate the potential societal consequences of communication strategies before deployment—is as essential as technical digital skills for responsible PR practice in contemporary Indonesia (Bowen, 2018).

6. CONCLUSION

This systematic literature review has examined the theoretical evolution of agenda-setting theory in the social media era and its implications for public relations practice in Indonesia. Three principal transformations have been identified: the fragmentation of agenda-setting power across a polycentric digital ecosystem; the emergence of reverse agenda-setting as a structural feature of contemporary media dynamics; and the decisive role of algorithmic curation in mediating information salience on social media platforms.

For Indonesian PR practitioners, these transformations collectively demand a strategic reorientation that extends beyond the updating of tactical tools and techniques to encompass a

fundamental reconceptualization of the organization-public relationship. The unidirectional, broadcast-oriented model of PR communication that characterized the pre-digital era is insufficient for an environment where audiences actively co-construct organizational narratives, where algorithms mediate between organizational communication efforts and public reception, and where issues can achieve national salience through social media within hours.

The Social Media-Extended Agenda-Setting (SMEAS) framework proposed in this study offers a theoretically grounded starting point for both academic research and professional practice. By integrating polycentric agenda-setting, bidirectional agenda flow, and algorithmic mediation into a coherent conceptual structure, the framework provides communication scholars and practitioners with an analytical toolkit suited to the complexity of contemporary digital media environments.

Future research should pursue empirical operationalization of the SMEAS framework through longitudinal quantitative and mixed-methods studies situated in the Indonesian media context. Particular attention should be devoted to the dynamics of agenda-setting during high-stakes public events—the 2024 Indonesian general election, the COVID-19 pandemic communication, and the environmental discourse around Indonesia's capital relocation to Nusantara—which provide rich empirical cases for advancing both theory and practice. Collaboration between academic communication researchers and PR practitioners offers the most productive path toward a scholarship that is theoretically rigorous and practically consequential.

In an era where every citizen is a potential publisher and every platform an agenda-setting arena, the strategic communication profession faces both unprecedented challenges and extraordinary opportunities. Indonesian PR practitioners who develop the theoretical literacy, digital competencies, cultural intelligence, and ethical commitment required to navigate this environment will be uniquely positioned to serve as trusted stewards of organizational-public relationships in one of the world's most dynamic digital media landscapes.

REFERENCES

- Berkowitz, D., & Adams, D. B. (1990). Information subsidy and agenda-building in local television news. *Journalism Quarterly*, 67(4), 723–731. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909006700403>
- Bowen, S. A. (2018). Ethics of public relations. In R. L. Heath (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of public relations* (2nd ed., pp. 295–301). SAGE.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bucher, T. (2018). *If... then: Algorithmic power and politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Caetano, J. A., Lima, H. S., Santos, M. F., Cerqueira Adans-Grassi, L., & Benevenuto, F. (2019). Characterizing the WhatsApp network of Brazilian political groups and the voting behavior of senators. *ICWSM*, 13(1), 83–94.
- Cision. (2023). *Global state of the media report 2023*. Cision Ltd.
- Conway, B. A., Kenski, K., & Wang, D. (2015). The rise of Twitter in the political campaign: Searching for intermedia agenda-setting effects in the presidential primary. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(4), 363–380. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12124>
- Coombs, W. T. (2019). *Ongoing crisis communication: Planning, managing, and responding* (5th ed.). SAGE.
- Coombs, W. T., & Holladay, J. S. (2014). *It's not just PR: Public relations in society* (2nd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.
- DataReportal. (2024). *Digital 2024: Indonesia*. Kepios Pte. Ltd. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2024-indonesia>
- Dearing, J. W., & Rogers, E. M. (1996). *Agenda-setting*. SAGE.
- Eslami, M., Rickman, A., Vaccaro, K., Aleyasen, A., Vuong, A., Karahalios, K., Hamilton, K., & Sandvig, C. (2015). "I always assumed that I wasn't really that close to her": Reasoning about invisible algorithms in news feeds. *CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 153–162.
- Feezell, J. T. (2018). Agenda setting through social media: The importance of incidental news exposure and social filtering in the digital era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 71(2), 482–494. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912917744895>

- Flaxman, S., Goel, S., & Rao, J. M. (2016). Filter bubbles, echo chambers, and online news consumption. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 80(S1), 298–320. <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfw006>
- Freelon, D. (2014). On the interpretation of digital trace data in communication and social computing research. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58(1), 59–75.
- Freelon, D., McIlwain, C., & Clark, M. (2020). Beyond the hashtags: #Ferguson, #Blacklivesmatter, and the online struggle for offline justice. Center for Media & Social Impact.
- Grunig, J. E. (2009). Paradigms of global public relations in an age of digitalisation. *PRism*, 6(2), 1–19.
- Guo, L., Vu, H. T., & McCombs, M. (2012). An expanded perspective on agenda-setting effects: Exploring the third level of agenda setting. *Revista de Comunicación*, 11, 51–68.
- Guo, L., & Vargo, C. (2018). "Fake news" and emerging online media ecosystem: An integrated intermedia agenda-setting analysis of the 2016 U.S. presidential election. *Communication Research*, 47(2), 178–200. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650218777177>
- Highfield, T., & Leaver, T. (2016). Instagrammatics and digital methods: Studying visual social media, from selfies and GIFs to memes and emoji. *Communication Research and Practice*, 2(1), 47–62.
- Jansen, B. J., & Martin, L. (2015). The Streisand Effect: The consequences of attempting to censor a post on social media. *Information Processing & Management*, 51(4), 483–499.
- Kent, M. L., & Taylor, M. (1998). Building dialogic relationships through the World Wide Web. *Public Relations Review*, 24(3), 321–334.
- Kiousis, S., Kim, J.-Y., McDevitt, M., & Ostrowski, A. (2015). Competing for attention: Information subsidy influence in agenda building during election campaigns. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 92(3), 550–572.
- Kiousis, S., & Strömbäck, J. (2010). The White House and public relations: Examining the linkages between presidential communications and public opinion. *Public Relations Review*, 36(1), 7–14.
- Klug, D., Qin, Y., Evans, M., & Kaufman, G. (2021). Trick and please: A mixed-method study on user assumptions about the TikTok algorithm. *ACM Web Science Conference 2021*, 84–92.
- Kovic, M., Rauchfleisch, A., Sele, M., & Caspar, C. (2018). Digital astroturfing in politics: Definition, typology, and countermeasures. *Studies in Communication Sciences*, 18(1), 69–85.
- Lee, N., & Xu, S. (2018). The new gatekeeper: Social media and political agenda-setting in an emerging democracy. *Journalism Practice*, 12(8), 975–993. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2017.1371362>
- Lim, M. (2017). Freedom to hate: Social media, algorithmic enclaves, and the rise of tribal nationalism in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 49(3), 411–427. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176–187. <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>
- McCombs, M., Shaw, D., & Weaver, D. (2014). New directions in agenda-setting theory and research. *Mass Communication and Society*, 17(6), 781–802. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2014.964871>
- Men, L. R., & Tsai, W. H. S. (2015). Infusing social media with humanity: Corporate character, public engagement, and relational outcomes. *Public Relations Review*, 41(3), 395–403.
- Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., & Altman, D. G. (2009). Preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses: The PRISMA statement. *PLOS Medicine*, 6(7), e1000097.
- Napoli, P. M. (2019). *Social media and the public interest: Media regulation in the disinformation age*. Columbia University Press.
- Nugroho, Y., Putri, D. A., & Laksmi, S. (2019). Mapping the landscape of the media industry in contemporary Indonesia. CIPG and HIVOS.
- Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you*. Penguin Press.
- Saxton, G. D., & Waters, R. D. (2014). What do stakeholders like on Facebook? Examining public reactions to nonprofit organizations' informational, promotional, and community-building messages. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 26(3), 280–299.

- Sayre, B., Bode, L., Shah, D., Wilcox, D., & Shah, C. (2010). Agenda setting in a digital age: Tracking attention to California proposition 8 in social media, online news and conventional news. *Policy & Internet*, 2(2), 7–32.
- Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. H. (2014). Media agenda-setting and audience agenda-melding. In M. McCombs (Ed.), *Setting the agenda: Mass media and public opinion* (2nd ed., pp. 165–181). Polity Press.
- Vargo, C. J., Guo, L., & Amazeen, M. A. (2018). The agenda-setting power of fake news: A big data analysis of the online media landscape from 2014 to 2016. *New Media & Society*, 20(5), 2028–2049. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817712086>
- Wahyudin, U. (2020). Hubungan masyarakat di era digital: Tantangan dan peluang bagi praktisi PR Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, 9(1), 45–62. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v9i1.11254>
- Wallsten, K. (2015). Non-elite Twitter sources rarely cited in coverage. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 36(1), 24–41.