

CONSTRUCTING POLITICAL IMAGE THROUGH SUARA MERDEKA NEWSPAPER DURING THE 2004 ELECTION IN SEMARANG

Cindi Rahmawati Dewi*, Putri Agus Wijayati

Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia

Abstract

This study examines how the political images of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates were shaped during the first round of the 2004 presidential election, as reflected in the coverage of the Suara Merdeka newspaper in Semarang City. The 2004 election marked an important stage in the development of Indonesian democracy, as it was the first time the president and vice-president were chosen directly by the public. As a result, newspapers became a key tool for political communication. The main source of information for this study is the Suara Merdeka newspaper during the 2004 election campaign, supported by references from books and academic articles. The research reveals that Suara Merdeka did more than just report news—it actively influenced the public perception of the candidates by selecting specific issues, determining how often they were covered, and highlighting certain symbols. Therefore, newspapers played an important role in shaping how the public understood the political competition during this period of democratic change.

Keywords: Political image; 2004 presidential election; Suara merdeka.

INTRODUCTION

In 2004, Indonesia made a new history in the presidential election. Previously, national leadership was determined through an appointment mechanism by *Panitia Perisapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (PPKI), which on August 18, 1945 appointed Sukarno as president, Moh. Hatta as vice president, and established the UUD 1995 as country's constitution (Astuti et al., 2014, p. 1; Mahfud MD, 2001, p. 45–50). Twenty-two years later, through the Warrant of March 11, 1966 (Supersemar), Suharto was given the authority to take security and political measures (Naimah, 2015, p. 127). Through this decree, Suharto was appointed as the Acting President by the Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPRS) through Tap MPRS No. XXXIII/MPRS/1967, and then designated and inaugurated as President of the Republic of Indonesia through Tap MPRS No. XLIV/MPRS/1968 (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2015, p. 115; Pratiwi et al., 2021). After thirty-two years in power, Suharto finally resigned on May 21, 1998 due to enormous political, economic and social pressure (Supriyanto, 2022, p. 67). Soeharto Suharto was then replaced by B. J. Habibie through Article 8 of the 1945 Constitution which stipulated that the vice president could replace the president if the president resigned (Mustamin, 2024, p. 83).

In the phase of the democratic transition, the Indonesian people for the first time obtained the right to elect the president and vice president directly, no longer through the legislative body, namely *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (MPR) (Fadhlurrahman, 2023, p. 7; Wibowo et al., 2024, p. 258). This new method became an important milestone in the post-New Order democratic journey, which changed the pattern of political communication between candidates and the wider community (Cipto, 2004, p. 46). During this period, newspapers gain potential space to convey information to the public as a medium during the campaign period (Simanjuntak, 2006, p. 65). Suharyanto, (2016, p. 126) mentioned that newspapers as a medium of conveying political information are able to have a significant influence on people's political participation. This means

*Correspondance Author: cindirahmawatidewi@students.unnes.ac.id

Article History | Submitted: 22 January 2026 | Revised: 11 February 2026 | Accepted: 12 February 2026 | Publish: 17 February 2026

HOW TO CITE (APA 6th Edition):

Dewi, Cindi Rahmawati., Wijayati, Putri Agus. (2026). Constructing Political Image Through Suara Merdeka Newspaper During The 2004 Election In Semarang. *Juspi: Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam*. 9(2), page.637-650

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.30829/juspi.v9i2.28344>

newspapers become a link between presidential candidates and vice presidential candidates and the public in shaping public opinion (Jati, 2013, p. 23). During the campaign period, newspapers produce news content for the public as readers to get votes. The content is designed through priming, framing, and agenda setting strategies. Newspapers are also designed as campaign advertisements, so that through this agenda newspapers become part of political partisans and actors in winning elections (Ramadlan & Afala, 2022, p. 70).

Newspapers in this context need to be understood not only as a medium to convey information, but also as an institution that is able to shape a political image through the construction of news. The image is formed from the reality shown by the media (Budhirianto et al., 2018, p. 102). Thus, newspapers as a source of information can shape people's mindsets, which according to Entman, as referred to by Asri & Jemat, M.S., (2012, p. 34) is a conception of framing.

The image of a figure or institution can be increased or decreased as a consequence of newspaper coverage. Nimmo (2000, p. 46) states that political imagery is intertwined through people's subjective thoughts and feelings, which will influence their judgment of certain events. In shaping the image of a candidate, political communication is needed to interact with the public as voters (Falah, 2024, p. 1873). This communication covers various aspects that directly affect the public's perception of the candidate (Putri & Wijayati, 2025, p. 1197).

The phenomenon of the development of political communication has shown a significant impact on the campaign methods of political figures ahead of the 2004 elections. The pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates not only participate in open campaign activities, but also appear in political advertisements and newspaper reports. This can be seen in Semarang through the local newspaper, Suara Merdeka. The momentum of the 2004 election was certainly used by the five candidate pairs to attract public sympathy through newspapers. Each pair uses a different approach to communication to build their political image (Simanjuntak, 2006, p. 14). How these images are made and displayed by Suara Merdeka is an interesting question to be researched. Furthermore, the local context of Semarang should't be ignored. Semarang as the capital of Central Java Province is known as an important political base for several parties, especially *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (PDI-P) in the 2000s. This has an impact on Suara Merdeka's approach to political news, even though it normatively claims to provide factually accurate news (Novitasari, 2012, p. 137).

Research conducted by Aditya (2019) shows that the newspaper Suara Merdeka was used as a political advertising medium to introduce figures, and shape public opinion, which was again used massively during the 1999 election campaign. This research shows that newspapers are not only a space for information, but also a strategy to gain support from voters. Further, Hasan (2009) stated that the formation of political image through newspapers strengthened again in the 1999 election as a freer means of campaigning, and it grew further in the 2004 elections. Another study that examined political image and communication was conducted by Fitria & Suyanto (2015) examine the bias of Kompas' reporting on celebrity legislative candidates, while Suara Merdeka remains neutral. Research conducted by Pusparani & Setyanto (2015) describes the tendency of the Jawa Pos Daily to build an excessive image on the Jokowi-JK pair during the 2014 presidential election campaign. These studies show greater attention to the national media.

The news about the political image of the presidential and vice presidential candidates in the 2004 election is still poorly curated in local newspaper studies, most of the literature focuses only on the use of national newspapers. In fact, local newspapers have a close relationship with their readers so that they have the potential to have an important role in building the political perception of the local community. With this reality, this study focuses on how the Suara Merdeka newspaper built the political image of presidential and vice presidential candidates in the first round of the 2004 election during the campaign period as a local newspaper.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses historical methods that require the use of procedures and rules that apply in historical research. Therefore, researchers use four stages in historical research according to Kuntowijoyo. The four stages include heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2003, p. 50, 2005, p. 70, 2008). The first step is heuristic or collection of historical sources, at this stage, the researcher traces and collects historical sources relevant to the research topic including primary sources and secondary sources (Wijayati, 2009, p. 46). The primary sources used are newspapers, campaign archives, and Arsip Pemkot Semarang related to the election campaign. Newspapers are valuable documentary material, because from their substantive perspective they cover various aspects of social life that can describe people's lives as a whole from various points of view (Kartodirdjo, 1992, p. 67). The newspapers used in this study were obtained from the Depot Arsip Suara Merdeka and the Dinas Kearsipan dan Perpustakaan Jawa Tengah. There is also a newspaper used is Suara Merdeka.

Meanwhile, secondary sources used include scientific articles, theses, and related books to support research accessed through libraries and various digital media. After collecting data, the researcher conducts source criticism to test the credibility and authenticity of historical sources. The next step is to interpret or interpret the facts that have been verified beforehand. The historical facts that are still in the form of pieces are then united into a coherent unit through the process of compiling a chronological and systematic historical narrative at the historiographic stage

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Transformation of the 2004 Electoral System

Arkoun's ethical and political reasoning are grounded on his idea of Applied Islamology, which attempts to be comparative rather than eliminating methodological disparities across Islamic studies. while upholding interdisciplinary scientific cooperation with an Islamic studies paradigm. Furthermore, Applied Islamology welcomes criticism from the scientific community and does not view itself as the only valid approach. For Arkoun, Islam is not a lifeless or abstract concept; rather, it is greatly impacted by social, historical, and other contexts. Consequently, every intellectual output of Islamic thinking is extremely restricted to a certain epistemological framework, even its political offshoots. Future research on Islam, according to Arkoun, has to employ modern epistemes rather than those from the Middle Ages. Stated differently, Arkoun seeks to highlight that Islamic studies ought to be able to recognise ordinary mental constraints as well as the historical context and reality in addition to the text's content. In the Mediaeval Ages.

The 2004 presidential election was a transformative moment in Indonesia's political history. In the period from 1945 to 2001, Indonesia has held eight elections, namely the first election in 1955, six times in the *Orde Baru* era, namely in 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992 and 1997, and post-reform elections in 1999 (Kolang et al., 2022, p. 2; Wardana et al., 2024, p. 87). However, elections during this period did not provide an opportunity for the people to directly elect presidential and vice presidential candidates. At the beginning of independence, the president was appointed through the PPKI, while throughout the *Orde Baru* period, presidential elections took place behind closed doors through the MPR under the strong influence of the executive (Tamrin, 2013, p. 192). The centralized political structure affects the space for newspapers to be very limited, and only to be the single narrator of the state (Ariwianto, 2024, p. 114).

The fundamental changes only occurred after the political reforms of 1998, which gave rise to strong demands for democratization, and were then responded to with a series of amendments to the constitution and new laws and regulations (Adnan, 2017, p. 6). Through the amendment of the UUD 1945 and the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning the election of Members of the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR), the *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* (DPRD), and Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 23 of 2003 concerning the election of President and Vice President, Indonesia for the first time implemented a direct presidential election system by the people (Friyanti, 2005, p. 92; Supriyadi, 2018, p. 5). The change in the presidential election system from a

representative system to direct elections created a new situation in the practice of political communication. This process triggered newspapers not only to become the sole conveyor of the state's narrative, but also to be directly involved in political discourse. Political reporting, candidate framing, and agenda setting are part of the contestation practices that determine how the public perceives elections as historical events (Yazmi et al., 2024, p. 707).

Along with the change in the presidential election system, candidates need to interact with the public as voters. In this context, newspapers have a role as a bridge that connects candidates and voters (Wibawa, 2008, p. 61). Newspapers are an important resource for understanding the patterns of political communication and the construction of candidate images during this period of democratic transition. Newspapers, from the national to local levels play a central role in this process. *Suara Merdeka*, for example, has a significant voter base, making it a strategic tool for political communication and image building in the 2004 elections (Masduki, 2004, p. 85).

Pattern of Issues Bulit in News

In June 2004, *Suara Merdeka* published a wide range of national political issues, especially ahead of the implementation of Indonesia's first direct presidential election. As the largest local media in Central Java, this newspaper makes election issues a top editorial priority (Pitaloka, 2024, p. 84). In carrying out the participation of the mass media during political activities (campaigns), *Suara Merdeka* developed a rubric page entitled "Pemilu 2004, Perjalanan Menuju Istana" on pages two and three to engage the mass media during the campaign. However, this does not mean that election news is limited to this page, it can also appear on other pages, such as the front page of the news (headline) for crucial, interesting and newsworthy coverage, which is also the showcase of a newspaper.

Through the *Suara Merdeka* archive that was included in the research sample, news content about the 2004 presidential election showed a selective pattern in placing five pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates. This selectivity is clearly seen in the theme of the issues discussed, the intensity of publications, and the way the media projects the image of each pair of candidates. From the news published during the campaign period, *Suara Merdeka* not only covers the vision, mission, and promises of the candidate pairs, but also related to the activities and support received from each couple.

The main focus of the *Suara Merdeka* news is in the form of socio-political support from various community groups. Statements of support from various social groups, such as *marhaenism* groups, peasant organizations, student organizations, and scholars in Central Java are often published (Merdeka, 2004c, 2004l, 2004p, 2004af). The candidate pair Megawati-Hasyim and Wiranto-Gus Sholah are the main targets for this support. This kind of coverage pattern can be seen as an attempt by local media to project the influence of political power at the regional level, where support from certain social groups is represented as a source of moral and symbolic legitimacy for candidates. The news of support not only serves as a reporting of events, but also as a medium to shape the public perception of the solidarity of supporters and the political bargaining power of the candidate pairs in the 2004 election contest (Haerudin et al., 2020).

Suara Merdeka also displays a high intensity of news related to political conflicts, ranging from campaign violations, black propaganda practices, the spread of dark leaflets, to the struggle for internal support within political parties (Merdeka, 2004u, 2004ae, 2004an, 2004ao). Conflict became the most dominant framework in the news of the Wiranto-Gus Sholah couple, who were described as victims of a negative campaign (Merdeka, 2004a, 2004x, 2004an, 2004ap). Meanwhile, SBY-JK was reported to be the party that was harmed by the circulation of dark leaflets containing SARA issues (Merdeka, 2004ao). This pattern of conflict reporting not only reflects the dynamics of tension ahead of the election, but also emphasizes the high political competition between candidate pairs in the post-Orde Baru democratic transition.

News stories reviewing the work programs, visions, and missions of candidate pairs also appeared in newspapers, although they were not the dominant theme. The SBY-JK couple is

recorded as a couple who often present their campaign programs, such as economic growth targets, agendas to eradicate corruption, collusion, and nepotism and solving national security problems (Merdeka, 2004ad). In contrast, other couples are more often portrayed through the framework of social support or political conflict than through the campaign activities that convey their programs. This shows that coverage of the vision, mission and program has not been fully the focus of the news, so the construction of the candidate's political image in the local media is still built more through symbolic aspects and dynamics of the contest than substantive debate.

Suara Merdeka also presents extensive coverage of open campaign ceremonies, public discussions, religious activities, and direct dives to the region (Merdeka, 2004a, 2004g, 2004h, 2004ah). In addition to showing a regional focus, coverage of these field activities serves as a way to generalize the closeness of candidate pairs to the community. The focus on places like Semarang, Kudus, and other areas in Central Java shows how the geographical dimension of these provinces becomes an important framework in the construction of the campaign narrative, thus allowing readers to understand the national contestation through the experiences and everyday contexts of those areas.

Not only that, Suara Merdeka also presents coverage that includes political education for the general public, especially for prospective voters. According to Kolang et al., (2022) dan Simanjuntak, (2006), one of the indicators of democratic practice is the holding of honest and fair elections followed by the freedom for the people to vote and participate in them. Political education provided to readers is in the form of coverage related to fraudulent practices that occur during the campaign period, such as covert campaigns, and money politics (Merdeka, 2004u, 2004ae, 2004ar; Yuliyanto, 2004).

Framing the Political Image of Each Candidate Pair

According to Suwirta & Kamsori, there were five pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates competing in the 2004 presidential election, namely: (1) Hamzah Haz and Agung Gumelar; (2) Amien Rais and Siswono Yudohusodo; (3) Megawati Soekarnoputri and Hasyim Muzadi; (4) Wiranto and Salahuddin Wahid; and (5) Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Muhammad Jusuf Kalla (Suwirta & Kamsori, 2015). The presence of the five pairs of candidates represents a diverse and competitive configuration of political forces during the transition period. Each pair brings ideological backgrounds, social bases, and bureaucratic and military experiences that together form the complex dynamics of election contests.

In this case, during the campaign period, Suara Merdeka played an important role in the distribution of political information. Every campaign activity of all the couples was intensely reviewed by the newspaper. Even so, the five couples did not get an equal portion of news in terms of depth and focus of coverage. There seems to be a tendency for news dominance to be more directed towards certain candidates, especially in the first round of the presidential election. This dominance can be seen by the high frequency of appearances and strategic placement of the Megawati-Hasyim pair in the news of Suara Merdeka cannot be immediately interpreted as an indicator of increasing political popularity, but rather shows a certain tendency in the pattern of coverage during the campaign period.

This reporting pattern shows that Suara Merdeka plays an important role in shaping political reality and presenting factual information about the campaign. The media actively shapes the political image of each couple through news selection, emphasis on certain issues, and the repetition of the narrative of the Megawati Soekarnoputri-Hasyim Muzadi couple, which in particular received more attention.

Megawati Soekarnoputri-Hasyim Muzadi

Through a rubric published by Suara Merdeka, the Megawati Soekarnoputri-Hasyim Muzadi couple is described as a political figure who combines ideological strength and religious aspects. Megawati Soekarnoputri is represented as the successor of the Marhaenism tradition,

which shows the continuity of ideology and is considered relevant to nationalist voters, especially in Semarang. On the other hand, KH Hasyim Muzadi is shown as the leader of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) who holds a moderate and inclusive attitude. The strengthening of the attributes of the ulama in Hasyim serves a dual function in the news narrative, namely as a source of moral and cultural legitimacy, as well as a political link between Megawati and the local Islamic boarding school community (Merdeka, 2004c).

This image is strengthened by coverage of strengthening social support from various elements of society. The support is consistently focused on farmer groups, students, and community leaders as an indicator of the breadth of social support for this couple. The news about farmers' expectations for agrarian sector policies places this couple as candidates who care about the interests of the people (Merdeka, 2004p). Furthermore, the prediction of this pair being included in the top two presidential election candidates also frames them as strong and electorally realistic candidates, not just symbolic (Merdeka, 2004aa).

At the same time, the religious framework was affirmed through the reporting of support from kiai and Islamic boarding schools. There have been various reports that affirm the intense involvement of the ulama with this couple, as well as represent the NU community as an important moral basis in political contestation (Merdeka, 2004l, 2004af). The presentation of the results of AIPI Semarang's research on the political tendencies of the non-partisan kiai further strengthens the picture that the support arises naturally, not only because of political mobilization.

The couple's religious and cultural image is strengthened through coverage of gathering and sowan activities. Hasyim's visit to several senior NU kiai as well as requests for prayers of blessing and support were shown as a natural cultural political practice in the NU tradition (Merdeka, 2004o, 2004ab). In addition, the visit of Puan Maharani as the daughter of Megawati to the caretaker of the pesantren in Central Java was presented as an effort to strengthen relations with the pesantren and gain moral legitimacy for the candidacy of Megawati-Hasyim (Merdeka, 2004v). This narrative makes Hasyim Muzadi a symbolic link between state power and religious authority.

After affirming the strength of social and cultural support, the focus of the news shifted to administrative leadership and institutional legitimacy. The polemic over Megawati's campaign leave permit is not framed as a violation of the law, but as an understandable administrative issue in order to maintain government stability. The explanation from the KPU and the State Secretariat about the possibility of a government vacancy actually strengthens Megawati's image as a wise leader and focused on the sustainability of the country (Merdeka, 2004e, 2004u). In addition to Megawati, Hasyim, who was deactivated from the NU structural position, is framed as an image of a couple who respects the boundaries between religion and practical politics (Merdeka, 2004k).

In reporting on social, religious and institutional aspects, Suara Merdeka reported on allegations of campaign violations by the Megawati-Hasyim team in a relatively neutral manner. The activity of distributing wrapped rice is presented as a social service activity that requires a legal explanation, without emphasizing mistakes that can damage the image of the couple (Merdeka, 2004u). This kind of detention maintains the image of Megawati-Hasyim as a political actor who remains consistent with the rules of law and election procedures. The formation of Megawati-Hasyim's image stemmed from a combination of social support, cultural-religious legitimacy, and obedience to institutions. This combination formed the perception that moderate leaders with a nationalist-religious spirit were accepted by various groups of society, and deserved to lead in the context of stability and continuity of government in the 2004 presidential election.

Wiranto-Salahuddin Wahid (Gus Sholah)

Coverage of Suara Merdeka during the 2004 presidential election campaign highlighted the pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates Wiranto-Salahuddin Wahid as a representation of integrity between military power, nationalism and religion. Through the strong cultural legitimacy of the NU base and *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB) (Merdeka, 2004q). Wiranto's image was built through an emphasis on his long military experience and integrity as a public servant. The

campaign coverage in Purwokerto highlighted Wiranto's commitment to improving community welfare through clothing, food, board and education programs, as well as showing closeness to the community through cultural activities (Merdeka, 2004f, 2004s).

On the other hand, Gus Sholah is described as a religious figure, has experience in civil society and human rights organizations, and has a strong relationship with NU. The direct support from Gus Dur, Chairman of the Syuro Council of the PKB, strengthens legitimacy among NU residents (Merdeka, 2004d). He also emphasized that his political stance did not separate him from NU, but to maintain the identity of moderate Islamic culture in the realm of the state (Merdeka, 2004r).

Support from political parties is also strengthened by the data obtained by the Partai Golkar and PKB legislative votes which are quite significant. The Chairman of the Partai Golkar, Akbar Tandjung, predicts that he can win around 40 million votes from the party coalition (Merdeka, 2004n). Political analysis from PKB shows that the Wiranto-Gus Sholah pair is able to enter the top two candidates (Merdeka, 2004aa). Community-based campaigns and Islamic boarding schools affirmed the couple's closeness to the people. Gus Sholah is committed to increasing assistance to Islamic boarding schools to reach 20% of the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (Merdeka, 2004aj). Meanwhile, Wiranto promised a minimum teacher salary of Rp 2.5 million and a low-interest loan for the people (Merdeka, 2004aq). Gathering activities such as making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mbah Mutamakin and visiting religious leader KH Sahal Mahfudh were carried out to show closeness to the NU tradition (Merdeka, 2004q). In addition, the couple also actively attended social events such as free medical treatment, T-shirt distribution, and visits to religious educational institutions, which highlighted the image of social concern (Merdeka, 2004r).

The Campaign Team, led by Effendy Yusuf, focuses on team coordination and cooperation between supporting parties, as well as avoiding internal conflicts related to campaign performance. The goal is to strengthen the image as a couple that focuses on work programs, not on internal political conflicts (Merdeka, 2004ak). This couple was recorded as the victim of the most negative campaigns in the 2004 election. The news was covered by Suara Merdeka which included personal slander, accusations of militarism, financial issues, and the dissemination of VCD (AFI) containing the May 1998 Riots and the invitation to reject the military presidential candidate (Merdeka, 2004an, 2004ap).

In addition, Major General TNI (Ret.) Kivlan Zein also raised the issue of the Swakarsa Force as an effort to attack Wiranto's image, which according to the campaign team is a form of negative slander campaign (Merdeka, 2004a, 2004ap). Despite receiving various attacks, Wiranto emphasized that supporters should remain calm and not overreact, so that solidarity is still established between this couple and their supporters (Merdeka, 2004t, 2004x). The Independent Voice News combines structural legitimacy derived from the constitutional (military-party) and cultural (NU-religious) structures. This strategy forms the narrative of a couple who are competent, ethical, close to the people, and have political resilience. As such, the pair displayed a solid combination of explicit political and cultural imagery.

Amien Rais-Siswono Yudo Husodo

Through the coverage of Suara Merdeka during the 2004 election campaign, the image of the Amien Rais-Siswono Yudo Husodo couple was framed from various perspectives. The news presented shows the image of a leader who is close to the people, religious, able to mobilize the masses, and has strong legitimacy through political coalitions. One of the dimensions that consistently emerges is the image as a couple who are familiar with society and care about social issues. The articles related to the formation of the image include Amien's blusukan activities in Palangkaraya, visits to the Muhammadiyah General Health Center, being a khatib for Friday prayers, and interacting with residents (Merdeka, 2004h). The same can be seen in the activities of her daughter, Hanum Salsabiela, who visited communities in Semarang, including to the commercial sex worker community, which received a positive response from local residents

(Merdeka, 2004y). Activities like this form an image of social care and the couple's ability to interact directly with the wider community, including marginalized groups.

In addition, Suara Merdeka also formed the image of Amien as a religious and inclusive figure. Amien's statement regarding respect for diverse worship practices from both the NU and Muhammadiyah traditions was framed as a tolerant attitude (Merdeka, 2004ah). This statement shows a political communication strategy in the form of religious personal branding, which emphasizes leaders who are able to unite various groups of Islamic community organizations, while addressing the issue of religious sensitivity in the context of elections. Other political images in the form of the ability to mobilize the masses and popularity are highlighted from several rubrics that report the presence of thousands of Amien-Siswono supporters in open campaigns in Sleman, Temanggung, and Surabaya. The supporters who attended wore the attributes and flags of supporting parties such as PAN, PKS, PNBK, PBB, PPD, and Golkar (Merdeka, 2004ag, 2004am). The presence of elite supporters and artists such as Franky Sahilatua in the campaign serves as support that strengthens political legitimacy and the attractiveness of couples (Merdeka, 2004j). This strategy frames a pair that has real political power and cross-regional support.

The optimism of the second round was conveyed through Siswono's statement, which expressed his belief that they have a chance to reach the second round of the upcoming elections, while emphasizing the strong support from farmers in various provinces (Merdeka, 2004al). The strengthening of the mass base, along with the analysis of competitors such as Wiranto, Megawati, SBY, and Hamzah, builds the image of this couple as strategic, realistic, and competitive figures on the national political stage. Other news also highlights how Amien-Siswono's image is framed through broad party coalitions, where cross-party support is in the spotlight. Siswono's campaign activities in Kendal were displayed by highlighting the variety of party flags carried by supporters during the campaign. This news creates an image of the political legitimacy of the couple through a diverse network of coalitions (Merdeka, 2004am).

Overall, Suara Merdeka's coverage of the Amien-Siswono couple resulted in an image as a popular, religious, close to the community, and with the support of a broad coalition. This image is formed through a communication strategy that combines mass mobilization, voter segmentation, support from artists and party figures, and strengthening moral and social messages. This approach not only focuses on the image of the individual, but also frames the pair as a political reality capable of accommodating differences, building a solid support base, and competing competitively.

Hamzah Haz-Agum Gumelar

Through a series of news rubrics, Suara Merdeka formed the political image of the Hamzah Haz-Agum Gumelar couple as a couple who have Islamic legitimacy, are close to NU, and experience injustice during the campaign period. This image was formed through a combination of support from Islamic organizations to campaign activities in Islamic boarding schools and mosques. One report showed the overt support of Gerakan Muda Persatuan Indonesia (GMPI), which was described as a representative of rational and moderate Islamic youth (Merdeka, 2004b). This coverage emphasizes that Islamic support for Hamzah-Agum is diverse, and not always in line with the attitude of the Central Java Forum Silaturahmi Umat Islam (FSUI). As a result, this couple is shown as a couple who get Islamic support without being tied to anti-military issues, while building a complete image of Agum Gumelar's background.

Through one of the rubrics, Hamzah is shown as an official who still bears government responsibilities. His delay in submitting leave permits is not framed as a form of violation, but rather an understandable administrative problem. This kind of news then builds Hamzah's image as a leader who obeys the rules, is responsible, and is able to maintain the stability of the country. Therefore, his status as a state official is not seen as an obstacle to votes, but as a source of support from official institutions (Merdeka, 2004e).

Hamzah's closeness to NU is affirmed through rubrics which are strong symbolic claims, especially in the midst of competition for NU figures who are only in the position of vice

presidential candidates. Through campaign activities at Islamic boarding schools, meetings with Islamic boarding school administrators, blusukan in the market and dialogue with the community, Hamzah is described as the embodiment of NU's moral and cultural values, as well as a figure who is close to the community. This claim further strengthens efforts to attract support from the group Nahdliyyin, especially in Central Java and East Java (Merdeka, 2004g). In addition, the cultural approach was also reported through a rubric that featured campaign activities at mosques by distributing bath soap and Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) stickers (Merdeka, 2004i). This campaign was carried out as a way of symbolic communication through daily necessities, not with political speeches. This activity is described as an effective, simple, and religious strategy that strengthens the image of Hamzah-Agum as a popular, practical, and integrated couple into the daily lives of Muslims.

News highlighting the competition for the vice presidential candidate position and the internal conflict of NU to which Hamzah calmly responded described him as a candidate with a better moral position than his competitors. The criticism then formed an image as a mature figure, a guardian of the dignity of NU, and not solely pursuing positions. The narrative about the character of the nation, the role of clerics, and the prohibition of blasphemy during campaign speeches strengthens his framing as an ethical leader and adheres to morals, not just an actor in electoral competition (Merdeka, 2004m).

Suara Merdeka also highlighted the problem of structural injustice experienced by the Hamzah-Agum couple when campaigning so that this couple gets an image as candidates who are disadvantaged by local government policies (Merdeka, 2004w, 2004z). When Simpanglima Field was only allowed to campaign on the schedule of other couples, the rubric featured criticism of procedural injustices. The Hamzah-Agum team appeared as a defender of democracy and equal access to public spaces, while the Mayor was described as an inconsistent and discriminatory party. The coverage of Suara Merdeka succeeded in building the image of Hamzah-Agum as a religious couple rooted in NU, close to the pesantren environment and the community, compliant with regulations and victims of structural injustice in political contestation during the campaign period.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla (SBY-JK)

The coverage of Suara Merdeka during the campaign period showed a consistent pattern in presenting the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla (SBY-JK) pair as logical, moderate, and ethical candidates in democratic practice. This image is formed through an emphasis on political socialization, stability, and maturity in political events. The issue of shifting public support is an important entry point in arranging the image of this couple. SBY-JK is described as a new attraction for farmer groups in the North Sumatra and Central Java regions who previously supported other couples. This shift is the public's hope for SBY, which is considered to be able to bring real changes to the agricultural sector and farmers' lives that have been neglected so far (Merdeka, 2004ac). That way, the image that is built is a couple who naturally gains public support.

Ethical aspects and compliance with the law are an important part of the news. SBY's attitude of conveying criticism of the KPU and Panwas in a moderate and argumentative manner, as well as not provocatively, has formed the image of a leader who respects state institutions (Merdeka, 2004ae). Through this rubric, SBY also emphasized that competition is not synonymous with hostility, strengthening the image of mature leadership. Jusuf Kalla's statement that openly supports the idea that campaign promises should be recorded and billed by the public frames SBY-JK as a couple that places the people as the supervisors of power. In this context, the SBY-JK campaign focuses more on the vision, mission, and work program than on political promises (Merdeka, 2004ad). The professional and rational image is strengthened by the presentation of law enforcement programs, the eradication of corruption, collusion and nepotism, and infrastructure development.

The intellectual and cultural image was strengthened through the coverage of SBY's meeting with Sultan Hamengku Buwono X in dialogue with Javanese elite figures. The agreement to work on campaign issues based on policy solutions and action programs shows SBY-JK as a representative

of a substantial democracy, not just a rhetorical contestation (Merdeka, 2004ai). This meeting also strengthens cultural support for SBY in the eyes of Central Java and DIY readers. In addition, the couple's calm and law-abiding response to black campaign practices strengthened their image as a symbol of stability and order in the midst of the heat of political conditions at the time (Merdeka, 2004ao). Overall, this newspaper builds the political image of SBY-JK as a rational, moderate, responsible, and education-oriented couple. This image is in line with the character of Suara Merdeka readers and shows a political communication strategy that prioritizes moral, intellectual, and cultural support, not just emotional mobilization.

The Impact of Political Image through Independent Voices on the 2004 Election

The political image built in the news has a real impact on the way the public understands the 2004 presidential election contest in Semarang. In various stages, this newspaper plays a role in increasing political visibility and framing candidates as figures with social and political legitimacy. The political image is highlighted by the support of the masses, cultural-religious identities, and conflicts between candidates rather than the discussion of the substance of the program.

This pattern has an impact on the way voters assess the potential of votes and the feasibility of candidates, so that the media plays an important role in the political dynamics of elections. In the first direct presidential election in Indonesia, Suara Merdeka not only functioned as a source of information, but also as a tool to shape public opinion. Thus, the local media has a significant influence on the democratic process and cannot be separated from the existing political power structure in the 2004 elections.

CONCLUSION

The 2004 presidential election marked a turning point in the history of Indonesian democracy, especially related to the transition from an indirect electoral system to direct elections by the people. In addition to having an impact on the relationship between the state and its citizens, this system reform has also changed the role of the mass media, especially newspapers in the realm of electoral politics. Newspapers actively shape political reality and image through the construction of news, no longer just conveying information. Suara Merdeka, as the largest local media in Semarang, played a strategic role in shaping the political image of the presidential and vice presidential candidates in the first round of the 2004 presidential election. Through the selection of issues, the intensity of coverage, and a certain framing framework, the political image displayed is more built through symbolic, cultural, religious, social support, and the dynamics of political conflicts during the campaign period than through work programs.

The Megawati-Hasyim pair gained the most dominant visibility and coverage intent. Their image is built through a combination of ideological, religious, and cultural legitimacy, as well as adherence to state institutions. Meanwhile, the Wiranto-Gus Sholah pair is framed through a narrative of structural competence, close to NU, and resilience in the face of negative campaigns. The Amien-Siswono pair is described as religious, populist, and has the ability to mobilize the masses across parties. The Hamzah-Agum pair is framed as an NU-based religious candidate who experiences structural injustice in the campaign arena. Meanwhile, SBY-JK is represented as a rational and moderate couple oriented towards democracy education and political stability. Overall, the news of Suara Merdeka shows framing, agenda setting, and priming practices that are not completely neutral. Thus, this newspaper made a significant contribution in shaping the public perception as voters of the national political contest, especially in the 2004 presidential election.

REFERENCES

- Aditya, K. (2019). *Penggunaan Surat Kabar Suara Merdeka Sebagai Media Komunikasi Politik pada Pemilu 1999*. Universitas Diponegoro.
- Adnan, Dr. H. I. M. (2017). *Hukum Konstitusi di Indonesia (Edisi Revisi)*. Trussmedia Grafika.

- Ariwianto, E. (2024). Kebebasan Pers Serta Kritik Masyarakat Dalam Masa Pemerintahan Orde Baru. *Lani: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Sejarah dan Budaya*, 4(2), 113–116. <https://doi.org/10.30598/Lanivol4iss2page113-116>
- Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia. (2015). *Inventaris Arsip Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia (1945) 1959 – 1968 (1973)*. Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI).
- Asri, P., & Jemat, M.S., A. (2012). Framing Berita Gayus Tambunan Di Surat Kabar Media Indonesia Dan Republika. *Jurnal Komunikologi*, 9(1), 32–38.
- Astuti, D. I., Syah, I., & M, S. (2014). Hubungan Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (KNIP) Dengan Lembaga Kepresidenan Pada Tahun 1945-1949. *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Penelitian Sejarah (PESAGI)*, 2(2). <https://jurnal.fkip.unila.ac.id/index.php/PES/article/view/6192>
- Budhirianto, S., Sumiaty, N., & Syaidah, N. (2018). Analisis Wacana Media Terhadap Kebijakan Dan Citra Pemerintah Di Surat Kabar Daerah Pada Tahun 2017. *Jurnal PIKOM (Penelitian Komunikasi dan Pembangunan)*, 19(2), 101. <https://doi.org/10.31346/jpikom.v19i2.1607>
- Cipto, B. (2004). Pemilihan Presiden 2004 dan Kualitas Demokrasi. *Unisia*, 27(51), 38–47. <https://doi.org/10.20885/unisia.vol27.iss51.art6>
- Fadhlurrahman, D. A. (2023). *Pemberitaan Calon Presiden Dan Wakil Presiden Di Media Massa Koran Kompas Pada Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2004* [Skripsi, Universitas Negeri Jakarta]. <http://repository.unj.ac.id/id/eprint/41218>
- Falah, Z. (2024). Peran Komunikasi Politik dalam Membentuk Citra Kandidat Pemilu. *Syntax Idea*, 5(9), 1867–1876. <https://doi.org/10.46799/syntax-idea.v5i9.2876>
- Fitria, W., & Suyanto. (2015). Konstruksi Citra Calon Presiden Jokowi Pada Kampanye Pemilihan Presiden 2014 Di Surat Kabar Harian Jawa Pos. *Jom FISIP*, 2(2). <https://jom.unri.ac.id/index.php/JOMFSIP/article/view/5334>
- Friyanti, F. (2005). *Pelaksanaan Pemilihan Umum Dalam Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*. Universitas Negeri Semarang.
- Haerudin, W. H., Prisanto, G. F., Ernungtyas, N. F., & Hidayanto, S. (2020). Media Lokal Dalam Proses Demokratisasi: Agen Politik Atau Saluran Komunikasi Politik? *Komunida: Media Komunikasi dan Dakwah*, 7(2), 159–174.
- Hasan, K. (2009). *Komunikasi Politik dan Pecitraan*. 2(4), 22–43.
- Jati, W. R. (2013). Politik Persuasif Media: Peran Media Dalam Pemilu Presiden Indonesia 2001–2009. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 10(2). <https://doi.org/10.14203/jpp.v10i2.432>
- Kartodirdjo, S. (1992). *Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial dalam Metodologi Sejarah*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Kolang, F. E., Pondaag, A., & Londa, J. (2022). Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum yang Jujur, Adil dan Bersih Menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum. *Lex Administratum*, 10(4). <https://ejournal.unsrat.ac.id/v3/index.php/administratum/article/view/42546>
- Kuntowijoyo. (2003). *Metodologi sejarah*. PT Tiara Wacana Yogya.
- Kuntowijoyo. (2005). *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Bentang Pustaka.
- Kuntowijoyo. (2008). *Penjelasan Sejarah*. Tiara Wacana.
- Mahfud MD, M. (2001). *Dasar dan struktur ketatanegaraan Indonesia*. PT. Rineka Cipta.

- Masduki. (2004). Jurnalisme Politik: Keberpihakan Media dalam Pemilu 2004. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 8(1), 75–90.
- Merdeka. (2004a, Juni 6). Tim Sukses Wiranto Akan Gugat Kivlan Zein. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004b, Juni 1). GMPI Dukung Hamzah. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004c, Juni 1). Keluarga Besar Marhaenis Dukung Mega-Hasyim. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004d, Juni 2). Gus Dur Akan Dampingi Salahuddin Wahid. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004e, Juni 2). Mega dan Hamzah Belum Cuti. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004f, Juni 2). Wiranto – Gus Sholah Menuju Kebaikan. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004g, Juni 4). “Saya Satu-Satunya Capres dari NU.” *Suara Merdeka*.
- Merdeka, S. (2004h, Juni 5). Amien Mbecak. *Suara Merdeka*.
- Merdeka, S. (2004i, Juni 5). Tim Hamzah – Agum Membagi Seribu Sabun Mandi. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004j, Juni 6). Tim Sukses Amien–Siswono Kerahkan Artis dan Mubalig. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004k, Juni 7). Hasyim Akan Dimintai Pertanggungjawaban. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004l, Juni 7). Kiai Ponpes Sidogiri Dukung Mega-Hasyim. *Suara Merdeka*.
- Merdeka, S. (2004m, Juni 8). Hamzah: Mereka Hanya Berebut Cawapres. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004n, Juni 8). Wiranto-Wahid Bidik 40 Juta Suara. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004o, Juni 9). Hasyim: Ada yang Jelek Saya Tanggung Sendiri. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004p, Juni 9). Penyuluh Petani Jateng Dukung Mega-Hasyim. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004q, Juni 10). Berziarah di Makam Mbah Mutamakin. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004r, Juni 10). Gus Sholah: Saya Takkan Lupa NU. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004s, Juni 12). Wiranto Janjikan Kemakmuran. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004t, Juni 14). “Semoga Fitnah Itu Menjadi Berkah.” *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004u, Juni 15). Panwas Belum Bisa Tentukan Pasal Penjerat Pelanggaran Tim Mega-Hasyim. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004v, Juni 15). Puan ke Mbah Dim. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004w, Juni 15). Simpanglima Boleh untuk Kampanye. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004x, Juni 15). Wiranto Korban Terbanyak Kampanye Negatif. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004y, Juni 16). Putri Amien Rais Blusukan di SK. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004z, Juni 16). Tim Hamzah Merasa Dirugikan. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004aa, Juni 17). Mega-Wiranto Diprediksi Masuk Dua Besar. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ab, Juni 18). Hasyim Minta Didoakan Mbah Munif. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ac, Juni 18). Isu Perpindahan Dukungan Warnai Masa Kampanye. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ad, Juni 18). Kalla Setuju Janji Capres Dicatat Masyarakat. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.

- Merdeka, S. (2004ae, Juni 18). SBY: KPU dan Panwas Kadang Salah Tafsir. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004af, Juni 18). Sebagian Besar Kiai Pilih Mega-Hasyim. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ag, Juni 19). Pendukung Amien Penuhi Jalanan Sleman. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ah, Juni 20). "Tahlil Yes, Istighotsah Yes." *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ai, Juni 22). SBY Temui Sultan HB X Sepakat Kembangkan Isu Kampanye yang Mendidik. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004aj, Juni 23). Gus Sholah: Janji Perbanyak Subsidi Pesantren. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ak, Juni 23). Ketua Tim Wiranto: Jangan Saling Menyalahkan. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004al, Juni 23). Siswono Yakini Masuk Putaran II. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004am, Juni 24). Kampanye Siswono Diikuti Beragam Bendera. *Suara Merdeka*.
- Merdeka, S. (2004an, Juni 24). Kasus VCD, Wiranto Mesti Lapor ke Polisi. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ao, Juni 24). Penyebar Selebaran Gelap SBY Ditangkap. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ap, Juni 26). Wiranto Dilaporkan ke Polisi. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004aq, Juni 29). Wiranto Janjikan Gaji Guru Minimal Rp 2,5 Juta. *Suara Merdeka*, 3.
- Merdeka, S. (2004ar, Juli 4). Waspada Serangan Fajar. *Suara Merdeka*, 2.
- Mustamin. (2024). Analisis Ketatanegaraan Berdasarkan Historis Ketatanegaraan Republik Indonesia Periode Orde Lama, Orde Baru Dan Reformasi. *Jurnal Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Islam*, 6(1), 82–94. <https://doi.org/10.47435/al-ahkam.v6i1.2663>
- Naimah, H. (2015). Peralihan Kekuasaan Presiden dalam Lintasan Sejarah Ketatanegaraan Indonesia. *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora*, 12(2). <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v13i1.518>
- Nimmo, D. (2000). *Komunikasi Politik: Komunikator, Pesan dan Media* (T. Surjaman, Penerj.). Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Novitasari, R. (2012). Peran Koran Suara Merdeka Dalam Mengapresiasikan Kondisi Politik Di Kota Semarang Tahun 1982-1999. *Journal of Indonesian History*, 1(2), 134–139.
- Pitaloka, S. P. (2024). Analisis Isi Kuantitatif Keberpihakan Media Cetak Dalam Berita Pemilihan Presiden Dan Wakil Presiden Tahun 2004 Pada Surat Kabar Tribun Jateng Dan Suara Merdeka [Skripsi, Universitas Semarang]. <https://eskripsi.usm.ac.id/detail-G31A-1189.html>
- Pratiwi, J. I., Salama, N., & Ulfah, S. (2021). Pembatasan Masa Jabatan Presiden Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Rechten: Riset Hukum Dan Hak Asasi Manusia*, 3(1).
- Pusparani, D. K. C., & Setyanto, A. E. (2015). Surat Kabar Dan Citra Calon Legislatif Selebriti. *Jurnal Komunikasi Massa*, 1. <https://www.jurnalkommas.com/index.php?target=isi&jurnal=surat+kabar+dan+citra+calon+legislatif+selebriti+>
- Putri, L. R., & Wijayati, P. A. (2025). The 1971 Election in Semarang City: Golkar's Curated Contestation in Newspaper. *Santhet: (Jurnal Sejarah, Pendidikan Dan Humaniora)*, 9(4), 1196–1211. <https://doi.org/10.36526/santhet.v9i4.5488>

- Ramadhan, M. F. S., & Afala, L. O. M. (2022). *Politik Media, Media Politik: Pers, Rezim, dan Kemunduran Demokrasi*. Universitas Brawijaya Press.
- Simanjuntak, V. A. (2006). *Kampanye Politik: Studi Atas Pemberitaan Kampanye Capres dan Cawapres Dalam Pemilu 2004 di Surat Kabar Republika*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Suharyanto, A. (2016). Surat Kabar Sebagai Salah Satu Media Penyampaian Informasi Politik pada Partisipasi Politik Masyarakat. *Jurnal Administrasi Publik: Public Administration Journal*, 6(2), 123. <https://doi.org/10.31289/jap.v6i2.1051>
- Supriyadi, P. (2018). *Sejarah Pemilu Demokratis Di Indonesia Tahun 1999-2014*. Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia.
- Supriyanto, S. (2022). Gerakan Mahasiswa dalam Upaya Kejatuhan Pemerintah Soeharto 1998. *Jurnal Impresi Indonesia*, 1(2), 66–74. <https://doi.org/10.58344/jii.vii2.15>
- Suwirta, A., & Kamsori, M. E. (2015). Pemilihan Umum, Media Massa, dan Wanita: Pandangan Majalah TEMPO dan GATRA terhadap Megawati Soekarnoputri sebagai Calon Presiden di Indonesia pada Tahun 1999 dan 2004. *Susurgalur: Jurnal Kajian Sejarah & Pendidikan Sejarah*, 3(1). www.susurgalur-jksps.com
- Tamrin, A. (2013). Urgensi Pemilu Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Secara Langsung di Era Reformasi. *Jurnal Cita Hukum*, 1(2). <https://doi.org/10.15408/jch.vii2.2990>
- Wardana, M. D. J., Nazwa Febri Herviana, Maria Benedicta Azalia Putri, Felixs Ade Santoso, Rakha Salman Sanusi Putra, Tania Febrianti, & Kuswan Hadji. (2024). Pengaruh Sejarah Pemilihan Umum Terhadap Sistem Ketatanegaraan Dan Hubungannya Dengan Demokrasi. *Birokrasi: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Tata Negara*, 2(2), 84–93. <https://doi.org/10.55606/birokrasi.v2i2.1168>
- Wibawa, B. A. S. A. (2008). Keberpihakan Surat Kabar Dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2004 di Indonesia (Kasus Surat Kabar Repulika dan Media Indonesia). *Paradigma: Jurnal Masalah Sosial, Politik dan Kebijakan*, 9(1), 60–72.
- Wibowo, E., Ismail, & Hartana. (2024). Pelaksanaan Pemilihan Presiden Yang Sesuai Dengan Prinsip Kedaulatan Rakyat Dalam Sistem Demokrasi Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Hukum to-ra: Hukum Untuk Mengatur dan Melindungi Masyarakat*, 10(2), 257–270. <https://doi.org/10.55809/tora.v10i2.371>
- Wijayati, P. A. (2009). *Reserch Arsip dan Bahan Pustaka*. Unesa University Press.
- Yazmi, R., Mala, A., Afisah, F. H., Sari, F. R., Hikam, I., Maulana, M. R., & Orvala, A. R. (2024). *Diskursus Politik Media Massa Indonesia: Analisis Framing Berita Pemilu 2024 dalam Surat Kabar Nasional Kompas*.
- Yuliyanto, M. (2004, September 7). Golput dalam Komunikasi Politik. *Suara Merdeka*.