Agenda Building Strategies of the National Awakening Party in Tulungagung Regency during the 2024 Elections

Umi Kulsum Zaizafun[1] | Rachmat Kriyantono[1]

[1]Brawijaya University

Abstract:

The agenda building strategy employed by the National Awakening Party or Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) in Tulungagung for the 2024 election has demonstrated significant success. The increase in seats from 7 in 2019 to 9 in 2024 in the Tulungagung Regional Parliament is clear evidence of the effectiveness of the approach used. This success reflects PKB's ability to formulate and implement comprehensive strategies that are responsive to the needs of the local community. This qualitative descriptive research utilized data collection methods through observations, interviews, and document analysis. The key to PKB's success lies in its multifaceted approach, starting from strengthening internal processes through both closed and open meetings. This process allowed the party to effectively integrate PKB's visions and missions with candidates, creating strong message alignment. Furthermore, the implementation of a series of targeted events for various voter segments such as farmers, youth, and small business owners enabled PKB to reach and respond to the specific needs of the Tulungagung community. The success of PKB's agenda building strategy is also reflected in the party's ability to articulate relevant local issues such as agricultural problems, youth political participation, and support for SMEs. This approach not only enhanced the party's visibility but also built trust and credibility among voters.

Keyword: Political Communication, Agenda Building, Public Relation & Campaign Strategy

Introduction:

The National Awakening Party (PKB) has emerged as a significant force in Indonesian politics, especially in the 2024 presidential election. The party's origins trace back to its founding by the late Abdurrahman Wahid, a notable figure in Indonesia's religious and political spheres. PKB is renowned for its pluralistic and democratic principles, advocating for tolerance and inclusive governance.

According to the General Elections Commission, PKB secured 16,115,655 votes. The party's success can be attributed to its ability to engage diverse constituencies, its focus on inclusive development policies, and its reputation for good governance (Edyar & Hayati, 2023; Nurussa'adah et al., 2018). PKB's triumph in the 2024 election also reflects the evolving political landscape in Indonesia. The country has seen a shift towards a more pluralistic and democratic system, with various political parties representing a wide range of interests and ideologies (Arifianto, 2024; Qodarsasi & Ghofur, 2020). PKB's victory is considered a significant achievement, demonstrating the party's capability to navigate the complexities of Indonesian politics and appeal to a broad voter base (Arifianto, 2024).

The dynamic nature of Islamic political parties in Indonesia, including PKB, continues to be a subject of extensive research and analysis. The plurality of these parties mirrors the diversity of the Muslim

community and the various interests they represent (Haris et al., 2020). Ethical considerations in political communication are particularly crucial, especially in crisis management situations, where maintaining transparency and ethical standards are essential (Kriyantono, 2019b). In political communication, crafting key messages is crucial for branding a political communicator. Branding serves as positioning or a unique selling point in political communication to differentiate from competitors (Kriyantono, 2019a).

PKB is particularly noted for its commitment to pluralism and tolerance, values that resonate with many voters (Edyar & Hayati, 2023). The results of the 2024 election underscore the ongoing relevance of Islamic political parties in Indonesia's political landscape. As the nation continues to address the challenges of nation-building and democratic consolidation, PKB's victory stands as a testament to the party's ability to adapt to changing political dynamics and offer a compelling vision for the future.

In Tulungagung, PKB faces the crucial task of assembling a winning team that can effectively represent the party's vision and values to the voters. To achieve this goal, a comprehensive strategic agenda must be developed to address the unique challenges and opportunities within the local political landscape. A key element of this strategy is identifying research gaps that can be leveraged for a competitive advantage.

Previous studies, such as "Political Communication Strategy of Elected Legislative Members of the National Awakening Party in the 2019 Election in Salatiga" (Awaludin, 2023) and "Political Strategy of the National Awakening Party of West Java in Targeting Young Voters in the 2019 Regional Legislative Election in West Java" (Putra et al., 2022), focus on communication strategies and targeting young voters in 2019. This highlights significant temporal and geographical differences. In contrast, the current research focuses on agenda-building strategies specific to the 2024 election in Tulungagung, a topic that remains underexplored in existing literature.

Additionally, studies like "Women's Cadre Formation Strategy in the National Awakening Party in the Lampung Provincial Board" (Octariani, 2022) and "The Recruitment Mechanism of Female Legislative Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election" (Iqbal & Kurniawan, 2020) emphasize gender and cadre formation aspects rather than the overall strategic campaign aspects. Thus, this research can fill a significant gap in the literature by providing an in-depth analysis of how PKB's winning team builds their campaign agenda for the 2024 election in Tulungagung, incorporating local, temporal, and strategic elements that have not been extensively discussed in previous studies.

Agenda building is a crucial concept in political communication, as this process determines which issues gain attention and become priorities in public discourse. For the National Awakening Party (PKB), agenda building plays a vital role in ensuring that their messages and priorities are received by a broader audience and in shaping favorable public opinion for the party. In this context, the majority of advertisements are placed to promote communication equipment products, communication services, and advertisements by political organizations and the government (Kriyantono, 2013).

Researchers have examined the dynamics of agenda building, not merely as an agenda focused on political elites, mass media, and the public (Conway-Silva et al., 2017). This process involves transforming interests into topics that capture public attention and elicit responses from decision-makers (Kiousis et al., 2014). The media plays a significant role in the political agenda. Research shows that media coverage during elections can influence the issues discussed (Dumouchel, 2022). Journalists, policymakers, and the public make decisions that determine which issues receive attention and how they are presented (Guha, 2022).

The use of social media, such as Twitter, during election campaigns shows that political actors seek media coverage to influence voter decisions (Seethaler & Melischek, 2019). Political tweets can

shape journalists' stories and public opinion. Additionally, political debates on television and talk shows can influence public opinion on current issues (Le & Bi, 2017). In political crisis situations, communication strategies can impact media agendas and public opinion, such as following terrorist attacks. The consolidation of fiscal agendas and consensus processes among political stakeholders is also crucial in setting policy agendas, as seen in health reform (Habich, 2019). Generally, in this era of public information transparency, the communication management at higher education institutions, which are the subject of this study, can be considered effective. This is evidenced by the implementation of two-way communication systems with internal publics and the mass media (Kriyantono, 2015).

Agenda building on local issues has been relatively underexplored in research, despite significant differences in how political parties design national agendas compared to those in specific regions. This study focuses on agenda building on a smaller scale, specifically in Tulungagung, by examining PKB during the 2024 election. Additionally, this study aims to understand the outcomes of the agenda-building efforts in the context of the 2024 election results.

Literature Review:

Agenda Building:

Cobb et al. (1976) developed the concept of agenda building by identifying two main types of characteristics: Public Agenda and Formal Agenda. The Public Agenda includes issues that can attract public interest and participation, require concrete actions, and receive attention from a minority of government agencies. These issues must be capable of raising public awareness or at least garnering sufficient attention to shape public perception. On the other hand, the Formal Agenda involves issues or interests that are formally accepted by policymakers with careful consideration.

Agenda building is the process by which various political actors strive to shape the issues that gain attention in the media and public discussion (Cobb

et al., 1976). This process is crucial because media visibility can increase the salience of issues in voters' minds, potentially influencing their decisions (Seethaler & Melischek, 2019)

Agenda building involves not only the communication efforts by political entities to secure media coverage but also how different segments of society participate in political conflicts, whether initiated by the public or political figures (Nisahati, 2022).

In the context of evaluating the outcomes of agenda building, Cobb et al. (1976) present two important propositions. First, the Cross-cultural Proposition aims to identify differences between political groups, focusing on variations in their responses to raised issues. Second, the Intrasocietal Proposition aims to identify the impact of agenda building on social strata, structural layers, and political positions within a single society.

Cobb et al. (1976) outlined three models of agenda building that can occur through three phases: Outside Initiative Model, Mobilization Model, and Inside Initiative Model.

1. **Outside Initiative Model**: This agenda-building process involves issues that originate from outside the government, often championed by NGOs or other external organizations. Initially, these issues reach the public agenda. After gaining sufficient attention and consideration, these issues may become part of the formal agenda.

2. **Mobilization Model**: This process of agenda building is initiated by internal government actors, and it automatically creates a formal agenda. In this model, policymakers attempt to implement a policy by disseminating the issue, which starts as a formal agenda, to become a public agenda. Mobilization is necessary to ensure the implementation of a policy. It is also required in situations where the policy needs to be disseminated, but the government faces institutional and financial constraints.

3. **Inside Initiative Model**: This agenda-building process originates within the

government, but the supporting groups do not want the issue to be widely disseminated to the public. As a result, the supporting groups use their own resources to push the issue into the formal agenda independently. They hope that the issue can be advocated into a policy and successfully implemented. In this model, supporting groups often prevent their issues from becoming part of the public agenda.

Political Communication:

The new concept combining political communication and public relations involves a proposed three-step approach based on a synthesis of the references found, as follows: First, it is crucial to recognize the significance of elite discourse in political public relations, where organizations or individuals strategically communicate to influence relationships with key publics (Rice & Taylor, 2020). This step involves understanding how influential figures convey messages to shape perceptions and maintain beneficial connections to achieve their objectives.

Second, this concept should incorporate aspects of the management process emphasized in the definition of political public relations, highlighting deliberate actions taken to build and maintain good relationships with stakeholders to support the overall mission (Widodo & Dani, 2023). This step underscores the active role played by actors in the political context to engage in purposeful communication aligned with their goals.

Finally, grounding the concept in the origins and challenges of political public relations can provide a solid foundation, drawing from established fields such as political communication and public relations to inform this approach (Gonçalves, 2014). By integrating these three steps, a comprehensive framework emerges that emphasizes the strategic nature of communication in a political context, highlighting relationship-building and the historical foundation of these practices.

The researcher divides the three steps in building political communication and public relations as follows: The first step in this proposed concept involves utilizing elite discourse to shape perceptions and influence key publics, in line with the core principles of political public relations (Rice & Taylor, 2020). By focusing on leaders delivering messages and building trust, organizations can strategically manage their communication to effectively navigate the complex political landscape. This step emphasizes the importance of understanding the dynamics of elite discourse in post-conflict environments like Northern Ireland, where trust and credibility play crucial roles in shaping public opinion.

Building on this foundation, the second step emphasizes the proactive management processes inherent in political public relations, where actors engage in purposeful communication to foster relationships and advance their goals (Widodo & Dani, 2023). This step highlights the strategic nature of communication in a political context, emphasizing deliberate actions taken to influence stakeholders and achieve desired outcomes.

Additionally, by exploring the origins and challenges within political public relations, this concept gains depth and historical context, drawing from established fields within social sciences to inform its development (Rice et al., 2014). This step underscores the interdisciplinary nature of political public relations, intersecting with fields such as political communication and public relations to form its theoretical foundation. By grounding the concept in this rich theoretical framework, practitioners can gain a profound understanding of the complexities involved in managing communication within a political context.

The proposed concept for integrating political communication and public relations in a three-step framework offers a strategic and comprehensive approach to understanding and navigating the complex political landscape. By leveraging elite discourse, emphasizing management processes, and drawing from the origins of political public relations, practitioners can develop nuanced communication strategies that align with their goals and objectives.

This concept underscores the strategic nature of communication in a political context, highlighting the importance of trust, credibility, and relationship-building in shaping public perceptions and achieving desired outcomes. By synthesizing insights from authoritative sources in the field, this concept provides a solid foundation for further research and practice in the realm of political public relations.

Methodology:

This research employs the constructivist/interpretive paradigm, which views communication phenomena as meanings constructed and reconstructed by individuals engaged in communication (Kriyantono, 2021). Therefore, this study will closely examine the communication dynamics formed by PKB political actors and their targeted audiences. Additionally, the researcher aims to explore the impact of using social media as a communication tool between the two.

This study utilizes a descriptive qualitative method. This method is chosen because the research aims to describe and analyze the phenomenon of "Agenda Building in the Campaign of the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the 2024 Elections." Descriptive qualitative research is an approach that aims to depict and explain specific phenomena or conditions without manipulation or intervention (Siregar & Setiowati, 2022). This method focuses on gaining a deep understanding of the context, characteristics, and dynamics of an event.

The research is conducted at the PKB office in Tulungagung, located at Jl. Letjend Suprapto No.112, Kepatihan, Kec. Tulungagung, Kabupaten Tulungagung, East Java 66219. This location is strategically chosen because it serves as the center of activities for PKB members and as a gathering place for PKB leaders and the heads of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization in the area. Data collection techniques involve semi-structured interviews with the following respondents:

1. Achmad Syafi'i, Chair of DPC PKB Tulungagung
2. Ali Masrup, Deputy Chair of DPC PKB Tulungagung
3. Abdullah Ali, Chair of the PKB Faction in the Tulungagung DPRD
4. Fajar Hidayat, Chair of LPP DPC PKB Tulungagung

Result:

Before delving deeper into the agenda-building process carried out by PKB Tulungagung, it is essential to understand the goals that are intended to be achieved through this agenda-building. Based on an interview with a source, Achmad Syafi'i, the explanation is as follows:

> "….. Gus Ketum has given us clear targets. We are instructed not only to maintain the votes we received in the 2019 elections but also to increase them. In the 2019 elections, PKB Tulungagung managed to secure 7 seats in the DPRD. Gus Ketum hopes that in the 2024 elections, we can achieve more than that."

In a recent interview, it was revealed that Muhaimin Iskandar (Gus Ketum) has set ambitious targets for the upcoming elections. He has instructed the team to not only maintain the votes PKB received in the 2019 elections but also to increase them. In the 2019 elections, PKB Tulungagung successfully secured 7 seats in the DPRD, a significant achievement for the party. However, he is not content with just maintaining this level of support; he envisions a more substantial victory in the upcoming 2024 elections. To achieve these targets, Achmad Syafi'i explained the strategies being implemented as follows:

> "We are focusing on strengthening our grassroots mobilization efforts. Additionally, we are leveraging digital platforms extensively to engage with voters more effectively. Our strategy also includes a targeted approach to address the concerns and aspirations of diverse voter segments, ensuring that PKB's agenda resonates widely across Tulungagung."

This insight aligned with other source person, Ali Masrup which explain,

> "We will focus on several key strategies. First, we will strengthen communication with our voter base through various channels, including social media and face-to-face interactions. We will also continue to advocate for programs that are relevant to the needs of the Tulungagung community. Additionally, we will collaborate with community leaders and local organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama to ensure that our message is effectively communicated and well-received by the electorate."

Based on the insights provided by Achmad Syafi'i and Ali Masrup, PKB Tulungagung is strategically focusing on strengthening their grassroots mobilization efforts and leveraging digital platforms extensively to engage more effectively with voters. Their approach includes a targeted strategy aimed at addressing the diverse concerns and aspirations of Tulungagung's voter segments, ensuring that PKB's agenda resonates broadly across the constituency. By enhancing grassroots mobilization, PKB aims to solidify its support base through direct engagement and community outreach initiatives. This involves not only traditional methods but also innovative uses of digital tools to reach a wider audience and amplify their campaign messages.

Ali Masrup further elaborated on PKB Tulungagung's key strategies, emphasizing their commitment to enhancing communication channels with the electorate. They plan to utilize social media platforms and maintain face-to-face interactions to foster stronger connections with voters. This dual approach aims to personalize their outreach efforts while leveraging the expansive reach of digital media to disseminate their message effectively. Additionally, PKB intends to advocate for programs and policies that directly address the needs and priorities of the Tulungagung community, thereby demonstrating their responsiveness to local concerns and enhancing voter trust.

Moreover, collaboration with community leaders and local organizations, including Nahdlatul Ulama, plays a crucial role in PKB's strategy. By aligning with influential community figures and grassroots organizations, PKB aims to ensure that their political agenda is well-communicated and well-received within the local electorate. This collaborative approach not only enhances PKB's visibility but also strengthens their grassroots support network, positioning them strategically for the upcoming 2024 elections in Tulungagung. Thus, PKB Tulungagung's comprehensive strategy integrates digital engagement, community outreach, and strategic partnerships to effectively mobilize support and achieve electoral success. Fajar Hidayat also explain that

> "We strengthen internally through closed and open meetings. Closed meetings involve 5-10 people from branches to sub-branches. Open meetings include all branch elements, sub-branches, and all PKB and NU candidates in the Tulungagung region. These meetings discuss integrating PKB's vision and mission with the candidates. They also strategize to address community issues.

Subsequently, 2-3 individuals are appointed to conduct grassroots activities in each village to disseminate the agendas advocated by PKB candidates. Besides that, we are also organizing a series of events, culminating in a grand campaign finale at GOR Lembupeteng."

Based on the information provided by the source, PKB Tulungagung focuses on strengthening internal cohesion through structured meetings. The closed meetings, involving 5-10 participants from various hierarchical levels including branches and sub-branches, serve as forums for detailed discussions. Here, strategies are formulated to align PKB's vision and mission with the objectives of the candidates. These sessions also address community concerns, ensuring that the party's agenda resonates effectively with local issues. Following these closed meetings, open gatherings are convened, encompassing all branch elements, sub-branches, and PKB and NU candidates across Tulungagung. These inclusive meetings aim to foster unity and collaboration among all stakeholders, facilitating a cohesive approach towards electoral goals.

Moreover, a key outcome of these meetings is the deployment of 2-3 individuals per village for grassroots activities. These personnel are tasked with disseminating the campaign agendas championed by PKB candidates directly to the local communities. This decentralized approach ensures that PKB's messages reach a broad audience at the grassroots level, enhancing engagement and voter outreach. Concurrently, PKB and its coalition partners are organizing a series of events culminating in a major campaign

finale at GOR Lembupeteng. This strategic event serves as a platform to amplify the party's campaign efforts, showcasing unity within the coalition and rallying support from the electorate ahead of the elections.

In summary, PKB Tulungagung's internal strengthening strategy combines structured closed and open meetings to integrate its vision with candidate objectives, address community issues, and mobilize grassroots support. These efforts are complemented by coordinated campaign events, culminating in a grand finale aimed at maximizing visibility and support for PKB and its coalition partners in the upcoming elections.

Discussion:

Agenda building is a strategic process utilized by public relations to shape public perception and influence decision-making by highlighting specific issues, coordinating meetings, developing communication strategies, monitoring media, analyzing news tone, producing narratives, and providing information subsidies (Rachmawati, 2022). It involves the interaction between the media, decision-makers, and information sources to establish what topics are considered important and how they are framed in the public sphere. This process is crucial in managing stakeholder interests and prioritizing competing claims within an organization, often incorporating stakeholder salience and symbolic utilization to expand on issues effectively (Elfrida, 2015).

To understand the agenda building efforts undertaken by PKB in Tulungagung, the researcher will focus on the series of events leading up to election day. The implementation of these events is

crucial because they provide insights into the specific issues advocated by PKB and their target audience. By examining these events, the researcher aims to map out more clearly the framework of agenda building conducted by PKB in Tulungagung tabel 1.

Table 1. Events Characteristics

	Event	Time	Key Actor	Spesific Issues	Target Audience
1	Meeting with Women's Farmer Group	December 29, 2023	Rustini Murtadho (Wife of Muhaimin Iskandar)	Agriculture, high fertilizer prices, farmer welfare	Women's groups and farmers
2	Women's groups and farmers	January 14, 2024	Mutiara Annisa Baswedan (Daughter of Anies Baswedan) and Mega Safira (Daughter of Muhaimin Iskandar)	Issues of freedom, identity crisis, youth participation in politics	Youth generation
3	Gayeng, Sharing & Caring	January 24, 2024	Mikail Baswedan (Son of Anies Baswedan) and Rahma Arifa (Daughter of Muhaimin Iskandar)	Issues of early marriage, employment, mental health, idealism	Youth generation
4	Dialogue with Freshwater Fish Farmer	January 25, 2024	Muhaimin Iskandar	Fisheries industry from upstream to downstream, feed prices and quality, welfare of fish farmers	Freshwater fish farmer groups
5	Dialogue with Entrepreneurs	January 25, 2024	Muhaimin Iskandar	Strengthening MSMEs, business credit, labor	Entrepreneurs and MSME groups
6	Visit to Gayatri Temple	January 25, 2024	Muhaimin Iskandar	History and culture, cultural site development	History enthusiasts and "Javanese people"
7	Grand Campaign	February 9, 2024	Anies Baswedan & Muhaimin Iskandar	Vision and mission of the AMIN pair	Open to all groups and generations

PKB's campaign in Tulungagung strategically addresses a diverse array of specific issues tailored to resonate with various segments of the electorate. The party recognizes the critical importance of agriculture to the local economy, thus prioritizing issues such as high fertilizer prices and farmer

welfare during meetings with women's farmer groups. This focus not only underscores PKB's commitment to improving agricultural practices but also highlights their dedication to enhancing the quality of life for farmers, particularly women who play a crucial role in this sector. Additionally, PKB engages with freshwater fish farmers to tackle industry-specific challenges, including feed prices and quality, demonstrating a comprehensive approach to supporting agricultural communities.

Targeting the youth, PKB organizes events like the National Dialogue: "It's Time for Millennials to Speak Out" and "Gayeng, Sharing & Caring," which focus on issues pertinent to young people. These events discuss freedom, identity crises, early marriage, employment, mental health, and youth participation in politics. By involving prominent youth figures like Mutiara Annisa Baswedan and Mega Safira, PKB aims to connect with the younger generation, encouraging their active involvement and addressing their unique concerns. This strategy indicates PKB's recognition of the significant role those young voters play in shaping the political landscape and their potential to drive future change. In the realm of public relations, understanding the rapid social changes and structural deconstruction accelerated by globalization is increasingly influencing organizations' efforts to build relationships, foster trust, and communicate with the public. Effective public relations necessitates a keen awareness of both the organization's identity and its audience, including their socio-cultural characteristics, and the political and economic backgrounds of the community (Kriyantono, 2017).

Furthermore, PKB's outreach extends to entrepreneurs and MSMEs, focusing on business credit, labor, and strengthening small businesses. By engaging with these groups, PKB aims to foster economic growth and stability, demonstrating a commitment to supporting the local economy's backbone. The party also emphasizes the preservation of cultural heritage, illustrated by events like the visit to Gayatri Temple, targeting history and culture enthusiasts and the local Javanese population. The culmination of these efforts is the grand campaign event, which aims to unify and mobilize a broad base of support across all demographics, presenting the vision and mission of the Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar pair (AMIN). This inclusive approach ensures that PKB's agenda is widely communicated and well-received across diverse segments of the Tulungagung electorate.

Table 2: Election Results of PKB 2014-2024
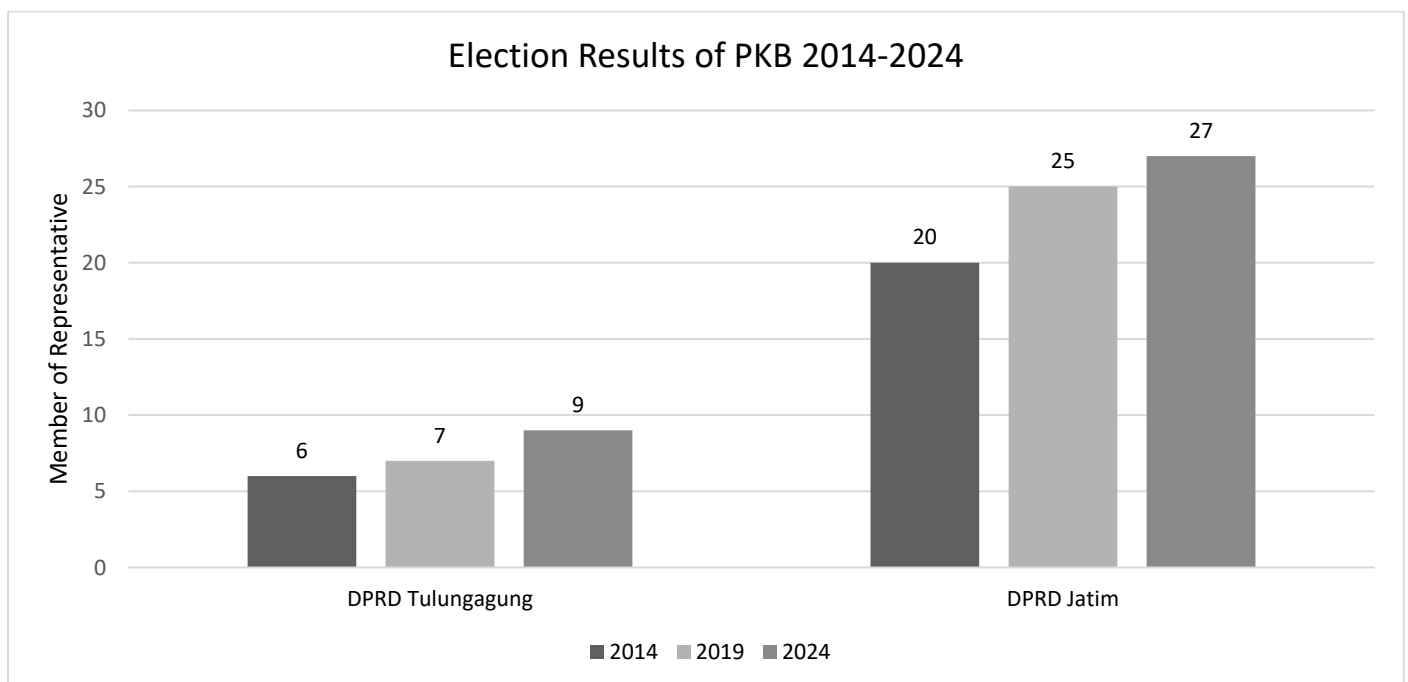
Based on the events and issues highlighted in the previous discussion, it is evident that PKB's strategic focus on specific community concerns and targeted audience engagement has paid off. In the 2024 election, PKB successfully secured 9 seats, surpassing their performance from the 2019 election where they obtained 7 seats. This achievement indicates that PKB not only met but exceeded the targets set by their leadership tabel 2.

The key to this success lies in the party's comprehensive approach to addressing the needs and aspirations of various voter segments. By organizing focused events such as meetings with women's farmer groups, dialogues with youth, and discussions with freshwater fish farmers, PKB was able to connect with critical constituencies in Tulungagung. These events allowed the party to address specific issues such as agricultural challenges, youth participation in politics, and the welfare of local entrepreneurs and small business owners, thereby gaining their support and trust.

Moreover, PKB's grand campaign event at GOR Lembupeteng, which aimed to unify and mobilize support across different demographics, played a crucial role in solidifying their electoral base. The inclusive nature of this event, coupled with the presence of prominent figures like Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, ensured widespread dissemination of PKB's vision and mission. This strategic combination of addressing local issues, engaging with diverse audiences, and conducting high-profile campaign events contributed significantly to PKB's success in securing 9 seats in the DPRD Tulungagung.

These events are significant as they serve as platforms for PKB to articulate their political agenda and engage directly with voters. Each event likely highlights key policies, local concerns, and the party's stance on various issues relevant to Tulungagung. Moreover, these gatherings allow PKB to interact with different segments of the electorate, understand their perspectives, and tailor their messages accordingly. Through analyzing these events, the researcher can gain a deeper understanding of how PKB strategizes to shape public discourse and influence voter perceptions leading up to the elections. This approach not only helps in documenting PKB's agenda building tactics but also provides valuable insights into the dynamics of political communication and engagement at the local level in Tulungagung.

Conclusion:

The agenda building efforts by PKB in Tulungagung for the 2024 elections proved successful, as evidenced by securing 9 seats in the local legislature, surpassing their previous count of 7 seats from 2019. This success was achieved through a comprehensive strategy that began with internal strengthening via closed and open meetings, integrating PKB's vision and mission with the candidates. Following this, a series of targeted events addressed specific issues such as agricultural concerns, youth participation in politics, and small business support, effectively engaging diverse voter segments and culminating in a grand campaign finale. This multifaceted approach not only met but exceeded the party's electoral goals, demonstrating the efficacy of their agenda building efforts.

Suggestion:

For future research, it is recommended to employ additional data collection methods such as content analysis and questionnaires to obtain more comprehensive results. Content analysis can provide insights into the media coverage and public discourse surrounding PKB's campaign events, allowing for a deeper understanding of the party's communication strategies and their impact on public perception. Using questionnaires to gather data from a broader audience can help to capture a wider range of opinions and attitudes towards the issues addressed by PKB, as well as measure the effectiveness of their events and messages.

Furthermore, there is a need for the continued development of the theoretical framework of agenda building. Refining and expanding this framework will facilitate more precise and robust analyses of how political parties construct and promote their agendas. By integrating additional variables and dimensions into the theoretical

model, researchers can better account for the complexities of political communication and the dynamics of voter engagement. This enhanced framework will support more detailed and nuanced studies, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms and outcomes of agenda building in various political contexts.

References:

1. Arifianto, A. (2024). Prabowo owes his landslide victory to Jokowi's endorsement. *East Asia Forum*.

2. Awaludin, P. (2023). Strategi Komunikasi Politik Anggota Legislatif Terpilih Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Pada Pemilu 2019 di Salatiga. *Jurnal Kopis: Kajian Penelitian Dan Pemikiran Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam*, 5(2), 96–106.

3. Cobb, R., Ross, J. K., & Ross, M. H. (1976). Agenda building as a comparative political process. *American Political Science Review*, 70(1), 126–138. https://doi.org/10.1017/S00030554002640 34

4. Conway-Silva, B. A., Filer, C. R., Kenski, K., & Tsetsi, E. (2017). Reassessing Twitter's Agenda-Building Power. *Social Science Computer Review*, 36(4), 469–483.

   https://doi.org/10.1177/089443931771543 0

5. Dumouchel, D. (2022). Non-Linear Agenda-Building: The Impacts of Media Storms During the 2015 Canadian Election. *Party Politics*, 29(6), 1100–1112. https://doi.org/10.1177/135406882211223 13

6. Edyar, B., & Hayati, I. (2023). Articulation of Islamic Political Parties in The Constellation of National Politics Post Democratic Transition. *FOKUS Jurnal Kajian Keislaman Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 8(1), 102. https://doi.org/10.29240/jf.v8i1.6790

7. Elfrida, S. V. (2015). Proses Membangun Agenda Setting Kebijakan Pada Portal Berita Pemerintah Dan Kesesuaiannya Dengan Agenda Media Online. *Jurnal Masyarakat Telematika Dan Informasi*, 6(1), 13–26. https://media.neliti.com/media/publication s/233787-proses-membangun-agenda-setting-kebijaka-2532164e.pdf

8. Gonçalves, G. (2014). Political Public Relations: Origins, Challenges and Applications. *Comunicação E Sociedade*, 26, 99–107. https://doi.org/10.17231/comsoc.26(2014). 2028

9. Guha, P. (2022). Off Limits: The Role of News and Social Media in Developing Sexual Assault and Harassment as a Campaign Issue During the Indian Parliamentary Elections of 2019. *Global Media and Communication*, 19(2), 245–267. https://doi.org/10.1177/174276652211351 10

10. Habich, M. d. (2019). Leadership Politics and the Evolution of the Universal Health Insurance Reform in Peru. *Health Systems & Reform*, 5(3), 244–249. https://doi.org/10.1080/23288604.2019.16 35415

11. Haris, M., Yuwono, T., & Sardini, N. H. (2020). The dynamics and existence of Islamic party in 2019 general election: case study of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 10(2), 409–432. https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v10i2

12. Iqbal, M. M., & Kurniawan, A. S. (2020). Mekanisme Rekrutmen Calon Legislatif Perempuan dalam Pemilihan Legislatif Tahun 2019 (Studi di DPC Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Kabupaten Malang). *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik*, 5(2), 50–57. https://doi.org/10.36982/jpg.v5i2.1030

13. Kiousis, S., Kim, J. Y., Ragas, M., Wheat, G., Kochhar, S., Svensson, E., & Miles, M. (2014). Exploring New Frontiers of Agenda Building During the 2012 US Presidential Election Pre-Convention Period. *Journalism Studies*, 16(3), 363–382. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2014.90 6930

14. Kriyantono, R. (2013). *Manajemen Periklanan: Teori dan Praktik*. Universitas Brawijaya Press.

15. Kriyantono, R. (2015). Konstruksi Humas Dalam Tata Kelola Komunikasi Lembaga Pendidikan Tinggi di Era Keterbukaan Informasi Publik. *Jurnal Pekommas*, 18(2), 117–126.

16. Kriyantono, R. (2017). *Teori-teori public*

relations perspektif barat & lokal: Aplikasi penelitian & praktik. Kencana.

17. Kriyantono, R. (2019a). *Pengantar Lengkap Ilmu Komunikasi Filsafat dan Etika Ilmunya Serta Perspekfif Islam*. Prenada Media.

18. Kriyantono, R. (2019b). The Implementation of Permenpan-RB No 29/2011 in Crisis Management of Government Public Relations. *Komunikator*, *11*(2). https://doi.org/10.18196/jkm.112023

19. Kriyantono, R. (2021). *Teknik praktis riset komunikasi kuantitatif dan kualitatif : disertai contoh praktis skripsi, tesis, dan disertasi riset media, public relations, advertising, komunikasi organisasi, komunikasi pemasaran* (2nd ed.). Prenada Media.

20. Le, Y., & Bi, R. (2017). Televised Debate and Press Agenda: Testing the Agenda-Building Effects in the Case of 2014 Taipei Mayor Election. *Destech Transactions on Economics Business and Management*, *apme*. https://doi.org/10.12783/dtem/apme2016/8808

21. Nisahati, D. R. (2022). *"Agenda Building on the Online Petition "Free Covid-19 Vaccines for All Indonesians!"* https://doi.org/10.15405/epsbs.2022.01.02.33

22. Nurussa'adah, E., Sumartias, S., & Priyatna, S. (2018). *Political Communication Activities of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) in the Openness of Ideology*.

23. Octariani, R. (2022). *Strategi Pengkaderan Perempuan pada Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa di DPW Provinsi Lampung*. Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung.

24. Putra, G. K., Sumadinata, W. S., & Paskarina, C. (2022). Strategi Politik Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Jawa Barat Dalam Menyasar Pemilih Muda Pada Pemilihan Legislatif Daerah 2019 Di Jawa Barat. *JANE - Jurnal Administrasi Negara*, *13*(2), 312. https://doi.org/10.24198/jane.v13i2.38013

25. Qodarsasi, U., & Ghofur, A. (2020). *Politea : Jurnal Pemikiran Politik Islam The Dynamics of Islamic Political Parties Amid Indonesian Multicultural Society*. *3*(1). http://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/politea

26. Rachmawati, F. (2022). Peran Agenda Building Bagi Public Relations. *JISPENDIORA : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Pendidikan Dan Humaniora*, *1*(1), 08–18. https://doi.org/10.56910/jispendiora.v1i1.57

27. Rice, C., & Taylor, M. (2020). 'What They Say Peters Down': How Non-Profit Leaders Assess the Trustworthiness of Government – Elite Discourse and Distrust in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland. *Public Relations Inquiry*, *9*(3), 237–256. https://doi.org/10.1177/2046147x20920808

28. Rice, C., Taylor, M., Widodo, A. S., Dani, R., & Gonçalves, G. (2014). 'What They Say Peters Down': How Non-Profit Leaders Assess the Trustworthiness of Government – Elite Discourse and Distrust in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland. *Warta Iski*, *26*(3), 94–106. https://doi.org/10.17231/comsoc.26(2014).2028

29. Seethaler, J., & Melischek, G. (2019). Twitter as a Tool for Agenda Building in Election Campaigns? The Case of Austria. *Journalism*, *20*(8), 1087–1107. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919845460

30. Siregar, M. Y., & Setiowati, E. (2022). Pengaruh Program Galeri Sport Di Trans 7 Terhadap Persepsi Penonton Tentang Persepakbolaan Di Indonesia. *Inter Script : Journal of Creative Communication*, *3*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.33376/is.v3i1.545

31. Widodo, A. S., & Dani, R. (2023). When the President Endorses the Nation's Next Leader: Detecting the Concept of Power in Javanese Culture Through Presidential Communication. *Warta Iski*, *6*(1), 94–106. https://doi.org/10.25008/wartaiski.v6i1.223