



**Strategic Use of Public Space:
Exploring Women, Labour, LGBT, and
Anti-Corruption Actions in Bundaran HI, Jakarta**

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Indonesia)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Social Policy for Development
(SPD)

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The Hague, The Netherlands
November 2015

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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Acknowledgements

I believe that this life is full of strings. I have been covered by the strings. And, I was leaving non-stop strings in each person that I met, every corner that I went, per second that I passed, all scents that I breathed, and every dreams that I imagined. In another chance, they will move it, so I can recall the meaning from the strings. It is all connected.

Those strings had brought me to the ISS, The Hague. Twelve years ago, I started leaving the string on a dream of studying abroad. It had moved and here I am. I am living the dream with struggles and joy. It keeps me alive and found myself in another form. I have found out that leaving and holding string from me is the real challenge, without stopping me from still leaving the strings. *“Go do, you’ll know how to. Just let yourself, fall into landslide.”*

I put one of the strings consciously when I met Wendy Harcourt. I know right away that I would love to work with her. During the process, she has never told me that I was wrong, but challenges me with some questions to make me re-thinking. She allowed me to improve myself by letting me in the limbo of insecurity, trusting me to get out of there by myself, and ensuring me *“there is a light that never goes out”*. I felt so encouraged. I would like to thank her personally for this one.

Another strings went to Amrita Chhachhi. From her, I learnt the nuance of the knowledge, particularly feminism. She successfully built the confidence to keep being optimistic by reminding us that world is indeed unfair, but it does not mean nothing we cannot do to make it better. I marked that string.

There were some new strings that covered me and I let it be with my pleasure while I was making friends in ISS and also in The Netherlands. Our heterogeneity had taught me to put more respect to our own experiences. Thank you for being another home for me and letting me have a faith that space does shape the meaning.

I won’t be at this point if I am not connecting the strings to and from my lovely parents, my dear siblings, sisters-in-law, nieces, nephew, and relatives. And, how can I believe of love without the existence of my family and my very-very best friends? For all of you: the one who wants to see and edits my work, the one who never stops supporting me, the one who tries your best to be presence, the one who reminds me all the good things that worth to remember, the one who gives some journals and books, the one who shares the stories to make me feel needed, the one who asks me to come home very soon, the one who disappears for many reasons, the one who sends me songs and pictures, the one who says we will be great and greater, the one who hugs me, the one who shares the insecurity, and the one who laughs at our own vulnerability. I am holding those strings tightly as well as I am doing it with the strings of my colleagues in PSHK and the participants. *“It’s hard to know they’re out there. It’s hard to know that you still care.”*

I know that there are still long strings ahead. I am ready to leave it in another people, corner, seconds, scent, and dreams. I do not mind putting the strings again and again in the same place as well. After all, we have been connected anyway.

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List of Acronyms

DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat
FPI	Front Pembela Islam
Gerwani	Gerakan Wanita Indonesia
Bundaran HI	Bundaran Hotel Indonesia
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICW	Indonesian Corruption Watch
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MRT	Mass Rapid Transportation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
RP	Research Paper
SBY	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
SOP	Standard Operating System

Glossary

Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat	People's Representative Council
Front Pembela Islam	Islamic Defenders Front
Gerakan Wanita Indonesia	Indonesian Women Movement
Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi	Commission of Corruption Eradication
Bundaran Hotel Indonesia	Hotel Indonesia Roundabout

Abstract

This paper analyses the city square as a space for democratization by exploring how women, labour, LGBT, and anti-corruption activist groups use the *Bundaran* Hotel Indonesia, Jakarta (*Bundaran* HI) as a place of protest. The analysis is done through several entry points. One is a detailed reading of how *Kompas*—as printed media—represents social and political actions in *Bundaran* HI. Secondly, it explores the experiences of the four different groups of activists in using *Bundaran* HI as a public space with a specific focus on subjectivities, gender relations, and embodied experiences. The findings show that *Bundaran* HI is a contested space that is used strategically by civil society groups in their own engagements as well as in their engagement with. Although there is surveillance and containment from the state, the research shows that *Bundaran* HI is perceived by the activists groups as an important place to transform knowledge and raise awareness of their concerns. It is neither a starting point, nor an ending point, in their struggles; it is part of the process that allows these four movements to keep going in their struggle for democracy.

Keywords

public space, democratization, social movements, civil society, activisms, Indonesia, political actions, city square

Chapter 1 Introduction

Located in the heart of the capital and publicly known as Bundaran HI, Bundaran Hotel Indonesia (Hotel Indonesia Roundabout) Jakarta is considered as the city's main square and the place of public importance. It is one of the symbols of modern Indonesia since 1962. After Reformation Era started in 1998, it has been used as a strategic space for civic actions as well as has being promoted by the state as a national public space. Its function has expanded to become the central place to do protests during Reformation period, transforming it from a space of national decoration to a civic led socio-political space (Kusumawijaya 2009: 96). The state has responded to these civic protests in Bundaran HI through the local government of Jakarta. Abidin Kusno, an urban scholar—particularly Jakarta, describes some efforts from Sutiyoso, the Governor of Jakarta during 1997—2007; he hired security to monitor activities in Bundaran HI due to the rising number of demonstrations, particularly on Sunday and public holiday (2009: 117). In 2015, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, the current Governor of Jakarta, has established a policy to forbid any political activities on car-free-day starting April 2015 (Wardhani 2015). Therefore, Bundaran HI can be viewed as a political public space as symbolic area of contestation.

This RP (Research Paper) examines Bundaran HI as a contested space between state and civil society and among civil societies, in order to give contribution to the rising number of studies which focuses on public protests in squares around the world. The city square as a public space has become a modern site of social movement protests. Public space is used to bargain power in society (Pearce 2013: 639). Scholars analyze how civil society brings the local issue (neighbourhood) to the global (public space), for instance the protests movements in Tahrir Square (Bayat 2013), protests in Tianamen Square (Crane 1994), and the use of Taksim Square (Gül et al. 2014). Similar with those squares, Bundaran HI has become an important place for social and political actions, even if it has not been 'occupied' in the same way as the collective protests mentioned above as public events are staged in Bundaran HI for only a day without any violence, yet symbolically important.

The Contested Meanings of Bundaran HI

My RP is influenced by writers who focused on place and space such as Doreen Massey, a feminist geographer. Public space is used by citizens of a city for many different reasons, such as leisure place, meeting point, political activities, and trading. These interrelations shape the meaning of space (Massey 2005). Space is not an empty entity; it is constituted by the social, political, cultural, and economic elements, as Massey argues (1994). Moreover, time is also embedded and forms the meaning of a space.

The interrelation in public space engages many actors, such as state, private sectors, and certain public—mostly considered to be represented by civil societies. Pearce (2013: 639) mentions how a city square can facilitate to bargain power relations between state and civil society. A square can also be a

megaphone to reach broader audience, for instance middle and upper-class, as Padawangi (2013) argues. The participants can be very vast. In the Arab Spring, they were from “the urban poor, women, youth, and others resorted to ‘non-movements’” (Bayat 2013). Hence, the square opens the possibility to broaden the agents’ participation, but at the same time, it could also double the burden since there is also violence happening in the square (Harcourt 2014, Horn 2013). These are examples of how a place is given meaning from social movement perspective, something I explore further in my study of Bundaran HI.

Surveillance or Containment?

In understanding the use of this square, building from my own observations, I start from the work of Habermas and his critical writings on the public sphere and question about new forms of democratic practice. Public sphere, as Habermas (1989: 176) explains, is “made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state.” Public sphere is seen as a space for citizens to express their common interest in an arena that is institutionalized. It distances the public and the state, thus the discourse in principle can be critical to the state.

As I explore in my RP, public events that took place in Bundaran HI are not only conducted by civic protest movements, but also by the state and reactionary groups. Bundaran HI is a contested symbol of collective people’s power and can also be read as a way of protest containments. Bundaran HI, a central space for various public events, is closely monitored space under the surveillance of the state. Therefore, one question occurs, in what condition, the event itself creates new democratic forms as democratic liberation under the eye of the state, might be seen as containment as much as freedom of expression.

I am also interested in the embodied gendered experience in Bundaran HI. As Massey points out, space is not gender neutral, there are symbolic meanings in space and place that consists gender messages, and these messages explore how gender concepts are constructed (1994). Gender relations tend to be absent because the concept of gender is universalized; it is most of the times understood by male—and tend to be white—perspective. As Massey (1994: 182) says, we need to go beyond the “male body, heterosexual male experience”. I agree with Nancy Fraser’s critique to Habermas’s theory which looks at the excluded public in public sphere and points out that gender is missed in Habermas’s theory (1990: 59). She questions Habermas’ meaning of public since he used national media and national language, therefore the legitimacy of public of opinion is questioned too (Fraser 2014). As with my interpretation, she argues that Habermas defines dominant knowledge as majority or authority thinking and as a result hides the marginal’s experiences. Embedded gender experiences cannot be generalized from dominant perspective. Everyone has their own meaning and emotion while experiencing public space. It implies the situated knowledge that offered by Haraway (1988: 592), thus subjectivity is the basis of this research.

It brings me to explore social and political actions in Bundaran HI with Indonesian context. Every group has different style of using Bundaran HI, thus the interrelations shape the meaning of a space. I looked at the period

from November 2009 – June 2015 when I have myself, as a young woman protestor been involved in the anti-corruption actions and the fieldwork in Jakarta. Even these issues are not always separated, in this RP, I explore women, labour, LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender), and anti-corruption experiences of Bundaran HI as a place of political protest in modern Indonesia. ‘Women’ and ‘LGBT’ issues are chosen because they are considered closely related to gender relations. ‘Labour’ issue is chosen since it is one of the massive movements in Jakarta. Lastly, I chose anti-corruption because I had involved in the movements and it has also been an intriguing issue in Indonesia apparently. As I mentioned above, my interests are meaning-shaping of public space, contestation among actors, gender relations in terms of social and political actions in Bundaran HI within Jakarta’s context. It also can contribute to the literatures about democratic form in public space.

Questions

What role did the Bundaran HI play in the social and political actions from November 2009 to June 2015?

Subquestions

- a. How were social and political actions in Bundaran HI, particularly women, labour, LGBT, and anti-corruption issues, represented by *Kompas*, as a printed media, from November 2009 until June 2015?
- b. How were gender relations experienced in social and political actions in Bundaran HI from November 2009 until June 2015?
- c. What did the social and political actions in Bundaran HI reveal about the relationship between the state and the civil societies and among civil societies during November 2009 to June 2015?

The Map of This RP

This RP is presented in seven chapters. The *first* chapter starts with the introduction that gives the background and questions. The *second* chapter sets the scene by defining the methodologies, history of Bundaran HI, and history of the four focused issues in Indonesia. The *third* chapter shows Bundaran HI as public space as represented by *Kompas* from November 2009 to June 2015 and as seen in my observation. The *fourth* chapter explains how the social and political actions had been used Bundaran HI. The *fifth* chapter illustrates gender and embodied experience when doing actions in Bundaran HI. The *sixth* chapter illustrates how Bundaran HI is a place of contestation. I conclude this RP by summarizing the importance of Bundaran HI in the activist groups’ struggle for democracy.

Chapter 2 Setting the Stage

Let me start by setting the stage of this RP. In this chapter, I demonstrate the methodologies. I provide brief history about Bundaran HI and women, labour, LGBT, and anti-corruption movements in Indonesia to understand more about the context.

The Journey

I combined three different methodologies to answer the research questions. *First*, I looked at how media pictures Bundaran HI during the period of December 2009 to June 2015. Media coverage shows the meaning-shaping of Bundaran HI to certain public and how public shapes the meaning of it, as Stuart Hall (1997) argues. *Second*, I made conversations with mostly activists who used Bundaran HI as political actions. It is in line with what Casas-Cortés et al. said, to reveal activists' knowledge about cultural turn, semi-structured interview and participation observation should be done (2008). With a notion that these are not life stories, but only focus on certain events and groups, the conversation—the term I preferably choose rather than interview—let them speak about their experiences. Therefore, *third*, I want to complete it from my own perspective. By doing observation in Bundaran HI, I experienced the space and can tell the daily activities from my point of view.

Media: Dominant Knowledge

I used the well-known printed media, *Kompas*, to show the discourse within dominant knowledge. Easy to access in any province in Indonesia, *Kompas* is read by 2 millions people all over Indonesia as mentioned in their profile in website (Kompas.). In more detail, Nainggolan (2007: 166-167) has mentioned the varieties of *Kompas*' readers. During survey within 1998-2006, *Kompas* is read by people in their productive age, 20-50 years old, and most of them are men. More than 60% of them are in advanced formal education level; graduated with bachelor, master, and doctoral degrees. Therefore, I can conclude that *Kompas* readers are dominated by middle-class or upper-class. It might influence the way the journalists or editors make decision in writing news since they know their target of readers. It illustrates what *Kompas* means by 'public'.

As a starting point, I used *Kompas.com*, the online media. It is really helpful to map out the issues and see the trends over time. However, I decided to take printed *Kompas* as my secondary data as it can be counted on covering in-depth news since they have more time to be more analytical (Suryopratomo 2007: 249-254). Thus, I went to Pusat Informasi Kompas (Information Centre of Kompas) which archives all of the printed *Kompas* digitally. Using their computer, I used the keyword "*Bundaran Hotel Indonesia*" which also provides data with closer keywords, for example "*Bundaran HP*" or "*Bunderan HP*". Therefore, only one keyword is needed to get the data from November 2009 to June

2015. It should be noted that the news only consists events that happened in Bundaran HI, it does not cover the whole issue in other places.

I finally collected 406 news¹ from that period, and 28 of them were on the first page. I do not only have texts of the news, but also the images that related to Bundaran HI. Sometimes, printed *Kompas* only put the image that taken in Bundaran HI without putting any news there—only caption. In another moment, *Kompas* put image of an event on Bundaran HI for aligned issue, although it was not taken place there.

From the list, I classified all the news into 19 issues². The classification is based on dominant discourse in that particular news. It can be seen from the title and/or the most frequent word(s) that appeared. I acknowledge there are some overlapping issues. For example, there was an image of “Aksi Bendera Marsinah” on 10 March 2014. It can be classified as ‘labour’, ‘gender’, or/and ‘human rights’ since Marsinah is a symbol of women’s labour who had been murdered because of her fight for justice (Avonius 2008: 99). I put that news under ‘gender’ issue since it happened in “Women International Day”. I chose to put one label in each news so the issue can be tracked back and forth over the time.

The news are also used to see how the media represents the actors within four focused issues. I also used the news to do a reality check. I completed the argument from the news with what have been said in the conversation and observation.

Conversation: Their Experiences

The experiences of the activists should be revealed to understand the interrelations in public space. Therefore, I made conversation with them. Working in local NGO (Non-governmental Organization) in terms of Indonesian law and policies for six years have helped me to know the action leaders of some movements, particularly the movements of anti-corruption issue. I asked my colleagues to be the participants and asked them to recommend names. People started to recommend me names to be participants or gatekeepers as I shared my RP topic to as many people I met.

Then, I made conversation, mostly informal, with 17 people from different issues as seen in Table 1³. These people agreed to have the conversation for academic reasons. Nevertheless, the names are altered and their positions are hidden for research ethical reasons.

¹ See Appendix 1.

² See Appendix 2.

³ I chose to show the list of participants here because I want to show their identities; it is their subjectivities. I made it as an image form to reduce the words quota.

Table 1 List of Participants

NO	NAME	AGE	ORGANISATION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	ISSUE
1	Didit	42 years	Jakarta Legal Aid	8 July 2015	LGBT
2	Audrey	29 years	United Nations Population Fund Indonesia	10 July 2015	Women
3	Lexi	27 years	The Working Groups of AIDS	10 July 2015	LGBT
4	Ipul	-	Indonesian AIDS Coalition	13 July 2015	HIV/AIDS
5	Rojali	-	Indonesian AIDS Coalition	13 July 2015	HIV/AIDS
6	Dinda	39 years	Indonesian Centre of Law and Policies Studies	14 July 2014	Anti-corruption
7	Rami	39 years	Consultant in United Nations Children's Fund	22 July 2015	Anti-corruption
8	Ani	40 years	Indonesia Jentera School of Law	24 July 2015	Anti-corruption
9	Kembang	45 years	Peace Women Across the Globe Indonesia	27 July 2015	Women
10	Andaru	41 years	The Federation of Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence	30 July 2015	Human rights
11	Gede	32 years	Political party	30 July 2015	Labour
12	Jelita	35 years	Papua Itu Kita	31 July 2015	Labour
13	Berry	30 years	<i>Indo Progress</i> (Media)	31 July 2015	Labour
14	Laut	42 years	Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association	1 August 2015	LGBT
15	Cahaya	40 years	Engage Media	5 August 2015	Women
16	Riefa	36/37 years	<i>Kompas</i> (Media)	6 August 2015	Anti-corruption
17	Mira	32 years	Private university in Jakarta	7 August 2015	Urban Specialist

Source: author's table

I built relationships with them by sending text and email, explaining my RP and mentioning the gatekeeper as a starting point. Knowing some of them really well by doing actions together helped the process. I also keep a journal that I wrote before and after the conversation to explore my feelings and emotions during the conversation. By doing this, I acknowledge my subjectivity as a researcher as well.

The conversations were mostly recorded with their permission in the beginning⁴ and some of them were not recorded for technical reasons. They have been involving in several issues, even in the issues that are not the focus of this RP. I found that labelling the participants in a certain issue is problematic because it makes the movements seems rigid. However, classifying them into certain issue is needed to see the brief representation on each focused issues. Most of them are activists who focus on different issues: labour, anti-corruption, LGBT, women, human rights, and HIV/AIDS (Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). I put aside HIV/AIDS issue since I only had two participants. In order to add the variety,

⁴ I have classified the transcript of conversation into questions schemes to help me analyse, although it is not provided in this RP.

I was planning to add reactionary group to be the participants, but I only had a chance to have the recording of interviews between the gatekeeper and them. Since it was not conducted by myself, I did not use it as my data. It is one of the reasons that this research is partial.

Observation: My Experience

To give my own perspective to the space, I did observations as well. During my fieldwork, there was a long holiday in Indonesia due to Eid-al-Fitr Day that the Muslim celebrates. Many people went out of Jakarta to meet their families in their hometown as a tradition in that particular day. Mostly, offices were closed during those days. There was no car-free-day as well. One night just before the Eid-al-Fitr Day (16 July 2015) which was normally expected to be religious night event in Bundaran HI was not held this year. However, I still took the time to observe what happened in the square.

I went to Bundaran HI in another opportunities at night (25 July 2015) since I acknowledge that there is less activities in the roundabout during mid-day. I went there twice on car-free-day (26 July 2015 and 2 August 2015). Every time I went there, I always took my friends, mostly because they wanted to experience as well.

History of Bundaran HI

To understand the meaning of Bundaran HI for Indonesia and Jakarta particularly, we need to know its history. The *Selamat Datang* Monument (Welcome Monument) in the middle of roundabout, the Hotel Indonesia on the side, and Bundaran HI itself were aimed to be Jakarta's gate (Fakih 2005: 134) to greet international athletes of Asian Games that was held in Jakarta in 1962. Bundaran HI was made to show Indonesia's power as a country that is against neo-colonialism and imperialism (Adi 2015). This space is meant to show transformation of Jakarta becoming modern city (Kusno 2000: 59-60).

Selamat Datang Monument in the middle of Bundaran HI, as seen in Image 1, was meant to show national pride as well (Arcana and Nugroho 2010). It becomes one of political statements under Soekarno leadership to project his image of modern Indonesia on the international sphere. The fact that it has *Selamat Datang* Monument as symbol of Jakarta can be an artistic reason as well as an important symbol. After Soekarno leadership, the meaning shifted as seen in Figure 1 for visualization.

Image 1 Selamat Datang Monument in the Middle of Bundaran HI from Above



Source: <http://www.voucherhotel.com/travel/tahun-baru-2014/>

Figure 1 The Changing of Bundaran HI's Meaning Over Time



Source: author's figure

As Jakarta's symbol, it began to function as a place to do protests in 1997; moving from national decoration space to a socio-political space (Kusumawijaya 2009: 96). People have a space to voice their rights after Reformation Era as written on Law No. 9 of 1998 about Freedom of Expression in Public (Ministry of Law and Human Rights 1998) whereas adopted from on Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 1948. In Article 9 of the Law, demonstration is allowed, except in Presidential Palace, praying places, military installations, hospitals, airports or harbors, train stations, bus stations, and national vital objects. The importance of Bundaran HI as activism space has increased since protesting in the Presidential Palace is no longer allowed, even though there are still some actions taking place there.

Bundaran HI has been promoted as a public space starting from 2007 which was designated by local authorities through car-free-day. Every Sunday, it is closed for cars in the morning, so people can use the protocol roads⁵ to do sports. Public events, Jakarta's anniversary, or New Year Eve also took place in Bundaran HI since it is a strategic meeting point for people from all over Jakarta. It is near to shopping centres, office centres, and exclusive hotels, so a lot of people pass it by. As a result, it is easier to grab sympathy and attention if actions were held there.

History of the Movements: Women, Labour, LGBT, and Anti-Corruption

The movements of chosen issues—women, LGBT, labour, and anti-corruption—are not new in Indonesia. The constraints from New Order regime that limit the voice of civil society had decreased. To understand the recent situation, I present the context of history of each movement briefly.

Women

Recognition of women in Indonesian public sphere has been there since the beginning of the nation, even before. On 1912, there was a women organization under *Boedi Oetomo*, an organization whose goal is to obtain Indonesia's independence. The women organization's purpose was for women to have education, involve in public sphere, speak up, and reduce the inequality with men (Anwar 2004: 91-92). It was followed by Muslim women movement that encouraged women to repel their identities and concerns (Anwar 2004: 92). The women movements have been developed until post-independence period who positioned themselves to involve in politic arena under *Gervani* (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia), women's organization under communism party (Rinaldo 2008, Anwar 2004, Wieringa 2002) and brought women to be involved in various field. *Gervani* argues that women should be equal to her partner, although the main focus are being wives and mothers and offers the concept of militant motherhood (Wieringa 2002: 34). Women should "give birth" to the new nation by having responsibilities socially and economically. Women should maintain harmony and take care economy condition in the family. Wieringa sees it as power for women to be included in politic arena notion since it brings women to have equal education, labour, and citizen rights. It brings to the notion of the importance of Indonesian women's role in revolution, although women have never considered as equal partners in the national revolution.

In the 1980s, women movements seemed to be directed by the parents or the state. New Order regime created women associations to pursue their goals

⁵ According to Law No. 38 Year 2004 and Government Regulation No. 34 Year 2006 about Road, 'Protocol roads' refers to the main roads in a city that passed through by public transportation, have certain width, and the speed of transportation that passing through this roads should not below 30 km/h.

under the state called Dharma Wanita (Wieringa 2002: 33). Anwar (2004) argues that, women still had their agency to reach women's interests. Still, the movements did not challenge the inequality of gender relations. Anwar also mentions that women tended to not explicitly voice their rights since it would be considered as impolite (2004: 108). However, women movements in this era were successful to "form the backbone of the 1990s democracy movement" as Rinaldo argues (2008: 1785-1786).

The intriguing event on public space, particularly in Bundaran HI happened on February 1998. It is called "milk protest" that was done by women activists due to the rising price of milk (Budianta 2003, Padawangi 2013). Even it only lasted for 20 minutes, the protest was covered by national media, got attention, and ended by the prosecution of two female activists by the police. I also notice that the "milk protest" has brought domestic issue to public sphere and showed women's participation and their decision making role in public space. Nowadays, women participation in public space, as in Bundaran HI, is seen. Women's issues have been brought out in Bundaran HI, such as the rights of domestic workers (mostly women) and resistance of pornography bills that control women's activities and appearances.

Labour

Reformation on 1998 changed labour movement in Indonesia. From 1970s until Soeharto's resignation, the workers had been limited to organize themselves due to industrial system (Ford 2001). It got worse on 1985 when labour federation changed to "single, unity, state-sanctioned trade union" by Minister of Manpower (Ford 2001: 102). It became an obstacle for the workers to speak up since it was under domination of the state. Ford also argues that this exclusion might be caused by the internationally-sanctioned imperative of Development, Stability, and Modernization in terms of cost effective workforce (2001).

Reformation has also brought notion to non-traditional labour oriented NGOs. Hadis, as cited in Ford (2001), explains that there were middle-class-led NGOs that focused on social issues in general. Labour was only one of their focuses since they thought the workers needed to be empowered and enlightened. Regardless the structure, it should be noted as a part of labour movements. Moreover, international aids had contacts with the NGOs, thus they had bargaining power to defy the state than domestic mass organizations.

The increase of labour movements after Reformation Era can be seen from the establishment of Decision No. 201 of 1999 that opened the opportunity for the union (Ford 2001). It states that workers can join any union based on their needs. Moreover, in General Election on 1999, there were four labour parties participated (Ford 2001). This can be considered as an achievement because on New Order regime, the connection to the unions had been limited through party system, while it had a strong connection in Soekarno era (Caraway 2004: 30). Even so, Spinal as cited by Caraway (2004: 29) says that labour movements had never been an important element in the process of democratic transformation.

LGBT

LGBT is not a new concept in Indonesian culture. In cultural practices, there are rituals that include transgender. It is accepted by cultural norms in certain village and for certain people (Oetomo 2006). However, it is not depicted in social life; they are portrayed as invisible gender.

Suvianita explains that LGBT movements started in 1969 when the first *waria*⁶ organization was established with the support of Jakarta governor at that time, Ali Sadikin and Surabaya also has LGBT organization starting from 1978 (2013). After New Order regime, there was a women's congress. In that opportunity, there was a discussion to fight sexual identity (Suvianita 2013). When it came to the struggle of their rights, LGBT groups tended to represent themselves as individual rather than their identity as a group (Suvianita 2013), while lesbian groups are more exclusive rather than transgender and gay groups. Ministry of Law and Human Rights declared LGBT as a special group that needs to be protected in 2004 (Suvianita 2013), but the stigma keeps going.

In 2010, there were attacks on LGBT movements by reactionary groups as mentioned by Liang (2010). It was not a surprise because LGBT groups have been struggling with the discrimination towards their identities. Oetomo wrote that LGBT groups relatively experienced discriminative behaviour, such as threat, violence, forced to shave to bald and harassment; they are forced to live in gender construction that fits the society (2006). This discriminative behaviour does not only come from society, but also from the apparatus. Religion leaders also frightens the society by saying LGBT is a sin (Oetomo 2006). Therefore, LGBT groups tend to live in oppression.

Anti-Corruption

The effort to eradicate corruption has been started since Old Order regime. It was seen in New Order too, although the corruption that happened in this regime is called as the cause of the financial crisis in 1998. Like other movements, Reformation Era brought fresh air for anti-corruption movement. In 1998, ICW (Indonesia Corruption Watch) was established. This NGO wants to fill the emptiness of public control due to the fierce of corruption level in Indonesia (Indonesia Corruption Watch. 2015) and there are small opportunities for public to be involved.

Corruption is getting worse when regional autonomy established in Indonesia. The bureaucracy has extended the opportunity for corruption to occur. Then, other NGOs whose concern are in anti-corruption movements emerged too. ICW has made networks among them and also with the media. Alhumami, a PhD scholar, mentions in his dissertation about anti-corruption that anti-corruption activists tend to be led by middle-class and represent typical urban-educated elites (2012: 162).

⁶ *Waria* stands for *wanita pria* that literally means 'lady boy' that refers to transgender. Transgenders themselves also use the same term, as I found in the conversation with them.

Even though the NGOs play an important role, the effort to eradicate corruption was not only coming from them. The state also established KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi) which is in the spotlight. It was shaped on the basis of Law No. 32 of 2002 on Corruption Eradication Commission (Ministry of Law and Human Rights 2002). The success of KPK in gaining trust from public through eradicating numbers of corruption in Indonesia resulted in efforts to weaken the commission. The biggest was attempt happened in 2009 by criminalizing the KPK's leaders. It raised people supports for KPK and made the anti-corruption movements considered as the massive one.

Reformation Era has given more space to express public's voices. The movements have increased since then in line with the rise of NGOs in Indonesia. The history of those movements is going to be used to set context of the analysis using the methodologies explained in this chapter.

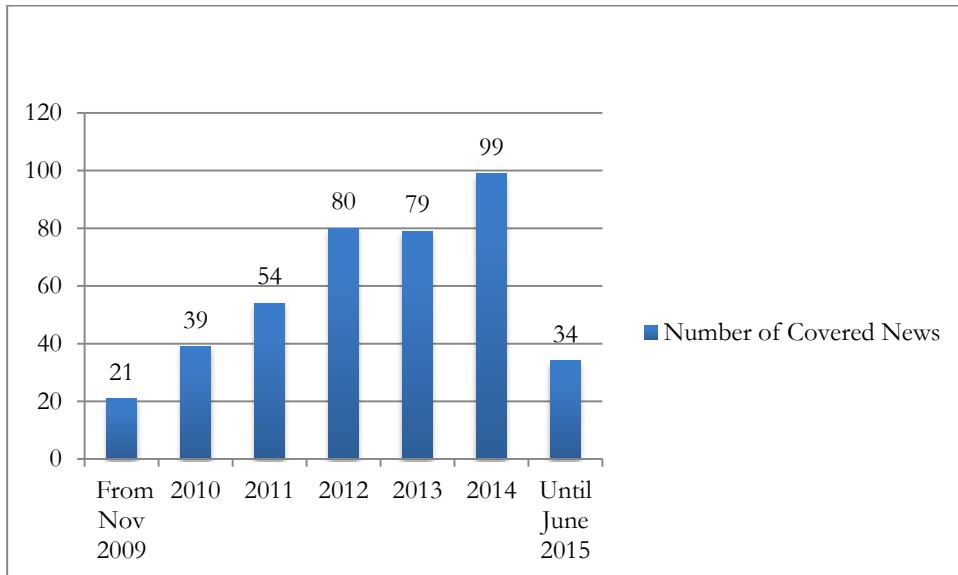
Chapter 3 Seeing Bundaran HI as Public Space

During my research I took note of how Bundaran HI's function as public space is questioned. When I had a conversation with Mira, an urban specialist, she asked me, "Is it a public space?"⁷ She thought that it is not a public space since it is only used in special occasions, not daily activities. The meaning of public space is determined by daily activities (Padawangi 2013). I would contest her statement since *Kompas* had covered the daily activities in Bundaran HI and in my observations. In this chapter, I explore Bundaran HI as public space as seen by *Kompas* and my observation.

What *Kompas* Had Implied

Kompas has contributed a lot in shaping the meaning of Bundaran HI. The media helps people to acknowledge their collective identities (Anderson 2006) and collective memories. *Kompas* covered news of Bundaran HI which had relatively increased from November 2009 to June 2015 as seen in Figure 2. The numbers on 2009 and 2015 are not the numbers for the whole year, but they still show that the interactions in Bundaran HI have shaped more meaning. This part only mentions general facts from a view of media, the detailed information can be seen in the whole part of this RP.

Figure 2 Number of Covered News from November 2009 until June 2015



Source: author's figure

⁷ Conversation with Mira (7 August 2015).

There are some possibilities that caused the relatively increased number of coverage number regarding activities at Bundaran HI in *Kompas*. *First*, there are more and more activities held in Bundaran HI because there were more people who did activities there or there were more issues that took place in Bundaran HI. *Second*, there are more journalists using Bundaran HI as their basecamp as confirmed by Riefa (anti-corruption)⁸, one of the senior journalists of *Kompas*. Being in the same place helps the journalists to share information, therefore it gives more opportunities to get covered, as he added. Bundaran HI is getting more recognition as important public space than before and it is gained acknowledge from extended public—*Kompas*' readers.

The high coverage number of certain issues from each year explains the context. Seeing the list of issues in Appendix 2, 'democracy' has the highest number of coverage because there was General Election in 2014 and both candidates did several campaigns in Bundaran HI. 'Labour'—as known as massive movement—also has high number and it increases each year. Media covered the traffic plan before the event and the report afterwards. 'Traffic and transportation' has been on the spotlight since MRT (Mass Rapid Transportation) construction started. Bundaran HI will also be the main station of MRT.

The reason Bundaran HI built in the first place is actually in line with how it has been used by some groups which tried to represent Indonesia's position toward global issues. These global issues were mentioned on some news that covered international affairs. There was the protest toward Australia's statement that mentioned its help to Aceh's tsunami as an attempt to bargain its position regarding Indonesian policy of execution of a drug dealer from Australia (nta et al. 2015). Then, a few solidarity actions showing support to Gaza, Palestine issue (apa and wie 2010, mth et al. 2010). Bundaran HI was also used as a place to greet international visitors like Mayor of London (fro et al. 2014a, Adi 2015).

The actors that involved in Bundaran HI were also varies: the state, private sector, certain public groups, and civil societies. The state tends to socialize their program in Bundaran HI and private sectors promote their products through diverse activities (Julianto 2009). Then, who does *Kompas* mean by 'public'? They interviewed the actions' participants and explained to the readers who they were. For instance, they mentioned 'employees', 'civil servants', and 'academics' (Arif 2009); they also mentioned 'religious leaders' (Tim Kompas 2009). Another example was shown through an old man who brought a poster in Bundaran HI that written he wanted to sell his liver to pay his daughter's education (luk 2013). Through media, civil society also invited elite politics for joining them in Bundaran HI to show the eagerness of fighting corruption (ana et al. 2009). Therefore, *Kompas* represented 'public' as certain people from various backgrounds with multiple identities. There is an intersectionality that shown in *Kompas*.

Kompas did not mention LGBT directly in relation to Bundaran HI. There was news about prevention of a HIV/AIDS. In an article published on 3 December 2010, transgenders are positioned as sex workers who have HIV/AIDS. It reaffirmed the stigma of transgenders in the society as men-

⁸ Conversation with Riefa (6 August 2015).

tioned by Suvianita (2013: 130), “*Waria* are often identified as people who can only sell sex and seen as scum.” Their movements’ existence is covered in the media implicitly, but it exists underneath different issues. The way *Kompas* considers politic culture and social values, as Parera mentions (2007: 32), strengthened the stigma of the LGBT. Suvianita said, now, *waria* is not accepted as they used to be. As marginal group, they were forced to suit social perception about gender constructed (Suvianita 2013: 130) by the government, communities, and families, and particularly in this context, by the media. The influence of religious ideology towards LGBT should be explored more, but it is not part of this RP discussion.

It is interesting to see how *Kompas* portrayed terrorism. There was a picture in *Kompas* showing a suspicious box found in Bundaran HI (Widiantoro 2011a). There was no terrorism indicator on that picture and the caption, not a single word mentioned about terrorism. However, there was news on the same day related to terrorism that did not happen in Jakarta (faj et al. 2011). In that article, *Kompas* used the suspicious box as an image. Therefore, implicitly, *Kompas* related the box with terrorism.

Let me jump to the reactionary groups. They were represented as solidarity actions to Palestine (apa and wie 2010, mth et al. 2010) and save Papua (Pransiska 2011). They also demanded the state to disband *Abmadiyah* (ato et al. 2011, Widiantoro 2011b, bil et al. 20011) because they thought it deviated from original Islam’s way of life. Another reactionary group held a protest to ban Lady Gaga’s concert in Jakarta because they thought she insulted Muslim culture by showing her body (bro and rts 2012). Reactionary groups also protested at the rise of gasoline price (WHY et al. 2013). However, there has been reaction towards reactionary groups in Bundaran HI when it was demanded to disband a particular reactionary group for human rights reason as they were violent (Pransiska 2012).

Seeing the news coverage, there is no doubt that media plays an important role in public events. It helps extending the public—even still excluded people who do not read *Kompas*—and shaping the public discourse. It has confirmed by the activists that they invited media to their events. “*Media coverage should be the most important thing,*” emphasized Rami (anti-corruption) as an anti-corruption activist.⁹ They even have a designated personnel to make press release, invite all media, send the press release to media.¹⁰ *Kompas* often cited what action coordinators said. As for the activists, covered by printed media is an achievement.¹¹

The media has power to produce knowledge through the news based on their framing and leave memories by archiving documentation. However, Padawangi says, “Media influence could not protect activists in urban public space” (2013: 854). The importance of media for the activists raises a question about media’s power in terms of the events: does the media have power over the movements?

⁹ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

¹⁰ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

¹¹ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

The activists' concentration on mainstream media might decrease the importance of their own media. McCarthy et al. that cited by Adams (2002) share the same argument. They criticized acknowledgement of national media that could not voice certain public needs. The movement alternative media—zine, documentation, blogs, tabloids, or website—can be a space that produces the movement's knowledge over time. However, I noticed that the report of the events could be seen from social media that posted from the activists' personal accounts or organization's account. It could be seen as an alternative. Nevertheless, it tends to be more externalized, instead of internalized. Even though I note the advantages of being published in national media to gain movement visibility, it also opens the possibility to make the meaning-shaping of their cultural turn has less value (Casas-Cortés et al. 2008).

Daily Activities

I observed daily activities in Bundaran HI. Many people came to the square by bike or motorcycle with their friends or family. They sat on the edge of Bundaran HI. In order to get there, they had to cross a road full of cars without any zebra-crossing—actually a dangerous undertaking. They just sat and enjoyed the foods or drinks. They also take picture of themselves with *Selamat Datang* Monument as the background.

Some street vendors were on the sidewalk or biking around Bundaran HI. Their presence is not supported by the state. The disapproval is not stated through written policy, but through actions when the apparatus asked them to leave or—as mention in *Kompas*—some pots were put on the side of pedestrian bridge to avoid getting occupied by street vendors (Pransiska 2014a). Although it is not part of this RP questions, I keep the story about street vendors because I do not want to exclude them, as the state did, in my RP.

There was a man who gives a meaning to Bundaran HI as seen in my personal note.

I was watching a man with the hat that I saw earlier. He took some water from the fountain and put it on a plastic glass. While sitting on the edge of Bundaran HI, he washed his hands, legs, and everything with his clothes on. After finished doing those things, he went again to the fountain. Using the same plastic glass, he bathed his head with the water.¹²

Even it was only one person, knowing that he comes there everyday as a routine¹³ can be seen as a strategy to facilitate his need of water. There is another option to get water, but it needs cost, such getting water in the gas station. Bundaran HI is a place that has no barrier to access water freely, even though it is not clean water. It is one way to see strategic action to live in Jakarta.

Issue of security occurred as well. There were accidents in Bundaran HI (rts et al. 2012, rts and bro 2012, fro and mdn 2012). Pickpockets on car-free-day were also mentioned as one of the insecurities in Bundaran HI. Therefore,

¹² Note from fieldwork (16 July 2015).

¹³ Conversation with the street vendor (25 July 2015).

there is a police station that located in Bundaran HI as seen in Image 2 that makes some people feel safe.¹⁴

Image 2 Police Station in Bundaran HI



Source: Fieldwork (2 August 2015); edited by the author

It brings a notion that some people count on the police in terms of security. Yet, it also can be seen as surveillance from the state, particularly in doing political actions.

This chapter explains how *Kompas* portrayed social and political actions in Bundaran HI in general, and it is also supported by my personal observation. It also points out that Bundaran HI has been important space symbol for social and political actions which is going to be explored in the next chapter.

¹⁴ Note from fieldwork (25 July 2015).

Chapter 4 Political Actions in Bundaran HI

This chapter captures how Bundaran HI is used for political actions in terms of women, labour, LGBT, and anti-corruption issues. I explore this through conversations and media. Division of tasks in political actions, alliance-building among the civil societies, exclusion and exclusivity, the best time for doing actions, art involvement in activism, and funding the actions are the topics that can be found in this chapter.

The Role of Spokeperson

Most of the event participants mentioned the role of spokesperson in each event. Usually, they are the same people as field coordinator that are also considered as leaders. It is a voluntary role, but it tends to be a person with experiences and networks. In further thought, there is an expert in this area that creates a new profession for a person who is assumed to be “know how”. It reaffirmed the monolithic of knowledge.

The spokesperson should explain the meaning and goals of the event to the journalists, and answer their questions. Audrey (women) as women activist said, *“Later, if this person is interviewed, the answer won’t be different.”*¹⁵ With her shiny eyes, she told me about an interesting thing: one of the action participants got interviewed by the journalist and answered it correctly—as if there is a correct answer.

“A journalist randomly interviewed women who pretended to be pregnant. They could answer why they were there; because they want to have children. They did not want their reproduction right is violated. They did not need to understand that there was something wrong with the policy, but with that simple message, it was able to explain the reason they want to go to the street.”¹⁶

I can see why it was so intriguing for her since it implies the knowledge has been well-conveyed. The action participants answered the questions as activists wanted, if I do not want to say “correctly”. That amusement might come from an assumption that only the leaders own the knowledge. I find there is a trust issue between the activists who tend to be the leaders and the participants who are considered as public. Are the participants considered just as resource? I questioned this based on Prentoulis and Thomaasen, they question participants’ subjectivities (2013). It departs from an assumption that the action itself emerged from the sense they do not have a voice and do not have a space to voice their rights (Prentoulis and Thomassen 2013: 168). Then, in the protest, they seemed, implicitly, still do not have the voice since that role only belongs to the spokesperson. Should not the actions be claimed as their space to speak? As the action participants is diverse that have different interests, needs, and

¹⁵ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

¹⁶ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

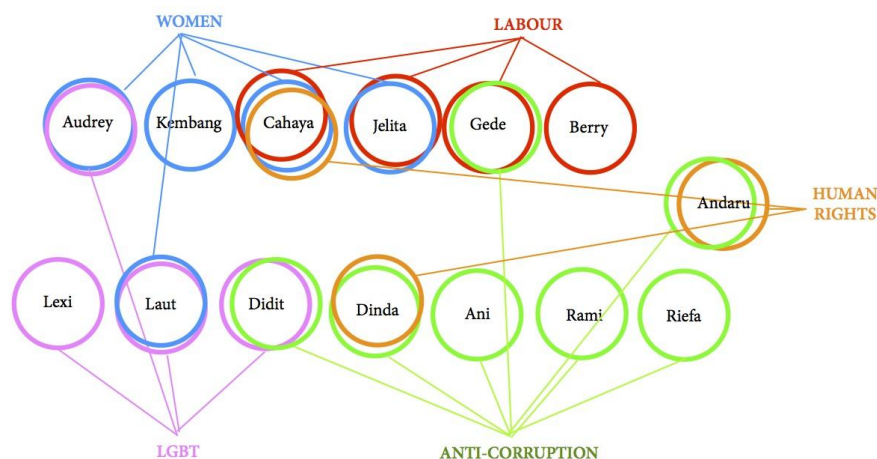
experiences, the role of spokesperson might hide the heterogeneity amongst them since they come up as one voice that represented by the leaders. The contestation of spokesperson implies the hierarchy form as cited in Prentoulis and Thomaasen (2013: 177). However, agency is not fully absent.

It shows during actions, participants will give a speech voluntarily. Audrey (women) explained, “*The orators are usually spontaneous. Suddenly, every one has eager to speak in public.*”¹⁷ She added that usually when *waria* and women did the oration, they started by telling about their personal lives before stating their demands to the state. The anti-corruption groups have similar experiences. In the event on 8 November 2009, there were many people—mostly public figures—who wanted to be on the stage in Bundaran HI. However, Ani (anti-corruption) as action leader practiced her power by deciding whom could go to the stage through acknowledging their track records. It shows the strategy to keep the actions within ‘clean’ people who are not corrupted. These illustrate that people express their agency by coming to Bundaran HI and in speaking they are creating a form of democratic expression, even if the question of public representation remains.

Alliance Building

The diversity of people using Bundaran HI can be seen in *Kompas*. I acknowledge the overlapping issues in news. The four focused issues are not always separate too. This overlapping news implies the alliance-building. Alliance building is also seen within the participants with whom I spoke as seen in Figure 3. Even if it does not represent the whole picture, the figure shows that people tend to be involved in more than one issue. I also notice that this alliance might be a result of the snow-ball method. However, it still tells us something since the alliance is confirmed by *Kompas* too.

Figure 3 Overlapping Issues of the Participants



Source: Author's Figure

¹⁷ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

Alliance building can increase the level of movement success, as written by Beamish and Luebbbers (2009: 647). It can be a part of resource mobilization and develop strategies (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010) and inclusion of divergent gender, class, culture, therefore it implies intersectionality as well. Many studies have shown the strategy in coalition-building as cited in Beamish and Luebbbers (2009). It brings the notion of cultural experience and ideology which play important roles. They also add that external factors, protests events, and organizational characteristics tend to be the reason of successful coalition and alliances (2009: 649). It emerges the bounding among groups.

The alliance is built with other issues outside focused issues, such as democracy, health, and youth. Alliance can be seen, for example, in ‘women’ and ‘labour’ issues. To reaffirm that ideology has important role in alliance building (Beamish and Luebbbers 2009), it brings me the notion that ‘LGBT’ and ‘women’ issues should be aligned more. Cahaya (women), a women activist, told me,

“In LGBT context, gay men should be treated different to heterosexual men since they have difference in social structures. ... They have to join in women's movement. The issue is the same, we fight patriarchy. Why are they oppressed? It is because of heteronormativity.”¹⁸

Alliance building is part of their strategies and interests. Not only that, they need to keep the issue on the spotlight. Kembang (women) as women activist said, *“The issue about women workers can gather women activists and labour activists. It's not because we differ the issue, but we have different focus.”*¹⁹ I took that as an interest to keep the division of issue among activists. Cahaya (women) told me why activists need to be in a certain issue in terms of advocacy through social media. *“I always say, you have to be consistent in issue that has been the focus of your organization. It does not mean you don't show solidarity, but to make the issue not drowning, the strategy must be right.”*²⁰

In some cases, alliance also made certain groups seemed to be excluded. Laut (LGBT), a transgender activist, felt she had never been invited to other issues, except ‘gender’ and ‘health’.²¹ There could be another possibility, it is not excluded; they just are not explicitly visible. Responding to this, Jelita (labour) told me, *“Transgender can't be seen in labour actions. ... But, the active people, who mobilize the workers, there are a lot of lesbians. Not many, but there are some.”*²² Andaru (human rights) mentioned, *“If a transgender attended (an event), (it is) not because as a representation, but she came just because she was into the issue. It is not because they were not there, but they were not acknowledged.”*²³ Suvianita mentions the invisibility of lesbian group; organizing lesbian is not as easy as organizing gay and transgender since they are more closed or exclusive as a group (2013: 133). However, I realize that they should not be forced to have singular identity. It actually shows the intersectionality and multiple identities; they can be part of LGBT and labour at the same time without reclaiming themselves explicitly.

¹⁸ Conversation with Cahaya (5 August 2015).

¹⁹ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

²⁰ Conversation with Cahaya (5 August 2015).

²¹ Conversation with Laut (1 August 2015).

²² Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

²³ Conversation with Andaru (30 July 2015).

Is It Exclusion or Exclusivity?

It raised a question, are some groups really exclusive thus excluded another group? Rami (anti-corruption) as anti-corruption action leader admitted, “*We were so exclusive, but at the end, somehow it was successful making people feel that they had contribution. They have a sense of belonging.*”²⁴ I tried to give another question in order to know what kind of exclusivity that she meant. She explained to me that the plan was arranged only by certain people, individually, not representing any institution. After the plan was formed, they offered it to the institutions, celebrities, and their friends later who agreed with their plan and helped them made it real. This event on November 2009 is known as the massive movement that includes various elements to participate at the end. Riefa (anti-corruption), as a senior journalist who covered anti-corruption event in 2009, reaffirmed, “*Various elements were there. Artists, politicians, youth, facebookers, labour, children. ... There were variety of age, people, interest, gender. ... It was interesting to see Tionghoa²⁵ high school students.*”²⁶

Cahaya (women) explained to me that women movement is criticized as womencentric.

“They said it is very vaginacentris. I admitted it, yes. But, it is a tricky situation. We need to involve men, for example, if we want to talk about stop violence. But, we do not always do that. In a certain level, men dominate women's movement—that is the thing which is rejected by women activists, they cannot accept it. This is the only movement that we got, why is it dominated by men as well?”²⁷

I see the binary; gender is assumed as women and men. So, where is the place for LGBT? Is this also the same reason why LGBT group are not really aligned with LGBT group? However, LGBT maintains the exclusivity.

LGBT activists said that they do not open the invitation of actions publicly. They tended to tell people who they really know. This one was quoted from Lexi (LGBT), a transgender activist, “*We have a formal group for LGBT on Facebook. Actually, it is a closed-group, it should be verified. We see who wants to join first. Do we know them? If we don't know them, we won't approve them. It is for security reason.*”²⁸ The security reason is occurred in women issue too. Kembang (women)—a women activist—mentioned, usually they wore the same attributes as members' signs. If a person did not wear the attribute, that person could not join them, except she/he was introduced to the field coordinator.²⁹ I see it as an obstacle to build alliance with other groups from different issues. It could be

²⁴ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

²⁵ Riefa emphasized Tionghoa—a term refers to Chinese ethnicity—because they were experienced exclusion, even violence, in Indonesia. See Purdey, J. (2006) *Anti-Chinese Violence in Indonesia: 1996-99*. University of Hawaii Press.

²⁶ Conversation with Riefa (6 August 2015).

²⁷ Conversation with Cahaya (5 August 2015).

²⁸ Conversation with Lexi (10 July 2015).

²⁹ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

the reason they felt uninvited in other issues. Nevertheless, I do understand their reason to be exclusive and it is important: safety.

Even though it rarely happened, but there were some people who pretended to be one of them and at the end, they could do harm or speak for their own interest to the media. One of the moments that Kembang (women) shared was,

“Once, *One Billion Rising* was in Bundaran HI. One person came and stepped on the flyers intensively, then tore them up. He looked like want to provoke a clash, but then he was brought to the police station. After that, we have been kind of strict when hold actions.”³⁰

Therefore, the question should not be only directed to other groups, but to the security system that leads to democracy. Should not people feel safe when they voice their rights in public as written in the Law No. 9 of 1998 about Freedom of Expression in Public (Ministry of Law and Human Rights 1998)?

Knowledge of Timing

The activists have knowledge about timing in doing social and political actions. Sunday is the most preferable day within car-free-day, so extra effort to gather people is not needed. However, this opportunity is not seen only by the NGOs or civil society, but also by private sectors to promote their products and the state to socialize their programs.

LGBT has other knowledge about timing. When I was talking to Didit (LGBT)³¹, a gay activist, he said that they have a constraint to do the event on Friday since it is the time for Friday praying.³² They realise reactionary groups tend to gather for pray, so the risk to be blocked or intruded increases. I notice it is only experienced by LGBT activists, others had never mentioned this strategy. I assume this kind of strategy is based on their bad experiences, as Laut (LGBT), a transgender activist, told me, “*It (assaults) did happened, but not in Bundaran HI. It was waria contest and they came. Violence.*”³³ Albeit, they should be protected by the law. In 2004, LGBT is put under special groups that need to be protected and it was written on the National Act Plan on Human Rights (Suvianita 2013: 134). The commitment from the state, particularly from Ministry of Law and Human Rights, should be questioned.

Not only the day, there is also preferable time to do actions. Kembang (women), a gender activist, told me,

“Because at 9.00-11.00 a.m., we know the journalists are looking for news. ... Usually, at noon, President makes statements or DPR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat) holds press conference, so we have to do the actions before that. ...

³⁰ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

³¹ Conversation with Didit (8 July 2015).

³² Friday praying is weekly pray that have done by Moslem men in the midday at the mosque.

³³ Conversation with Lexi (10 July 2015).

There cannot be more than three actions at the same time which we can see when we ask permission to the police.”³⁴

Actually, the police cannot prohibit or ban any action; it is written information, not permission. Public has right to be protected while voicing their rights, as mentioned in Article 5 (Ministry of Law and Human Rights 1998). However, there are some procedures, for instance they need to give information to the police at least 3x24 hours before the action took place.

The actions often happened at night as well. Usually, it related to solidarity (ush 2010, Kusuma 2014), environment (bro and K07 2013, Prabowo 2011), or contemplation (win 2012, Ichwan 2013a, edn 2013, Ichwan 2013b, Pransiska 2014b). When I asked all of the participants, they said, at night, there was almost no difference than actions in the morning or afternoon, but there were less people.³⁵

Art

Emotions, through art, facilitate communication across society. Art symbols and meanings can reach a broad audience. Milbrandt has emphasized that it is seen as unthreatening, so people can be less violent (2010). It appeals to people and can encourage them to join the actions. Laut (LGBT), as transgender activist, said that people stopped because they were attracted by the dancing or jingle. *Kompas* also captured a moment in labour actions, a couple of cars brought speakers with music on and people started to dance (nel et al. 2011). They do not have to have same reason to be there; it does not have to be the spirit fighting for social justice. People also have interest to see their idols who perform there too.

The action is something that in the process, in line with Maeckelbergh said “doing is believing” (2011). The decision to join the movement is rather based on emotional reason than ideological (Adams 2002, Ryan 2015). Adams explains the emotions and the relationship bring people to join the movement (2002). It helps to encourage the sense of belonging, not only participating in the movement, as Rami (anti-corruption)—an anti-corruption action leader—said.³⁶ The sense of belonging might occur because the existence of art help the process. It encourages social interactions, includes more people making arts, and pushes people to find creative ways. For instance, LGBT movement borrowed the sound system from street musicians for the actions.³⁷ It opens the possibility to make social interactions becomes wider.

Art also shaped the collective identities. I am going to use anti-corruption action in 2009 as an example again because it was the first popular campaign—using arts—in that issue, as Rami (anti-corruption) claimed.³⁸ The anti-

³⁴ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

³⁵ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015), Jelita (31 July 2015), and Laut (1 August 2015).

³⁶ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

³⁷ Conversation with Lexi (10 July 2015).

³⁸ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

corruption issue had a chain of strategies to do the campaign. The actions in Bundaran HI were part of it, after they made street murals with anti-corruption messages and some performances in other public spaces. Having murals in the streets shows their identities on the city, as McLuhan was cited in Alhumami (2012: 196), “The medium is the message.”

Anti-corruption movements also used ringtone and songs to shape collective identities. Alhumami (2012: 192) cited Eyerma & Jamisaon; Clayton, Herbert & Middleton say, “music and song are central to the growth of modern critical culture, ranging from social movement to cultural change in a society.” It is in line with what Reed says that social movement is one of the keys to shape the collective identities, as cited by Milbrandt (2010). Art allows people to express their local identities through different language. Marzuki—known as Kill the DJ—sang a rap song in Javanese language, instead of Indonesian language, about anti-corruption in Bundaran HI as seen in Image 3. It illustrates that political actions in public space do not have to be in single shared language, as Fraser’s critique to Habermas (2014: 12).

Image 3 Marzuki's Performance in Bundaran HI was Covered by Kompas

Suara Anggodo Jadi Pembuka Lagu Rap

“Oyo iku kan duwe konco dek kene, Bos. Tapi lek sitoke nek dilebokno saiki, yo tak pateni neng njero...”

(Oyo itu kan memiliki teman di sini, Bos. Kalau yang satu dimasukkan (penjara) sekarang, ya saya bunuh di dalam....)

Suara rekaman telepon Anggodo Widjojo yang diputar di Mahkamah Konstitusi itu menjadi pembuka lagu berirama rap yang dinyanyikan Marzuki “Kill the DJ”, musikus dari Yogyakarta, di Bundaran Hotel Indonesia, Jakarta, Minggu (8/11).



Source: *Kompas*, 9 November 2009

It does not mean that the existence of arts in general in Bundaran HI is not limited. In 2011, there was Jakarta Biennale that planned to put giant artworks in Bundaran HI. The action failed, as written in *Kompas*, due to permission issue (Wisanggeni 2011).

I also argue that art is one of the elements that shaped the collective memories. For example, Image 4 was shared and used in anti-corruption campaign as profile picture in their social media accounts. Dittmar and Entin (2010) says, “Seeing the same revolutionary posters, over and over again, affirmed a community and a shared history of struggle” (Dittmar and Entin 2010: 5) and can be told to the other people.

Image 4 The Image I Made that Being Used for Anti-Corruption Campaign



Source: personal documentation - 2012

Social and political actions are not always about anger towards social justice that is expressed within oration and fists in the air. The action participants also have emotions (Horn 2013) that let them to feel the pleasure and enjoy the time while advocating social justice. Arts let them to have that, so they can maintain their energy and effort, as Milbrandt (2010) said. Four issues did some performances, put the bands on the stage, read poem, and did flash mob, thus people could sing and dance with them or at least got a pleasure time. It argues Lee's statements that said model of activism in Jakarta tends to be masculine by giving political speeches and orations, women are expected to be wild as men, have potential to do violence and militant (2011: 946). The existence of art—if masculinity is only seen by those things, although I do not agree with the idea—in Bundaran HI shows that there is another way to do actions. Art helps them to speak in universal language.

Funding

The independency is shown in the way the activists funded their actions. Labour movements used their monthly contributions—that was given to the labour union. Their contributions were used to rent transportation; in some unions, beverages were provided as well. Anti-corruption movements relied on the charity and chip-in method. *"We got helped from people, a lot. For example, the stage should be very expensive, but we only had to pay 20% and the sound (system) as well ... It was personal help,"*³⁹ Rami (anti-corruption) explained. Kembang (women) said similar things about women movements, *"We used chip-in method. How much money can each person give? Usually, it was used to make banners, posters, and mineral water, snacks. Some (people) donate their money or (gave) 100 pins, for example."*⁴⁰ This

³⁹ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

⁴⁰ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

method of funding depicts some groups are self-funded. It implies that political activism is institutionalized since they have to coordinate among themselves. Nevertheless, it implies that they still need funding to do actions.

To fulfil the need of funding, one of the strategies is people with financial capital needed. It makes sense for anti-corruption movements since they are known as middle-class group as confirmed by the Dinda (anti-corruption)⁴¹ and Ani (anti-corruption) who said, “*Many of them were middle-class because they had access to social media. But, some of them fortunately were there too.*”⁴² Riefa (anti-corruption), a journalist, added, “*... people who are well educated and full of awareness because anti-corruption is elitist’s issue.*”⁴³ Rami (anti-corruption) reaffirmed this statement while telling preparation, the meetings to plan strategies were done in the cafes or restaurants that are not cheap.⁴⁴ It is in line with the context, Alhumami said NGOs of anti-corruption are filled with educated people and middle-class (2012: 154).

The funding gives an effect on how they did the actions. Jelita (labour), a labour activist, shared her experience,

“For labours, actions are recreations. Seriously. First, they don’t have to spend money to go to Jakarta. ... Second, it is time for them to go outside their place of living. They can meet friends on the bus. Because they don’t have any time for something else, they always work. They earn low wages.”⁴⁵

This situation had confirmed by *Kompas* on the interview, “*Once in a while, (we) fight for our destiny while travelling with family. When can we, small people like us, walk in this protocol road that is always full of luxury cars?*” (Alexey 2010). Political actions are considered as one of their strategies to cope with their situation.

This kind of situation has almost never happened in actions that considered as middle-class arena. I do not mean they do not have other motives than the struggle itself, but they seem do not have to cope with the situation of the needs of recreation and do picnic while doing actions, except that is the way they do the protest as “Take Back the Night”⁴⁶ event. Berry (labour), a middle-class action participant who experienced the May Day once said, “*They were all different from me, the social status and the way they make a joke, I have never experienced something like that.*”⁴⁷ It shows there is class issue.

This chapter shows how the knowledge in political actions in Bundaran HI was produced by the activists and how those political actions were portrayed by *Kompas*. It helps to answer the role Bundaran HI plays in the social and political actions from November 2009 to June 2015 by acknowledging the activists’ experiences (Maeckelbergh 2011, Casas-Cortés et al. 2008). The experiences in Bundaran HI are not gender neutral, thus it will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴¹ Conversation with Dinda (14 July 2015).

⁴² Conversation with Ani (24 July 2015).

⁴³ Conversation with Riefa (6 August 2015).

⁴⁴ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

⁴⁵ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

⁴⁶ Conversation with Cahaya (5 August 2015).

⁴⁷ Conversation with Berry (31 July 2015).

Chapter 5 Bundaran HI: Gender and Embodied Experience

Experiencing Bundaran HI should be seen subjectively. The experience depends on how people express their identities in public space. Since gender is socially constructed, the way men and women experienced their embodied is different and later it is brought to their political experiences, as noted by Massey (1994). This chapter will explore how women, men, and transgenders appear in the Bundaran HI, how they divide the activist tasks according to gendered meanings of body and self, and whether the issue of personal security is based on gender and embodied experiences in Bundaran HI. I examine this through media, conversations, and my own reflections and experiences in Bundaran HI.

Attributes and Appearances

Attributes can be a symbol of message of the action messages. Household-workers gave away napkins in Bundaran HI (K112 2013) to remind people who brought it home about household-workers' rights. Why napkins? It is a thing that is related to household-workers. Household-workers, mostly women, tended to wear attributes that associate themselves with domestic sphere, such as taking care of children and cooking, as seen in Image 5.

Image 5 Women Labour Protested about Minimum Wage in Bundaran HI



Source: *Kompas*, 22 April 2014

Appearance also can be a strategy for particular groups due to security reason. Women issue tend to use the same shirt, pin, headband, or ribbon as their identity to avoid any intruder among themselves. In one protest about sterilization for women with HIV/AIDS, they wore masks to hide their identity as beneficiaries. Audrey (women), as women action leader, told me,

“It is your (beneficiaries) choice. You want to show up as yourself or you are uncomfortable and choose wearing pollution mask. Therefore, we always provide the masks because we never knew whose pictures will be taken by the media.”⁴⁸

The same strategy had been done for different reason. I remember in one anti-corruption actions that I participated, masks were worn as a symbol of protest to the authority who could not tell the truth about corruption.

On May Day, labour appeared in uniforms from their union. Jelita (labour) a labour activist, depicted that the uniform was very masculine, “*It looks like a security uniform. Shirt. Or, tshirt with some jargons. How can we make it as sexy clothes?*”⁴⁹ Masculine is a problematic term in this case. I do not want to trap myself into binary thinking as how women should appear and should avoid masculine styles. She might mean the uniforms have men’s standard, such as size and model. It might be one of the strategies of the labour union to be effective in making uniform. Using men standard could mean that women’s bodies can apply in different styles; there is flexibility. I see women still have strategies to express their style even within the uniform, for instance, by wearing *hijab*—although debatable—and/or sunglasses as can be seen in Image 6. Rami (anti-corruption) and Andaru (human rights) emphasized that they often wore the tshirt for any activities as their political statement.

Image 6 Women Labour Were Doing Actions in Bundaran HI



Source: *Kompas*, 28 November 2014

⁴⁸ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

⁴⁹ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

Wearing comfortable outfit is preferable during the actions since the weather was hot and it made them easier to blend.⁵⁰ Jelita (labour) preferred to wear long sleeves to avoid police profiling since she has tattoos.⁵¹ Having tattoos made her felt less threatened in public space. However, Cahaya (women) did not feel the same way about having tattoos. She felt tired about the stigma.

“I am often in a situation which people see me as a woman that is easy to be approached. There is still a stigma about tattoo itself, it makes a woman looks like bad woman. "Oh, this woman can be used" (in terms of sexual activity). But, there is a positive response as well, (such as) “Where did you make it? Is it temporary or permanent?””⁵²

As I also have tattoos, I experienced the nuance responses as well. Women with tattoos are not seen fitting the gender construction. Our decision towards our bodies tends to be judged by others, as if the body is not owned by the women themselves as Harcourt mentions that oppression and power can be practiced to women’s body (2009). Unfortunately, I could not explore the experiences of other genders with tattoos.

LGBT group has different strategy in terms of appearances. *Waria* stands out in political actions by wearing glorious appearance, including the attributes, colourful and sparkling clothes with fur shawls. It might be because their participation in political actions is considered as performers. However, even though recognition of their existence is what they are fighting for, Laut (LGBT) as transgender activist does not agree with this appearance.

“They are confident, become their own selves, by wearing that kind of clothes. There is a risk to be threatened; particularly because we are LGBT ... It strengthened the stigma. But, I couldn’t tell them to not wear something like that. ... We can’t declare it was our freedom of expression, but we threat others because our excessive expressions. *Waria* without clothes like that already have bad stigmas.”⁵³

They want to be admitted as the third gender, but not in a role that reaffirmed the stigma. Laut (LGBT) has emphasized that they want to be accepted, not only as citizen, but also as a human being. I partly agree with Laut (LGBT), but I also saw the glamorous outfit were worn by men or women. They wore pyjamas, particular costumes, traditional outfits as performers in the actions. They used creative ways to do actions. I see the identity as a fluid condition, it can be expressed by their multiple identities, as a *waria* and as a performance and as a citizen.

Division of Tasks

All of the participants told me that the division of tasks in political actions is not based on gender which showed the knowledge of gender equality. Most

⁵⁰ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015) and Cahaya (5 August 2015).

⁵¹ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

⁵² Conversation with Cahaya (5 August 2015).

⁵³ Conversation with Laut (1 August 2015).

participants told me that everyone can be the leaders, regardless their gender identities, because they have used voluntary method. When I asked again about each role in detail, I find a familiar pattern.

There is still men domination in particular issue as in Indonesian context—that is stated by Wieringa (2002) and Lee (2011) about men controlled the movements—implied so. In ‘labour’ issue, as stated by Jelita (labour), “*The field coordinator must be men. Gender balance in labour is very bad. People who know about gender sensitivity are only the leaders. There are only two women leaders in (labour federation) national level.*”⁵⁴ Although it was mentioned that spokesperson can be anyone, but Kembang (women) had another story.

“The difference was the spokespersons. Most of them were men, but we encouraged women to speak as well. We had two hours of on going oration, but now we have some women (doing the oration). ... In labour issue, most of them are men. Students actions as well, most of them are men.”⁵⁵

It does not mean that men should not be the leaders; it could be a trap to exclude one gender as well. Kembang’s statement can also show that political actions could be a space to transfer and transform knowledge by encouraging women to be leaders. Men domination is indeed something important to note, but it also shows positive efforts.

The roles as person in charge of the stage, sound system, permission, and security are dominated by men. These kinds of role are labelled as men’s capacities, just as Dinda (anti-corruption) mentioned, “*Permission was taken care by man as well because if we would like to negotiate with thugs, men are easier to communicate.*”⁵⁶ Since ‘the thugs’ is mentioned, I realize that it is related to security issue, not only in Bundaran HI, but many parts of Jakarta public space. Kembang (women) confirmed, “*In big actions, the security usually are men because they are spy.*”⁵⁷ Instead of slightly fall into binary thinking, the involvement of men can be seen as strategy of the actions.

Men’s involvement helps women to do their actions, as Audrey (women) told me,

“Men took care of the traffic. ... It should be men who stopped the cars because we (women) wanted to go through. ... Why men? Because at that time, women were doing protests. If women stopped the cars, we would have less women who hold the banners and holding the dolls.”⁵⁸

Women had the opportunity to stand up in their protests; in line with Horn said (2013). Therefore, Lee’s (2011) statement about activism in Jakarta that has less female activist role models can be argued. However, it should not be about men or women—or transgender, but who does what, regardless the gender. It shows the coordination between men, women, and LGBT had happened.

⁵⁴ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

⁵⁵ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

⁵⁶ Conversation with Dinda (14 July 2015).

⁵⁷ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

⁵⁸ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

The coordination can be seen in ‘labour’ issue. Men stood up to protect women as Jelita (labour) illustrated, *“If there is a clash, women should be inside the line because the main actors are still men. ... If there are some women who really want to be in front, they will let them.”*⁵⁹ It is in line what Day has written about women’s fear in Irvine, California that since women are seen as fearful, then it takes men to be upfront to protect them in public space (2001). It should be noted, that assumption is used as a strategy in demonstration. Since 1960s, as mentioned by Thorne, women in New Left demonstration sometimes were put in the front line to avoid a clash with the police or opposite groups (1975: 189). Gender construction is taken for granted by the activists as a strategy.

Domestic and Public Arena

The participations of women in political activisms in public space are influenced by the divisions of labour in their domestic area. I noticed this when Berry (labour) as participant in labour actions explained, *“If they (women) want to go to the action, they should be ready at 5 am because they should clean the house, prepare their children before going to the school, take care of their husbands, and prepare their own foods.”*⁶⁰ This one is affirmed Massey’s statement about labour movement, *“Labour movement played a role in the local structuring of gender relations”* (1994: 182). Jelita (labour) confirmed this situation, *“Women tended to take their children. I have never seen men taking their children.”*⁶¹ It shows that women’s roles in domestic are represented in public sphere (Silvey 2003: 342) and this is in line with Wieringa (2002) explanation about history of gender relations in Indonesia. It creates the concept of *kodrat wanita* or women’s destiny through the notions of religiously-inspired symbols and norms. Women are expected to be passive and nurturing, hence serving the husbands, regardless the heteronormativity implied.

Women are also limited by the husband’s decision. Two of the participants told me, once, there was a bus full of women and children in a way to Bundaran HI. They were blocked by the other group and the bus was stoned. Gede (labour) as one activist in that union told me, *“The women (mothers) were traumatic because their bus got stoned. From 4,000 people, the number of the members decreased to less than 1,000. (Some of) their husbands are in that group, some of them got influenced by the (opposite) group later on.”*⁶² They were not allowed to be involved in political actions after that. Women experienced a threat in public space, not only in their home, as Massey said (1994: 180). It shows that even though women have participated in political activisms, they still do not have full voice to make decision. Just as Rinaldo (2008: 1785) states, *“feminization and democratization are not synonymous with equality.”* However, I have also noticed that it could also be a matter of security reason as well.

⁵⁹ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

⁶⁰ Conversation with Berry (31 July 2015).

⁶¹ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

⁶² Conversation with Gede (30 July 2015).

Is It Really Safe?

The activists got various responses from their family regarding security while doing political actions. Jelita (labour) described, “*At first, my family was so worried, moreover I am a woman.*”⁶³ Audrey (gender) imitated her mother, “*Something could happened to you. Later, you could be harmed by others, even hit by the police.*”⁶⁴ However, she got opposite response from her husband’s family. They were proud because their daughter-in-law wanted to use public space to voice the aspiration.

Gender and embodied experience can be captured through harassment experiences too. The perception of harassment is different for each person. The same action in the same place and time could be interpreted as harassment and also as a way to socialize. I experienced this directly in Bundaran HI while I was there with a friend of mine.

*We were sitting on the side of Bundaran HI at night. Then, a bus stopped and the bus driver said hello and I felt it was in a flirty way. My spontaneous reaction was look at him in angry face, but my friend replied his hello nicely. When I asked her what made her reply that behaviour, she answered, “He was just trying to be nice.”*⁶⁵

Jelita (labour) tried to be reflective on the conversation.

“There were some women who were whistled (on May Day), but they felt okay. For us, it was an assault. But, they (women) were relaxed. Some answered it and the men changed their behaviour. I felt that sometimes I was so overprotective to myself. ... Is it an assault or is it a culture? The culture that they know is the culture to tease women.”⁶⁶

LGBT is considered as a group that has bigger opportunity to be harassed.⁶⁷ Didit (LGBT), as a gay activist, assured me that Bundaran HI is a safe place for LGBT group. Lexi (LGBT) and Laut (LGBT), transgender activists, told me that they felt safe in Bundaran HI, they even got impressive responses while doing political actions in Bundaran HI. However, Lexi (LGBT) noticed that, “*There were still some of them who saw us and laughed at us, but at the end there were so many people who joined us.*”⁶⁸

Harassment could be a vague term. The thing that needs to be taken into consideration is that even though when harassments are considered as something normal, no human being deserves to be harassed. However, could it be called harassment if they do not consider it as one? I also notice the flexibility of the definition, but I question to what extent it could be considered as harassment. It might reaffirm the hierarchy of gender relations in the society.

Despite of what happened in public space, the threat of being harassed is not only come from outside groups, but also among activists, as being told by Horn (2013). Kembang (women) as senior women activist told me, “*Beside public space, there were many incidents that male activists harassed and some cases even raped*

⁶³ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

⁶⁴ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

⁶⁵ Note from fieldwork (25 July 2015).

⁶⁶ Conversation with Jelita (31 July 2015).

⁶⁷ Conversation with Dinda (14 July 2015).

⁶⁸ Conversation with Lexi (10 July 2015).

*female activists. Don't think every activist understands (gender justice)."*⁶⁹ The effect of each gender's involvement in political actions should be explored more, but this is not the focus in my RP discussion since it has not happened in public space.

The gender and embodied gender experiences are revealed in this chapter. It answers how gender relations were experienced in social and political actions in Bundaran HI from November 2009 until June 2015. It is time to explore Bundaran HI as 'dialogue' space and the relationship among the actors in shaping democratization in the next chapter.

⁶⁹ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

Chapter 6 Bundaran HI as a Place of Contestation

The actions in Bundaran HI have created a ‘dialogue’ space which facilitates democratization and creates contestation. The political actions that happened in Bundaran HI invited responses from other actors and it is used to bargain power relations among citizens and the state (Pearce 2013). Chapter 6 looks at what kind of relationship is revealed between the state and the civil societies and among civil societies in terms of social and political actions in Bundaran HI during November 2009 to June 2015.

Contestation Among Actors

Bundaran HI is used by different actors. Different publics—people in general, civil society, or NGOs—under take actions in the square. Beside that, there are private sectors and the state—including police. I am going to illustrate these one by one.

Public

Bundaran HI is still being a place of on going contestation arena while, at the same time, it emerges caution. Kembang (women) captured, “*We are free to use the space for expression, but there are new expressions from groups that do not support human rights. We have to think about it.*”⁷⁰ As *Kompas* covered on 1 December 2009, there were some people—without any attribute—came to Bundaran HI asking the anti-corruption actions that had been happening to disband (Siamah 2009). It displays Bundaran HI as contestation space, also in media.

Actions visibility in media becomes important in order to raise awareness. Public’s attention helped giving pressure to the state. Therefore, in every action, they tend to show off to the media. With that assumption, the activists tend to take Bundaran HI as a public space for granted by using it to communicate with the media, instead of the public in that space. It implies the interaction with the public become less and less.

Responding to that, Andaru (human rights) explicitly criticized the use of Bundaran HI by the activists. He said it should be a space to do social interactions with the public who happened to be there, explaining the problems, not to perform in media.⁷¹ I partly agree with him, but I also notice the importance of being published in the media without any attention to put aside the importance of having social relations with wider public.

⁷⁰ Conversation with Kembang (27 July 2015).

⁷¹ Conversation with Andaru (30 July 2015).

Private Sectors

Private sectors could feel insecure. Hotel Indonesia Kempinski, located in Bundaran HI, made a fence on the sidewalk as protection due to social and political actions, as written in *Kompas* (art 2012). After a protest against them because the fence took the space of pedestrians, they decided to pull off the fence again. It shows the impacts of actions and Bundaran HI as ‘dialogue’ space.

Private sectors also use Bundaran HI as a place to promote their products. Having financial capital, they tend to have strategic spots on car-free-day. Andaru (human rights), human rights’ activist, mentioned, *”Some spots are reserved by some companies. It is easier for them. They have solid team, much money, permission, supported by the capital. That’s why they have great spots.”*⁷² I am not sure either to whom they need to pay, but it is strengthened Bundaran HI as contested space.

State

An effort to disband social and political actions in Bundaran HI was seen when there was a renovation in 2002. The Jakarta Government made 10 metres plaza around Bundaran HI which makes it slippery as can be seen in Image 7. It aimed to reduce the number of demonstrations that happened there, as mentioned by Ami as one of the renovation team members at that time.⁷³

Image 7 Slippery 10 Meters Plaza Around Bundaran HI



Source: Fieldwork (26 July 2015)

⁷² Conversation with Andaru (30 July 2015).

⁷³ Conversation with Ami (7 August 2015).

The state also banned the stage in Bundaran HI. It was one of the consequences of anti-corruption action on 8 November 2009. *Kompas* covered the news that implicitly saying that Fauzi Bowo, Governor of Jakarta that period, prohibited a stage in Bundaran HI (eca 2009). He added that he did not want Bundaran HI became a slum because of the oration (nta and eca 2009). However, the using of stage still existed. On 22 July 2010, *Kompas* reported implicitly on their news that there was a stage that was build by a private sector (Gunawan 2010). Recently, the car-free-day organizer provides one stage in Bundaran HI that can be used to accommodate any public aspirations, except politics theme (b06 and art 2015).

Another state's intervention in Bundaran HI is limiting the access. There was a policy about motorcycle that should not be in Bundaran HI (fro 2014, RTS et al. 2014, Sulistyawaty and Adi 2014, fro et al. 2014b, art and ilo 2014) by saying to reduce traffic jam. Furthermore, publishing the policy that targeted the motorcycle depicts the users of motorcycles have been excluded to access Bundaran HI as public space. *Transjakarta* buses as public transportation won't be effected because bus-ways are provided. It emerges a question about who get the benefits of this policy. Does it benefit private-car-owners who tend to be middle-class and upper-class?

The resistance occurred towards activisms in Bundaran HI. *Kompas* wrote its crowdedness was getting worse with various actions which used many attributes (Hermawan 2015, Triana 2013). Responding to that, there is a new policy from Jakarta Government that there cannot be any social and political activities on car-free-day, including actions and promotions from private sectors (b06 and art 2015), although it has not been implemented very well. It reveals state's surveillance and containment towards activities in Bundaran HI.

Questioning Police's Position

Security in Bundaran HI is something that becomes a concern for certain groups. "Usually, if LGBT group was there, the fundamentalists were intruding. Because at that time, there were often disbandments of waria's meetings," Audrey (women) explained.⁷⁴ Lexi (LGBT), Didit (LGBT), and Laut (LGBT) as LGBT activists mentioned that they have security system. They are not allowed to inform their events or locations in social media. Responding to this system, Laut (LGBT) made a good point.

"Sometimes I feel that it was too paranoid. ... It felt like it made the movement more difficult. We felt that we are not part of the public. We are differentiated ourselves from the others. We are afraid to be normal. ... We should create our own comfortability, being ourselves, so people become more aware of our existence."⁷⁵

I see this strategy as a protection as well as a constraint. It brings me to the notion of declaration that made by Ministry of Law and Human Rights on 2004 to protect LGBT in society. It was seen as an achievement at that time

⁷⁴ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

⁷⁵ Conversation with Laut (1 August 2015).

(Suvianita 2013), but it actually reaffirmed the difference of transgender to other gender. The LGBT group does not have to limit their movement, but the police, as dominant power, must assure their safety while they are doing any activities just as written in Article 5 of Law No. 9 of 1998 about Freedom of Expression in Public (Ministry of Law and Human Rights 1998). Therefore, I question the role of Police, particularly in Bundaran HI.

Police tends to anticipate the clash, but at the same time, the way they handle it seems to diminish the right of certain groups. Laut (LGBT) shared her experience.

“It was tense, it was in the middle of the action, at 3 pm. We were asked to leave because police said that FPI (Front Pembela Islam - opposite group) would come to assault us. ... Because the police informed us about that, people were shouting, "What is your job, Officer?" ... How about the police? Why should we go home while there are some police here?”⁷⁶

When there was a clash, participants of actions and police tend to find each other mistakes, as mentioned by Adi (2010). The action participants accused the police by using their power and the police accused them of doing the actions by putting aside the public needs. In the same article, the police had mentioned that they were accused of sending intruders to the actions. It shows that there is a trust issue between the certain public and the police since the police is part of the state which mostly becomes public's opponents when they were protesting in Bundaran HI. I see a practice of power relations. Police is considered having higher power than action participants. However, some people still feel that the existence of the police is helpful.

The role of police as protector in Bundaran HI could not be put aside. Rami (anti-corruption), an anti-corruption action leader, said, “*We were helped by head of district police commands in Bundaran HI. They supported us. ... They were waiting when we set up the stage.*”⁷⁷ The fact that police was really helpful in anti-corruption event is interesting. The opposite of anti-corruption movement was the police, but they could actually be counted on at that time. It shows that police are in the middle position, as a part of the state which is hated by certain public as well as an institution that can be counted on. There is power flexibility in this case. However, I realized that police's position cannot represent a whole as the response I got were only from four focused issues. It raised a question about their acts to different groups, reactionary group for instance.

Consequences

The activism in Bundaran HI is not a starting point and not an ending point; it is part of movement process movements. Audrey (women) mentioned, “*Protest is actually not the main goal. That protest was a part of advocacy series, such as having a meeting with stakeholders, doing research, doing lobby, making modules,*

⁷⁶ Conversation with Laut (1 August 2015).

⁷⁷ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

*capacity building for beneficiaries.*⁷⁸ Therefore, sometimes the diverse consequences followed sometimes after the actions in Bundaran HI.

First, awareness raising that was illustrated by *Kompas* which keeps following the activities on Bundaran HI. It is being used as a space to transform knowledge among activists as well. These consequences help the movements to keep going.

Second, reaching out to the government. Public awareness helps to pressure the state. Audrey (women) got a response from Ministry of Health in terms of HIV/AIDS and gender issue.

“We were pretty close with the government (Ministry of Health) and they were mad at us, “Why did you do demonstration? Can’t you talk to us? Don’t we hear you?” It was a negative response from them because they were disturbed. However, it was the purpose of doing a demonstration. It should make them feeling disturbed. ... They will be in bad mood for one-two months. After that, they will forget. It takes time.”⁷⁹

Anti-corruption movements had different consequences. Rami (anti-corruption) said,

“We heard that on Monday, SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono - the President on that period) would make a statement, so we intercepted in the Bundaran HI (a day before). That's why on Monday, there were tumultuous news on the televisions. It was covered by *Kompas* and other media. So, we claimed, SBY had changed his mind (giving another statement because of the action).”⁸⁰

She thought the chain of movements, including the one in Bundaran HI, had an impact to policy changes. This impact could not be confirmed because there could be many factors to change the policy. Nonetheless, the chain of actions might increase the pressure to the state.

Third, the way state intended to constrain actions shows that social and political actions in Bundaran HI have impacts. This is partly because the location of Bundaran HI in the central of Jakarta, capital city, is closer to the seat of government (Silvey 2003, Padawangi 2013). At the same time, we have to be aware that because the activism is centralized, it might prevent people who are not close to the location from participating.

⁷⁸ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

⁷⁹ Conversation with Audrey (10 July 2015).

⁸⁰ Conversation with Rami (22 July 2015).

Chapter 7 Conclusion

In this last chapter, I summarize the findings of the RP going back to the questions I raised at the beginning. Bundaran HI is seen as an important and symbolic space in Jakarta, with changing meanings over time. As a public space, it can articulate what certain groups need, even if it can exclude other groups as Fraser implies (2014). Bundaran HI plays the role of a dialogue space and a space for democratization, as Habermas argues (1989).

The study of *Kompas* shows how social and political actions happen in Bundaran HI, particularly women, labour, LGBT, and anti-corruption issues, from November 2009 to June 2015. The increasing coverage of Bundaran HI suggests it is considered as an important and significant public space. *Kompas* shows heterogeneity in Bundaran HI—from local to global—and for various actors, although sometimes *Kompas* can be seen as increasing the stigma of certain groups.

Most of the times, groups use Bundaran HI to grab public and media attention. Though as it is national media in national language, and it cannot represent the public overall, so there are still excluded groups (Fraser 2014). News in the media influence public discourse, thus increasing the pressure to the state. It is in line with Pearce's statement that says the square gives "more conscious effort to tune 'non-dominating power' into an effective 'counter power'" (2013: 659).

It brings notion that we should be aware of the dominant power that might still reproduce in the movements. Challenge dominant power tends to be the reason of actions existence. Within the role of spokesperson, the dominant power implies through hierarchical structure—as they tend to be the leaders. They are chosen based the experiences and networks, so familiar faces will be in this role. This reveals 'the experts' which implies monolithic of knowledge. The role of spokesperson as representative might cause the voice of certain public still partly absent, even though it is part of the strategies. It also questions the legitimacy of public opinion, as was raised by Fraser (2014). However, Bundaran HI still can be seen as an alternative space for diverse groups to protest and express their political concerns about injustices, inequalities and rights. Even though it is contested, my study confirms Bundaran HI's function as democratization space.

The four focused issues discussed in the RP have various though similar ways of doing actions with different strategies. There are some strategies to maintain the movements, such as division of tasks, alliance-building, time preferences, and art existence. In labour movements, they tend to use May Day not only for their self-actualization, but also taking a break from the endless working life. The class also influences the way they do the actions, including the funding. However, it does not have to have one motive or goal to participate in political activism. It can varies and even implies intersectionality.

It brings us to the answer of next question posed by the RP, about how gender relations are experienced in social and political actions in Bundaran HI during November 2009 until June 2015. Subjective experiences in this public space can be seen in relation to gender relations. Massey

said that gender relations—that is socially constructed—should have been one point of views in shaping the meaning of public space (1994). It is also what is missed in Habermas's theory (Fraser 2014).

Although need to be noted that some positions tend to be filled by men, I also realize that it could be strategies, for instance to make women stand up and express themselves during the actions. Women's involvement in political actions in public space does not put aside their division of labour in the domestic arena. They still took care of their children and fulfilled domestic responsibilities before going to protest at Bundaran HI. However, what happened in public space influenced their domestic sphere too. When women got attacked, their husbands prohibited them from attending actions anymore. I notice that lack of security in public space is one of the reasons that allowed this type of prohibition to happen.

The issue of security has brought 'LGBT' and 'women' groups using attributes and appearance as their strategies as well as collective identities. LGBT wore glamorous outfits as a statement of their identity. 'Women' issue tended to wear attributes in order to avoid intruders. The feeling of being safe in Bundaran HI is not intruded only by external actors, but also among themselves. There were harassments experienced, but I notice the fluidity of harassment meaning. Some people considered their experiences as harassment, but others did not take it as harassment.

Let me move to an answer of the next question of the RP about relationships between the state and the civil societies and among civil societies in terms of social and political actions in Bundaran HI during November 2009 to June 2015. The state also gave some efforts to make Bundaran HI as surveillant and contained space, such as establishing a policy to disband stage on Bundaran HI, prohibiting political activities on car-free-day, and doing renovation that make the actions difficult. The state is using their power as policy maker. It reconfirms that they were disturbed by the action, thus it shows the importance of activism in Bundaran HI and it makes the movements keep going.

In terms of security, police should be mentioned. Questioning their roles in Bundaran HI is intriguing. Police, in certain cases, has been the actor who cannot protect them or diminish the rights of certain groups. It cannot be denied that they can also be the actor who is counted to protect certain public. Moreover, an existing police station there makes some people feel safer being in Bundaran HI and shows surveillance from the state at the same time because they are considered as the arm of the state.

According to those responses and consequences, I argue that actions in Bundaran HI affect the social interactions that shape the meaning of the activisms and meaning of Bundaran HI as public space. **It brings us to the answer of what role Bundaran HI plays in the social and political actions from November 2009 to June 2015.** As mentioned, it raises the public awareness. The location is strategic because it is in central Jakarta, as capital city and not far from the central of government. It makes the discourse closer to the state and public as well. At the same time, it brings a notion to take the movement to Jakartacentric which can be a constraint for people from outside Jakarta. It brings out a question about the legitimacy of public opinion that voiced in Bundaran HI, as Fraser argues (2014).

The Bundaran HI, as public space, had shaped collective memories (Kusno 2009, Massey 2005) together with the artworks for social and political actions. It is a space to produce the knowledge and transform it to continue the movements. The activism has maintained the cultural turn of certain movements. Still, it needs to be noted that this research is partial since it is not included all groups that used Bundaran HI. For instance, there is no voice of reactionary group or indigeneous people or so-called “illegal” citizens, as Fraser states (2014). It is not only about the goals, but also about the culture of movement as Casas-Cortés et al. (2008) argue. I bring the notion that the actions in Bundaran HI are a process. It creates a space to produce situated knowledge that has been going on and it will keep going on. It still opens the possibility to change policies or statements, democracy system, gender justice or it can be interpreted in different ways as well. Since interrelations can shape the meaning through time, this result can be changing too over time.

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Appendix 1 List of Covered News in *Kompas* from November 2009 to June 2015

NO	DATE	COLOMN	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	PHOTO	ISSUE
1	2-Nov-09	Kilas Politik & Hukum	Cicak Serukan Pakai Pita Hitam	AIK	2		anti-corruption
2	3-Nov-09	Kasus Bibit-Chandra	Pita Hitam untuk Matinya Keadilan	Ahmad Arif	1	1	anti-corruption
3	3-Nov-09	Harapan Tinggi kepada Tim	Penanganan Polisi Dinilai Tak Memuaskan	day; nwo; dwa; har	1	1	anti-corruption
4	4-Nov-09	Laporan Iptek	Minum Susu Justru Sebabkan Osteoporosis?	Julianto, Irwan	15		health and psychology
5	9-Nov-09	Unjuk Rasa	Suara Anggodo Jadi Pembuka Lagu Rap	Arif, Ahmad	1		anti-corruption
6	9-Nov-09	Tren Politik	Oposisi Jalanan akan Menguat	ana; aik; sie	1		anti-corruption
7	9-Nov-09	Tajuk Rencana	Bangkitnya Dunia Maya		6		anti-corruption
8	18-Nov-09	Laporan Iptek	Obama, Internet, dan Kebebasan	Leksono, Ninok	15		democracy
9	19-Nov-09	Muncul, Pendukung Polri	Pengerahan Massa Berpotensi Memecah Belah Bangsa	art; hln; aik	5	1	anti-corruption
10	28-Nov-09	Kilas Metro	Air Mancur Bundaran HI Tidak Beroperasi Sebulan	art	25		public space
11	30-Nov-09	Unjuk Rasa Tandingan	Memperburuk Citra Pemerintah	nta; eca	1	1	anti-corruption
12	30-Nov-09	Stasiun Pemantau Polusi Diperbarui	Hasil Pengukuran Kualitas Sangat Akurat	eca	25	1	public space
13	1-Dec-09		Gejala Kekerasan Horizontal	Siamah, Siti	6		anti-corruption
14	1-Dec-09	Unjuk Rasa	Larangan Mendirikan Panggung di HI Berlanjut	eca	25		public space
15	8-Dec-09	Hari Antikorupsi Diisi Doa	Polda Metro Jaya Kekuatan Separuh	rts; sf; tri	26		anti-corruption
16	9-Dec-09	Kapolri Jamin Aman	Belum Ada Rencana Pengalihan Arus Lalu Lintas	sf; nel; eca; rts; cok	27	1	anti-corruption
17	10-Dec-09	Demonstrasi Aman dan Damai	Hari Antikorupsi, Korupsi Menjadi Sumber Kegelisahan Bersama	tim Kompas	1	1	anti-corruption
18	10-Dec-09	Hari Antikorupsi	Pesta Itu Meriah, tetapi Terkendali	nel; art	25	1	anti-corruption
19	11-Dec-09	Hari HAM	Unjuk Rasa di Beberapa Tempat di Indonesia	wad; ich; wer; rwn; rek; che; dia; sir; edn	3	1	human rights
20	14-Nov-09	Etalase Kota	Masyarakat Bisa Lihat Lagi Air Mancur HI	eca	25		public space

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21	16-Dec-09	Inspiratorial: Jelang 2010	Malam Terakhir di 2009	adt	42	3	carnival
22	26-Jan-10	Demonstrasi	Pendemo Minta Polisi Mengamankan	tri; sf	27		anti-corruption
23	1-Feb-10	Langkan	Tong Sampah dan Truk Edukasi WWF	yun	12		environment
24	7-Mar-10	Sisi Lain	Demokrasi dan Ketertiban Umum	Adi, Windoro	4		democracy
25	14-Mar-10	Persona - Kesaksian	Edhi Sunarso	Arca-na, Putu Fajar; Nugroho, Wisnu	23		art
26	22-Mar-10	Aspirasi	Serentak, PKS Berunjuk Rasa Solidaritas untuk Palestina	apa; wie	2	1	solidarity
27	26-Mar-10		Ikuti Jejak Ina dan Irena	doe	39	1	environment
28	28-Mar-10	Foto	Lampu Padam Saat Earth Hour	Nugroho, Rony Ariyanto	1	1	environment
29	4-Apr-10		Kota Milik Keluarga Rukun	iam; xar	36	1	public space
30	21-Apr-10	Varia Olahraga	PB PASI Gelar Acara "The Great Jakarta Walk"	nic	28		sports
31	29-Apr-10	Peringatan Hari Buruh	Polisi Prioritaskan Menjaga Pabrik dan Aksi Razia Buruh	tri	27		labour
32	30-Apr-10	Hari Buruh Internasional	Buruh Menuntut Reformasi Jaminan Sosial	ham; eca; tri; cas	1		labour
33	1-May-10	17 Elemen Akan Demo	Polda Metro Siapkan 15.000 Personel	tri	26	1	labour
34	2-May-10	Hari Buruh Internasional	SJSN Harus Mulai Bertahap	ham; oin; ryo; win; gal; wie; den; wkm; eng; riz; nar; wad; bee; bro; mkn; tht	1	1	labour
35	2-May-10	Sisi Lain	Demonstrasi Sekaligus Berekreasi	Alexey, Caesar	4		labour
36	2-Jun-10	Nama & Peristiwa	Zukhriatul Hafizah - Jabatan Baru	doe	32	1	health and psychology
37	4-Jun-10	Misi Bantuan Gaza	Surya Masih di Haifa	mth; day; oki	1	1	solidarity
38	14-Jun-10	Matnur Juara Tour de Jakarta	Polygon Sweet Nice Tim Terbaik	ivv	28	1	sports
39	16-Jun-10	JI 10 K	16 Pelari Profesional Ikuti Jakarta 10 K	hln	28		sports
40	18-Jun-10	Kilas Metro	Bersepeda Sunyi Bersa-	ush	25		solidarity

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			ma				
41	30-Jun-10	Bisnis Sepeda	Antara Komunitas dan Komoditas	Sodikin, Amir; Arif, Ahmad	14		public space
42	2-Jul-10	"Lowrider"	Yang Penting Gaya	amr	39	1	public space
43	14-Jul-10	Desain MRT Sudah Final	Pemerintah Tidak Mengakomodasi Warga	ndy; eca	26		transportation and traffic
44	16-Jul-10	Orangutan Menjadi "Bodoh"	Butuh Hutan untuk Dikonservasi	ben	13	1	environment
45	16-Jul-10	Infrastruktur	Saat Membangun, PT MRT Jakarta Jamin Lalu Lintas Lancar	ndy	26	1	transportation and traffic
46	22-Jul-10	Bebas Kendaran Bermotor	Bersepeda Sudah Tidak Nyaman Lagi...!	Gunawan, Tjahja	27	1	public space
47	2-Aug-10	Sepeda Gembira	Sehat Sekaligus Peduli Hukum	fro	27	1	sports
48	14-Aug-10	Pameran	Jenazah Si Bung Melintas di Bawahnya	Redana, Bre	22	1	art
49	29-Aug-10	Benahi Transportasi	Pesepeda Motor Tolak Larangan Masuk Jalan Protokol	tri	4	1	transportation and traffic
50	15-Oct-10	Redaksi Yth	Sterilisasi Busway Tidak Sulit	Bambang	7		transportation
51	11-Nov-10	World Walking Day	Wapres Masyarakatkan Olahraga Jalan Kaki	har	30	1	sports
52	20-Oct-10	Polisi Siaga Unjuk Rasa	Ada Mobilisasi Pengunjuk Rasa ke Jakarta	Cok; rts; pin; tri; art	25		civil rights
53	1-Nov-10	Foto	Hari Bebas Kendaraan Bermotor	Kusworo, Danu	27	1	public space
54	11-Nov-10	Foto	Demo Tolak Revisi UU No 13/2003	Fathoni, Riza	18	1	labour
55	16-Nov-10	Cirus Jadi Saksi Gayus	Adnan Buyung: Saksi untuk Ungkap Mafia Hukum	faj	2	1	anti-corruption
56	2-Dec-10	Hari AIDS	Selamatkan Ibu dan Bayi HIV/AIDS	luk; ben; che; cas	13	1	health and psychology
57	3-Dec-10	Mencegah HIV/AIDS	Menuju Terang di Ujung Lorong	Har-tiningsih, Maria; Pambudy, Ninuk Mardiana	45	1	health and psychology
58	14-Dec-10	Langkan	Foto - Diskriminasi Difabel	Pransiska, Lucky	12	1	health and psychology
59	19-Dec-10	Tata Kota	Di Trotoar Kita Berdemokrasi	Sapthiani, Yulia; Indriasari, Lusiana	1	1	civil rights

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60	31-Dec-10	Tahun Baru Dijamin Aman	Tidak Boleh Ada Penyisiran oleh Warga	sin; ara; ren; egi; oni; tri	1		carnival
61	2-Jan-11	Bergairah Memasuki Tahun 2011	Hura-hura sampai Doa Bersama	ham; bay; ink; che; rek; who; wie	1		carnival
62	2-Jan-11	Foto Pekan Ini	Rakyat Menyambut Tahun 2011	Johnny Th	12		carnival
63	27-Jan-11		Setelah Gerakan Moral	Adian, Donny Gahril	6		democracy
64	31-Jan-11	Foto	Indonesia Menggiring Bola	Susanto, Agus	29	1	sports
65	5-Feb-11	Foto	Demo Pendukung SBY	Setyawan, Hendra	5		democracy
66	13-Feb-11	Persona	Slank-Gerakan Anak Muda Band No 103	Suwarna, Budi; Hartiningsih, Maria	23		democracy
67	14-Feb-11	Pemanasan Global	Memadamkan Lampu Sejam dan Gaya Hidup	Laksmi, Brigitta Isworo	14		environment
68	19-Feb-11	Penegakan Hukum	Pemerintah masih Cari Titik Temu Ahmadiyah	ato; bil; nta; fer; why; ich	1		religion
69	19-Feb-11	Foto	Tuntut Pembubaran Ahmadiyah	Widiantoro, Wisnu	5	1	religion
70	2-Mar-11	Ahmadiyah	Presiden Didesak Terbitkan Keppres Pembubaran	bil; ilo; che; ara; ina; nta; ato; iam; fer	4		religion
71	8-Mar-11		Membangun Negeri Tanpa Diskriminasi	Marcoes, Lies	6		gender
72	15-Mar-11	Sisi Lain Istana	Air Mata Ani Yudhoyono	Osdar, J	2		democracy
73	15-Mar-11	Langkan	Foto - Energi Surya	Setiyawan, Iwan	12	1	environment
74	26-Mar-11	Earth Hour	Balaikota dan Bundaran HI Akan Dimeriahkan Aneka Kegiatan	art	26		environment
75	27-Mar-11	Foto	Kampanye Earth Hour	Prabowo, Wawan H	1	1	environment
76	27-Mar-11	Kampanye Global	Lima Kota Ikuti Earth Hour	ich; gsa	11		environment
77	29-Mar-11	Foto	Operasi Simaptik Polda Metro Jaya	Widiantoro, Wisnu	26		transportation and traffic
78	1-Apr-11	Tilang Elektronik Akhir April 2011	Pelanggaran Akan Direkam dengan Kamera Laser	art; win	27		transportation and traffic
79	2-Apr-11	AS Akhiri Misi di Libya	Oposisi Siap Melakukan Gencatan Senjata	iam; cal	8		solidarity

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80	19-Apr-11	Foto	Aktivitas Pekerja	Kumoro, Heru Sri	19	1	labour
81	23-Apr-11	Foto	Buruh Tuntut Pengesahan RUU BPJS	Kumoro, Heru Sri	18	1	labour
82	24-Apr-11	Foto	Mencari Simpati Korban Tsunami	Widiantoro, Wisnu	4	1	solidarity
83	25-Apr-11	Induk Cabang Meninjau "Venue"	*Pembangunan "Venue" Mengalami Kemajuan	mhd; wad	28		sports
84	26-Apr-11	Foto	Maskot SEA Games XXVI/2011	Widiantoro, Wisnu	1		sports
85	26-Apr-11	SEA Games	Meriah, Peluncuran Modo-Modi di TMII dan Bundaran HI	wad; hln	28		sports
86	29-Apr-11	Anggota Direkrut Sukarela	Nasir Abbas: Jaringan Terorisme Saat Ini Tetap Terkait dengan Kelompok Besar	faj; gal; iam; fer	2		terrorism
87	29-Apr-11	Foto	Benda Mencurigakan	Widiantoro, Wisnu	27		security
88	2-May-11	Jaminan Sosial Mutlak	Serikat Pekerja BUMN Tuntut Hapus Pungutan Liar	ham; oni; oin	15		labour
89	2-May-11	Sisi Lain	Ada Ria di Tengah Aksi Demo Para Buruh	: nel; art; am; pin	27		labour
90	3-May-11	Sisi Lain Istana	Oneng di Depan Istana	Osdar, J	2		labour
91	4-May-11	Selama KTT ASEAN, Arus Lalin Dialihkan	Hari Bebas Kendaraan Bermotor, Minggu 8 Mei, Ditiadakan	cok; rts	26		transportation and traffic
92	4-May-11	Kilas Metro	Mayat Perempuan Ditemukan di Bundaran HI	art	27		security
93	11-May-11	Pekerja Pers	Kekerasan terhadap Wartawan Terulang	lok	3		human rights
94	30-May-11	Foto	Tunadaksa Daki tugu Selamat Datang	Setyawan, Hendra	28	1	human rights
95	12-Jun-11	Foto	Tolak UU Intelijen	Pransiska, Lucky	11	1	democracy
96	20-Jun-11	Foto	Ubeg-ubeg Jakarta	Lasti Kurnia	1	1	carnival
97	25-Jun-11	Foto	Persiapan Jak Carnaval	Lasti Kurnia	25	1	carnival
98	14-Jul-11	Jaminan Sosial	Pemerintah Wajib Laksanakan SJSN	ana; ham	18	1	labour
99	15-Jul-11	Nama & Peristiwa	Didik Nini Thowok - "Nyangking" Topeng	POM	32	1	art
100	24-Aug-11	Foto	Gerakan 1.000 Surat untuk Presiden	Setyawan, Hendra	9	1	human rights

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101	19-Sep-11	Perempuan Tuntut Keamanan	Gubernur DKI Akan Bahas dengan Muspida	WIN; ARN	27	1	gender
102	26-Sep-11	Foto	Tolak Plastik dan "Styrofoam"	Widiantoro, Wisnu	13	1	environment
103	2-Oct-11		Lari Itu Haya Hidup Kami...	Sapthiani, Yulia	17	1	sports
104	17-Oct-11	Penanganan Penyakit	Deteksi Kanker Payudara Sering Terlambat	IND	13		health and psychology
105	20-Oct-11	Dua Tahun Pemerintahan	Kamis Ini, Mahasiswa Indonesia Turun ke Jalan	ELD	5		democracy
106	7-Dec-11	Foto	"Sandera Koruptor"	Pransiska, Lucky	4	1	anti-corruption
107	9-Dec-11	Dampak "Gadget"	Indonesia "Terjajah" Dua Kali	Suhartono	48	1	civil rights
108	12-Dec-11	Foto	Bebas Kendaraan di Sudirman	Widiantoro, Wisnu	26	1	public space
109	14-Dec-11	Foto	Selamatkan Papua	Pransiska, Lucky	5	1	civil rights
110	18-Dec-11		Keindahan yang Mendekati Publik	Wisanggeni, Aryo	31	3	art
111	19-Dec-11	Benahi Nasib, 6 Juta Buruh Migran	Reformasi Sistem Penempatan	Ham	18		labour
112	22-Dec-11	Foto	Berolahraga Bersama Keluarga	Widiantoro, Wisnu	25	1	public space
113	27-Dec-11	Foto	Demonstrasi Insiden Bima	Adrian, Roderick	4	1	human rights
114	30-Dec-11	Malam Tahun Baru	Ada Lima Lokasi Konsentrasi Massa	AYS; ELD; ATO	1; 15		carnival
115	2-Jan-12		Pergantian Tahun Semarak	tim Kompas	2	1	carnival
116	26-Jan-12	Foto	Peduli Penderita Kusta	Kumoro, Heru Sri	12	1	health and psychology
117	2-Feb-12	Lindungi Pejalan Kaki	Masyarakat Bisa Menggugat Pemerintah	BRO; ART; NDY	27		civil rights
118	3-Feb-12	Penataan Trotoar	Sediakan Sentra PKL yang Memadai	ARN; NDY; BRO; FRO	26		public space
119	4-Feb-12	Pejalan Kaki Menggugat	Jalur Pedestrian Buruk, Penyeberangan Minim	art; fro	25		civil rights
120	15-Feb-12	Foto	Unjuk Rasa Anti-Kekerasan	Pransiska, Lucky	4		human rights
121	16-Feb-12	Kekerasan	Tindak tegas Pelaku Anarki	ich	5		gender
122	8-Mar-12	Foto	Polusi Jakarta Capai Angka Tertinggi	Pransiska, Lucky	13		environment
123	9-Mar-12	Foto	Hari Ginjal Sedunia	Helabumi, Raditya	13		health and psychology

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124	27-Mar-12	Baru 660 Rumah Ber-subsidi Tersalurkan	BTN Terapkan Alternatif Pembiayaan	LKT	20		economy
125	29-Mar-12	Foto	Tagih Janji Pemerintah	Pransiska, Lucky	4		human rights
126	31-Mar-12	Unjuk Rasa Massal	Bentrok Berlangsung hingga Malam Hari	RTS; ART; WIN; FER; APO; EDN; AHA; RIZ; APA; ONG; BIL; ODY; GRE; MHF	1; 15		economy
127	31-Mar-12	Kilas Metro	Gerakan Hemat Energi	Arn	25		environment
128	9-Apr-12	Langkan	Foto - Selamatkan Harimau Sumatera	Wijayanto, Totok	12		environment
129	11-Apr-12	RUU Penanganan Konflik Sosial	Internal DPR Dorong Penundaan	nta; edn	3		democracy
130	18-Apr-12	Pilkada-tata kota	Si Tangguh yang Dipandang Sebelah Mata	Triana, Neli	27		democracy
131	23-Apr-12	Foto	Berfoto di Bundaran HI	Widiantoro, Wisnu	26		public space
132	27-Apr-12	Gerakan Buruh	Isu Pabrik sebagai Isu Publik	Ninuk M Pambudy; Orin Basuki; Suhartono	33	1	labour
133	28-Apr-12	Aksi Buruh Jangan Anarkistis	Buruh Siapkan Tiga Tuntutan	bro; pin	26		labour
134	30-Apr-12	Buruh akan ke Istana	Polda metro Turunkan 16.068 Personel, 2.674 dari Unsur TNI	pin; rts	25	1	labour
135	1-May-12	Hari Buruh	Fokus Demo di HI, DPR, dan Istana	FER; MDN; WIN; ART; PIN; NDY; ARN	1; 15		labour
136	2-May-12	Unjuk Rasa Buruh Tertib	Presiden Memberi Apresiasi	tim Kompas	1; 15		labour
137	2-May-12	Buruh Sempat "Sweeping"	Elemen Serikat Pekerja Bentuk Majelis Pekerja Buruh Indonesia	NDY; MDN; BRO; ART; WIN; CAS; RTS	25	1	labour

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138	14-May-12	Gelar Seni	Festival Tari Warnai Hari Bebas Kendaraan	row	12	1	art
139	25-May-12	Penetapan DPT Ditunda	KPU DKI Beri Kesempatan Pemangku Kepentingan Periksa DPT	MDN; FRO; BRO; ARN	26	1	democracy
140	25-May-12	Lady Gaga	Penolakan Masih Bergulir Konser	bro; rts	26		religion
141	28-May-12	Seni Rupa	Jakarta dalam Sketsa-sketsa	Wisanggeni, Aryo	12	1	art
142	31-May-12	Foto	Kecam Kekerasan terhadap Wartawan	Wijayanto, Totok	2	1	human rights
143	31-May-12	Penganiayaan Wartawan	11 Anggota Mariner Ditahan	INK; IRE; REN; DWA	23		human rights
144	3-Jun-12		Menarilah Indonesia	Wisanggeni, Aryo; Arcana; Putu Fajar	1; 11	1	art
145	3-Jun-12	Foto	Kebakaran Bus Transjakarta	Priyambodo	4	1	transportation and traffic
146	3-Jun-12	Ekspresi	"Street Dance" - Memancing Gairah Goyang Baru	Wisanggeni, Aryo; Kusuma, Mawar	13	3	art
147	6-Jun-12	Foto	Penghargaan Adipura	Agung, Yuniadhi	27	1	environment
148	15-Jun-12	Korban Lumpur Lapindo	Hari Mulai Jalan Kaki ke Jakarta	ara	21		civil rights
149	16-Jun-12	Langkan	Foto - Penelitian Kandungan Debu	Widiantoro, Wisnu	12	1	environment
150	16-Jun-12	Trotoar	Koalisi Pejalan kaki Protes Pagar Besi	art	26		civil rights
151	25-Jun-12	Pilkada DKI	Mencermati Cagub dari Psikologi Politik	BAGUS TAKWIN; NINIEK L KARIM; DICKY PELUPESY; CHRIST PANGGA BEAN	1; 15	1	democracy
152	1-Jul-12	Dua Cagub Gelar Panggung	Hidayat dan Jokowi Persiapan untuk Kampanye Hari Ini	FRO; NDY; MDN	4	1	democracy
153	12-Jul-12	Pengupahan	Pekerja Pemerintah Tak Sejahterakan Buruh	ham; har	19		labour
154	13-Jul-12	Buruh Tagih Kesejahteraan	Kerja Layak Harus Diwujudkan	Ham; Bro; Cas; Ato; Arn	1; 15	1	labour

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155	16-Jul-12	Foto	Posko Pengaduan DPT	Widianto-ro, Wisnu	27	1	democracy
156	24-Jul-12	Mercy Tabrak Pedagang Kopi	Pengemudi Mengaku Mengonsumsi Minuman Beralkohol Sebelum Berkendara	rts; mdn; art	27	1	security
157	25-Jul-12	Kecelakaan	Pengemudi Mercy Mengonsumsi Alkohol	rts; bro	26		security
158	27-Aug-12	Mobil Tercebur ke Kolam	Perlu Rambu Tambahan agar Pengemudi Waspada	fro; mdn			security
159	31-Aug-12	Foto	Bagikan Tips Berkendara Aman	Widianto-ro, Wisnu	26		transportation and traffic
160	3-Sep-12	Panwas dan FeD Adakan e-TSP PS	Data Pembanding Di harapkan Bisa Mengawal Perolehan Suara di T	art	25	1	democracy
161	17-Sep-12	Waspada! Praktik Politik Uang	Modus Pembagian Uang kepada Calon Pemilih Kian Beragam	fro	27	1	democracy
162	24-Sep-12	Hari Bebas Kendaraan	Ciptakan Gaya Hidup Baru Perkotaan	Triana, Neli	26	1	public space
163	29-Sep-12	Kilas Metro	Deklarasi Stop Tawuran Pelajar	win	26		security
164	30-Sep-12	Sekolah Juga Kena Sanksi	Siswa Se-Jakarta dan Alumni Sepakat Hentikan Tawuran	nel; win	5	1	security
165	4-Oct-12	Buruh Demo, Jakarta Aman	Untung S Rajab: Terima Kasih buat Para Pekerja	NEL; RTS; WIN; NDY	25		labour
166	8-Oct-12	Presiden Akan Turun Tangan	Sudi Silalahi: Ada Media yang Membesarkan	ABK; ODY; SIR; ETA; ADH; BAY; AMR; INA; ELN; WHY	1; 15	1	anti-corruption
167	8-Oct-12	Terima Kasih Jakarta	Ramdansyah: Pilkada Aman, Warga Bangga	nel	25	1	democracy
168	11-Oct-12	Foto	Gerakan Tersenyum Mari	Setiyawan, Iwan	13	1	health and psychology
169	17-Oct-12	Ketidakadilan Pangan	Produk Pangan Impor Terus Masuk	HEN; LKT; BAY; DMU; DEN	18	1	economy
170	24-Oct-12	Kampanye Antidiskriminasi	Tingkatkan Peran Pemerintah Cari Solusi	osa	2		human rights
171	29-Oct-12	Foto	Memperingati Sumpah Pemuda	Kumoro, Heru Sri	1	1	civil rights
172	6-Nov-12	Foto	Bus Transjakarta Terbakar	Kumoro, Heru Sri	15	1	transportation and

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							traffic
173	6-Nov-12	Foto	Membersihkan Patung Selamat Datang	Widianto-ro, Wisnu	25	1	public space
174	9-Nov-12		Kamu Bisa Jadi Pahlawan	ERLAND ANDRIANO; NANDIT YA NIVELIA DAFITRI; MITHA SARAHD EWI; FAYESHA GHINTA D; HATMAJI ISMU WICAKSO NO	35	8	democracy
175	12-Nov-12	Foto	Dukungan kepada Buruh	Kumoro, Heru Sri	19	1	labour
176	19-Nov-12	Foto	Dorong Indonesia Suarakan Perdamaian	Setiyawan, Iwan	2	1	solidarity
177	19-Nov-12	Dunia Kecam Israel	Inggris: Israel Terancam Kehilangan Dukungan Internasional	DHF; MTH; JON; NEL; DWA	9	1	solidarity
178	19-Nov-12	Foto	Kampanye Toilet Sehat	Setiyawan, Iwan	12	1	health and psychology
179	19-Nov-12	Infrastruktur	Segenap Warga DKI Diajak Tolak Tol Dalam Kota	nel; ndy	26		civil rights
180	22-Nov-12	Buruh Tuntut Pemerintah	Pengusaha Keberatan Upah Minimum di DKI Rp 2,2 Juta	HAM; FRO; ILO; RAZ	1; 15		labour
181	26-Nov-12	Foto	Aksi Menolak Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan	Kumoro, Heru Sri	18	1	gender
182	3-Dec-12	Foto	Kampanye Peduli Difabel	Setiyawan, Iwan	13	1	human rights
183	6-Dec-11	Foto	Unjuk Rasa Buruh	Susanto, Agus	1	1	labour
184	17-Dec-12	Foto	Parade Boneka Panda 50 Tahun WWF	Kumoro, Heru Sri	13	1	environment
185	17-Dec-12	Warga Kawal Kerja Pemprov	Pengaduan atas Pelayanan Publik Bisa Lewat Ombudsman RI	art	26	1	democracy
186	21-Dec-12	Hotel Butuh Kepastian	Pergantian Tahun di DKI Akan Diisi Karnaval Komunitas Hobi	ndy; rts	25		carnival

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187	24-Dec-12	Banjir Akan Lebih Parah	Hujan Diprediksi Mengguyur dalam Sepekan ke Depan	RTS; MDN; NDY; GAL; NAW; SEM	1; 15	1	environment
188	24-Dec-12	Foto	Bersiap Hadapi Lonjakan Data	Kumoro, Heru Sri	18	1	public space
189	28-Dec-12	Sosialisasi Tidak Merata Sebagian Pengelola Mal Belum Mendapat Informasi Resmi soal CFN	Natal & Tahun Baru	K01; K02; K06; K09; K11; HEI	2		carnival
190	29-Dec-12	Nostalgia: Mengenang Kemeriahan Malam Muda-Mudi	Jelang Tahun Baru	HEI; K02	3	2	carnival
191	29-Dec-12	Pompa Air Disiagakan	Sampah Mengganggu Kinerja Pompa Air	NEL; WIN; NDY	25		environment
192	31-Dec-12	Persiapan Pesta Belum Kentara	Sopir Mengeluhkan Penutupan Jalan pada Malam Tahun Baru - Jelang Tahun Baru	HEI; DIA; PRA; K07	2		carnival
193	31-Dec-12	Banjir	Sampah dan Endapan Jadi Masalah Utama	fro	26		environment
194	31-Dec-12	Jakarta Siap Berpesta	Manfaatkan Jalur Alternatif, Waspada Pengalihan Arus	FRO; RTS; MDN; MKN; RAY	27		carnival
195	2-Jan-13	Sisi Lain	Berburu Sampah Seusai Pesta	PRA; DIA; EGI; RAZ; K07; K13; K15	1; 15	1	environment
196	2-Jan-13	Kerinduan Warga Terpuaskan	Festival Malam Jakarta Berlangsung Semarak	HEI; EGI; PRA; DIA; RAZ; JOS; K01; K04; K05; K06; K08; K09; K10	1; 15	1	carnival
197	2-Jan-13	Budayakan Pesta Rakyat yang Ramah Lingkungan	Kapolda Metro: Terima Kasih kepada Seluruh Warga Jakarta	NEL; ART; FRO; RTS	25		carnival
198	5-Jan-13	Kolom Politik-Ekonomi	Blusukan	Shambazy, Budiarto	15		economy
199	14-Jan-13	Kekerasan Seksual	Tiga Tahun Terakhir Meningkat Tajam	RTS; MDN; BRO;	1; 15		gender

NO	DATE	COLOMN	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	PHOTO	ISSUE
				WIN; K05			
200	14-Jan-13	Foto	Menolak Kejahatan Seksual terhadap Anak	Widianto-ro, Wisnu	26	1	children
201	14-Jan-13	Hari Bebas Kendaraan	Tolong Jangan Potong Giginya...	K05	27	1	public space
202	18-Jan-13	Korban Banjir	Di Tengah kesulitan, Terselip Keceriaan	Mdn; Win; k02; K11; k12; K14; K15	1; 15		public space
203	21-Jan-13	Hari Tanpa Kendaraan Bermotor	Keceriaan di Tengah Tanggapan Darurat	K02	27		public space
204	4-Feb-13	Hari Bebas Kendaraan Bermotor	Sara Dabi-Dabi yang Bergoyang Serentak di HI	K12; K13	27	1	art
205	5-Feb-13	Foto	Hari Kanker Sedunia	Setiyawan, Iwan	13	1	health and psychology
206	6-Feb-13	Hubungan Industrial	Buruh ke Istana dan Kompleks Parlemen	ham	19		labour
207	8-Feb-13	Kelembagaan	Tak Cukup Bermodal Semangat	Martisasi, Fitrisia; Hartiningsih, Maria	34	1	gender
208	18-Feb-13	Aksi Damai	PRT Bagi-bagi Serbet dan Stiker	K112	27		gender
209	19-Feb-13	Foto	Penambahan Armada Bus Transjajarta	Setiyawan, Iwan	28	1	transportation and traffic
210	27-Feb-13	Foto	Menuntut Penuntasan Korupsi	Pransiska, Lucky	2	1	anti-corruption
211	9-Mar-13	Hari Perempuan Internasional	Stop Kekerasan dan Diskriminasi	pembudy, Ninuk Mardiana	14	1	gender
212	11-Mar-13	Foto	Gerakan Pantang Plastik dan "Styrofoam"	Widianto-ro, Wisnu	27	1	environment
213	18-Mar-13	Foto	Tuntut RUU Masyarakat Adat Jadi UU	Ichwan, Alif	5	1	civil rights
214	18-Mar-13	Hari Bebas Kendaraan Bermotor	Saatnya Pesepeda dan Pejalan Kaki Jadi Raja	Triana, Neli	26		public space
215	25-Mar-13	Pertaruhan Wibawa Hukum	Ungkap Pelakunya, Siapa Pun Mereka!	ANA; DIK; K04; ABK; EGI; SON	1; 15	1	solidarity
216	25-Mar-13	Foto	Tolak RUU Ormas	Jusuf, Widodo S.	2		democracy
217	25-Mar-13	Foto	Tuntaskan Kasus Korupsi	Pransiska, Lucky	3	1	anti-corruption
218	25-Mar-13	Hemat Energi	Semangat Gerakan Satu Jam Padamkan Listrik	bro; K07	25	1	environment

NO	DATE	COLOMN	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	PHOTO	ISSUE
219	26-Mar-13	Isu Kudeta	Presiden Diminta Tidak Perlu Resah	K13; K04; K06; ART; k07; APA; WER; EKI; MHF; LOK; INA	1; 15	1	democracy
220	7-Apr-13	Daya Hidup	Remah Rezeki dari Se-cangkir Kopi	A Handoko; DAY	1; 11	1	economy
221	11-Apr-13	Ketenagaker-jaan	Buruh Desan Pemerintah Revisi Regulasi Jaminan Kesehatan dan Upah	ham; art; ilo	18		labour
222	21-Apr-13		Kumpul "Besanan" Pecinta "Sugar Glider"	Kusuma, Mawar	32	4	public space
223	25-Apr-13	Disiagakan 7.000 Polisi	Buruh Diharapkan Tidak Anarkis dalam Memperingati Hari Buruh	ben; pinl K06	27		labour
224	27-Apr-13	Surat Kepada Redaksi	Bundaran HI Penuh Pedagang	Budhi DL	7		public space
225	30-Apr-13	Kegiatan Buruh Ada di Tiga Titik	Penjagaan Bandara dan Perbatasan Diperketat	FRO; MDN; MKN; BRO; WIN; NDY	15		labour
226	30-Apr-13	Varia Olahraga	Jakarta Gelar "Jakarta Marathon"	SAM	28		sports
227	1-May-13	Puluhan Ribu Buruh ke Jakarta	Penumpang Hindari Ruas Pintu M1 Bandara	K06; MKN; PIN; BRO; ;LAS; MAS; CAS; RTS	15		labour
228	2-May-13	Bisnis Tetap Berjalan	Aksi Buruh Berjalan Damai, Kapolda DKI Sampaikan Penghargaan	RT; MKN; RAY; RTS; WIN; K04	25	1	labour
229	3-May-13	DKI Luncurkan MRT	Sosialisasi Tarif dan Operasional MRT Segera Dilakukan	fro; ndy	26	1	transportation and traffic
230	4-May-13	Kilas Politik & Hukum	Maduma Desak MA Tingkatkan Kinerja	K10	2		democracy
231	7-May-13	Kilas Metro	HUT Ke-486 DKI Usung Kerakyatan-Kebersamaan	fro	26		carnival
232	13-May-13	Hak Pedestrian Dia-baikan	18 Pejalan Kaki Meninggal Setiap Hari	K09; RTS; ART; NDY; WIN	26	1	public space
233	19-May-13	Gerakan Budaya	Agar Bangsa Tidak Sa-kit...	DIA; INE; WKM; XAR	1; 11	1	civil rights

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234	20-May-13	15 Tahun Reformasi	Parpol Gagal Mendorong ke Arah Perubahan	ana	5	1	labour
235	21-May-13	Reformasi Kesehatan	Isu Kesehatan Hanya Menjadi Isu Politik	ATK; ART; MZW; K06; INK	1; 15	1	health and psychology
236	13-Jun-13	Presiden Yakinkan Elite	PKS Menunggu Surat Resmi dari Presiden	WHY; OSA; NWO; IAM	2		economy
237	19-Jun-13	Jakarta Disiapkan, Jadi Kota Festival	HUT DKI Jakarta Bakal Jadi Pesta Rakyat Meriah	fro; nel; ndy	26		carnival
238	21-Jun-13	Warga akan Banjiri Pusat Kota	Sejumlah Ruas Jalan akan Ditutup pada Sabtu Mulai Pukul 18.00	Ndy; Fro; Nel; Mdn; K10	26	1	carnival
239	22-Jun-13	Hari ini, Jakarta Siap Berpesta	Peran Serta Warga yang Mencapai 80 Persen Menjadi Kekuatan	Fro; Ndy; Mkn; K01; K08	26	1	carnival
240	23-Jun-13	Kemeriahan yang Dinantikan	Amat Jarang Warga Jakarta Dihibur Tontonan Bermutu dan Gratis	FRO; NEL; K01; K08; K10	1; 11	1	carnival
241	27-Jun-13	Foto	Hari Anti Narkoba	Ichwan, Alif	15	1	health and psychology
242	27-Jun-13	Karlina Supelli: Di Batas Cakrawala	Lima Cendekiawan Berdedikasi	Maria Hartiningsih; Agnes Aristiarini	1		gender
243	29-Jun-13	Kebijakan Pendidikan	Sekolah Dilarang Sandera Ijazah Siswa	luk	12		civil rights
244	30-Jun-13	Jakarta Berpesta Lagi	500 Ondel-ondel Karya Para Siswa akan Diarak	ndy; k10	11	1	carnival
245	15-Jul-13	Hak Asasi Manusia	Tuntaskan Pengadilan HAM Kasus Wasior-Wamena	edn	4		human rights
246	22-Jul-13	Foto	Padat Dua Arah	Agung, Yuniadhi	1	1	transportation and traffic
247	22-Jul-13	Transportasi Massal	MRT, Ironi Sebuah Proyek Besar di Ibu Kota Negara	Hidayat, Andy Riza	26	1	transportation and traffic
248	1-Aug-13	Zakat: Penyaluran Melalui Institusi Masih Kecil	Liputan Lebaran 2013	wer; aha	2	1	religion
249	7-Aug-13	Jakarta Lengah	Liputan Lebaran 2013	ags	13	5	transportation and traffic
250	19-Aug-13	Langkan	Anggaran Kesehatan Sangat Kurang	adh	12		health and psychology
251	6-Sep-13	Kenaikan Upah	Ribuan Buruh Berunjuk Rasa di Jantung Ibu Kota	art; ndy; ray; pin	1	1	labour

NO	DATE	COLOMN	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	PHOTO	ISSUE
252	17-Sep-13	Foto	Buruh Kembali Berunjuk Rasa	Priyambodo	20	1	labour
253	17-Sep-13	Foto	Terjebak	Priyambodo	27	1	labour
254	13-Oct-13	Idul Adha	Jakarta Night Religious Festival Digelar	pin	4		religion
255	14-Oct-13	Survei "Kompas"	Embusan "Jakarta Baru" Mulai Terasa	Rosalina, M Puteri; Suwardiman	27	1	public space
256	16-Oct-13	Wajib Ikut Memilih Pemimpin	Tiga Hikmah dari Peristiwa Kurban Nabi Ibrahim	why; prahesti, ratih	1; 15	6	religion
257	17-Oct-13	Pengadaan Beras Sesuai Target	Harga Stabil Sejak Dua Bulan Lalu	ENG;EKI; REK;SIR;ETA;RWN; WIE;K09	18	1	economy
258	17-Oct-13	Kekerasan Seksual	Aktivis Desakkan Perlindungan Perempuan	eng; nmp	23		gender
259	18-Oct-13	Inpres soal Upah Ditolak	Ribuan Buruh Berunjuk Rasa, Lalu Lintas Macet	pin; ink; den; hei	15	1	labour
260	26-Oct-13	Foto	Merawat Patung Selamat Datang	Kumoro, Heru Sri	25	1	public space
261	2-Nov-13	AFI 2013	Kampung Film di Gelora Bung Karno	doe	12		art
262	8-Nov-13	Kilas Metro	"Bikenation" Kumpul Komunitas Sepeda	ush	26		public space
263	14-Nov-13	Jakarta Raya Waspada Banjir	Bangunan Baru di Tepi Sungai	FLO; BRO; MDN; MKN; FRO; WIN; PIN; JOS; NEL; HRS; ZAK; NDY	1; 15	8	transportation and traffic
264	17-Nov-13	Hari Toleransi Internasional	Suryadharma - Kerukunan Harus Dipelihara	sem; ika	11	1	religion
265	22-Nov-13	Foto	Hari Perikanan Sedunia	Kumoro, Heru Sri	17	1	economy
266	16-Dec-13	Foto	Capres 2014-2019	Setyawan, Hendra	4	1	democracy
267	16-Dec-13	Dari "Klik" Menjadi Aksi Politik	Laporan Akhir Tahun	Kholri, Ilham	7		anti-corruption
268	17-Dec-13	Foto	Bus Terbakar	Pransiska, Lucky	27	1	transportation and traffic
269	19-Dec-13	Masalah Sosial	4.000 Orang Hidup di Panti Sosial DKI	che	26		civil rights

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270	26-Dec-13	Kejutan di Pengunjung Tahun	Malam Pergantian Tahun Jokowi Duet dengan Rhoma Irama	IRE; NDY; MKN; WER; MDN	26		carnival
271	29-Dec-13	DKI Siap Sambut Pergantian Tahun	DKI Lakukan Rekayasa Lalu Lintas	fro; mdn; ray	5		transportation and traffic
272	31-Dec-13	Virus Pesta Rakyat Menyebarkan	Dikemas dalam "Car Free Night" Natal & Tahun Baru	AYS; WHO; FLO; HRS; COK; NIT; NIK; ETA; EKI; ADH; APO; IRE; FRO; MDN; RAY; ENG; PRA; WIE; DRI; DKA; GER	1; 15	5	carnival
273	31-Dec-13	Dua Juta Orang Hadiri Pesta	Tersedia 162 Lokasi perayaan Pergantian Tahun	MKN; WIN; RAY; RTS; NDY	24	1	carnival
274	2-Jan-14	Tahun Baru: Pesta dan Pesan Warga Dunia	Natal & Tahun Baru	DI; HEI; ADH	1; 11	7	carnival
275	2-Jan-14	Foto	Tahun Politik	Priyambo-do	4	1	carnival
276	7-Jan-14	Terorisme	Pembawa Lima Bom Divonis 7,5 Tahun	fer	3		terrorism
277	27-Jan-14	Kilas Politik & Hukum	Pelopor Keselamatan Berlalu Lintas	ato	2		transportation and traffic
278	10-Feb-14	Pemprov DKI Terjerat Sampah	Anggota DPRD DKI Tidak Pernah Melihat Usulan Pembelian Truk	ndy	26	1	environment
279	13-Feb-14	Foto	Unjuk Rasa Buruh	Setiyawan, Iwan	20	1	labour
280	17-Feb-14	Calon Presiden	Megawati: Belum Tentu Setelah Pileg	gre; a03	3	1	democracy
281	24-Feb-14	Foto	Pemilu Berintegritas	Wijayanto, Totok	3	1	democracy
282	10-Mar-14	Foto	Aksi Bendera Marsinah	Priyambo-do	3	1	gender
283	10-Mar-14	Foto	Jalan Sehat untuk Pemilu Indonesia Satu	Prabowo, Wawan H	4	1	democracy
284	24-Mar-14	Hari Air Sedunia	Bangun Sinergi untuk Air Bersih	Rosalina, M Puteri	27	1	environment

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285	14-Apr-14	Foto	Belahar Bahasa Isyarat	Kumoro, Heru Sri	13	1	civil rights
286	15-Apr-14	Trotoar	Proyek Pemerintah Okupasi Jalur Pedestrian	art; bro	27	1	transportation and traffic
287	21-Apr-14	Foto	Mengamen	Pransiska, Lucky	25	1	public space
288	22-Apr-14	Tenaga Kerja	Serikat Butuh Perkuat Posisi Perempuan	ham	17	1	gender
289	29-Apr-14	Hari Peduli Autisme Sedunia	Belajar Memahami Autisme	Widyan, Donafeby	35	1	health and psychology
290	2-May-14	Aksi Sosial Warnai Hari Buruh	Produktivitas Nasional Harus Diperbaiki	ZAK; ENG; COK; VDL; REK; ETA; SIR; RWN; ILO; WIE; WER; DRI; ACI; NIK; BAY; FRO; NEL; MKN; RTS; PIN; BRO; MDN; A12; A13; FER; ARN; HAM	1; 15	5	labour
291	2-May-14	Kandidat Capres dekati buruh	ARM Dukung Jokowi, KSPI Merapat ke Prabowo	A10; ATO; IAM; KOR; IRE	2		labour
292	3-May-14	Kematian Udin	Polri Belum Hentikan Penyidikan	tra	5	1	human rights
293	3-May-14	Janji SBY Ditagih	Pemerintah Bertanggung Jawab Menyejahterakan Buruh	ham	15		labour
294	5-May-14	Foto	Kampanye Stop Kekerasan Seksual	Setiyawan, Iwan	13	1	gender
295	10-May-14	Hukum Berat Pelaku	Jokowi: Beri Porsi Besar Ajaran Budi Pekerti di Tingkat Dasar	ilp; mdn; bro	25	1	gender
296	12-May-14	Jokowi: NKRI Tidak Boleh Kalah	Alternatif Cawapres Kalla, Mahfud, Abraham	zal; fer; sut	3	1	democracy
297	13-May-14	Mandek 16 Tahun	Presiden Yudhoyono Wajib Tuntaskan Sebelum Tugas Berakhir	IAM; WHY; ONG; A06	4	1	democracy
298	19-May-14	Foto	Pelajar Serukan Pilpres Damai	Fathoni, Riza	3	1	democracy

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299	20-May-14		Ganti Baju	inu	2	6	democracy
300	20-May-14	Foto	Stop Kekerasan pada Anak	Setiyawan, Iwan	14	1	children
301	23-May-14	Penjahat Seksual	Hukuman yang Menjerakan	Wahyudi, M Zaid	14	1	children
302	26-May-14		Mendekati Rakyat	Prabowo, Wawan H	4	4	democracy
303	1-Jun-14	Foto	Mengenang Tragedi Mei 1998	Pransiska, Lucky	15	1	gender
304	2-Jun-14	Foto	Hari Anti Tembakau	Pransiska, Lucky	26	1	health and psychology
305	2-Jun-14	Varia Olahraga	Sosialisasi Indonesia Terbuka	Kumoro, Heru Sri	28	1	sports
306	23-Jun-14	Ketegasan Capres terlihat	Prabowo Tekankan Prinsip "Good Neighbour", Jokowi Pastikan Dukung Palestina - Indonesia Satu	FER;JOS; DWA;A06	1; 15	7	democracy
307	23-Jun-14	HUT DKI Jakarta	Momentum Berbenah di Segala Lini	fro; a01	1; 15		carnival
308	23-Jun-14	Capres Pikat Warga Ibu Kota Prabowo Berkampanye di GBK, Jokowi Gelar Gerak Jalan di Monas	Indonesia satu	FER; APA; SEM; JUM; VDL; CHE; COK; A14	4	1	democracy
309	1-Jul-14	Foto	Penyempitan Jalan MH Thamrin	Priyambo-do	26	1	transportation and traffic
310	3-Jul-14	Iuran Harian di Kaki Lima	Butuh Model Pengelolaan Baru agar Aktivitas Pedagang Dapat Diatur	FRO; NDY; NEL; MDN; A01	24	1	economy
311	10-Jul-14	Pemilu Presiden	Sepotong Suasana di Solo dan Jakarta	art; rwn	2	1	democracy
312	11-Jul-14	Pasca Pencoblosan Damai	Polisi Siap Mengawal	FER;HRS; SEM;WSI	3	1	democracy
313	12-Jul-14	Palestina	RI Upayakan Diplomasi Internasional untuk Galang Dukungan	DWA; WHY; ATO; EDN; DRI; NIT; CHE; BAY; Musthafa Abd Rahman	1; 15	4	solidarity
314	12-Jul-14	4 Hari Serangan, 100 Tewas	Badan HAM PBB Menyinyalir Israel Melanggar Hukum Perang	sam	9	2	solidarity

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315	14-Jul-14	Foto	Pesan Damai Pasca Pilpres	Widianto-ro, Wisnu	4	1	democracy
316	23-Jul-14	Demokrasi Semakin Matang	Menko Polhukam: Perusuh Terkait Penetapan Hasil Pilpres Akan Ditindak: Pemilu Presiden 2014	RWN; BAH; ONG; ESA; PRA; WER; HRS; ODY; NIC	2	1	democracy
317	11-Aug-14	Foto	Ditiadakan	Priyambodo	26	1	transportation and traffic
318	16-Aug-14	Foto	Di Atas Bundaran HI		15	1	public space
319	22-Aug-14	Foto	Jembatan Penyeberangan Orang	Priyambodo	27	1	public space
320	12-Sep-14	Kepala Daerah In-gatkan SBY	KPU: Pilkada oleh Rakyat Keunggulan Demokrasi Indonesia di Mata Dunia	NTA; FRN; GER; WHY; AMR; REK; A13	1; 15	4	democracy
321	12-Sep-14	Foto	Advokat Tolak RUU Advokat	Kumoro, Heru Sri	4	1	democracy
322	15-Sep-14	RUU Pilkada	Presiden Berupaya Cari Solusi Terbaik	WHY; A05; A13	1; 15	5	democracy
323	15-Sep-14	Kilas Metro	Foto - Berforo Bersama Badut	Priyambodo	26	1	public space
324	21-Sep-14	Sisi Lain	Mengembalikan Garis Putih, Hak Pejalan Kaki	art	3		civil rights
325	22-Sep-14	Hari Perdamaian Internasional	Jumlah Kasus Kekerasan Turun	a05	4	1	human rights
326	25-Sep-14	Foto	Advokat Berunjuk Rasa	Fathoni, Riza	5	1	democracy
327	29-Sep-14	Foto	Sepeda Santai	Kumoro, Heru Sri	1	4	sports
328	29-Sep-14	Janji SBY Ditagih dengan Perppu	Warga Himpun KTP Gugat UU Pilkada	Suhartono; DRI; OSA; NTA; SUT; A13	1; 15		democracy
329	1-Oct-14	Pilkada Tidak Langsung	Melawan Sifat Alami Otak	Wahyudi, M Zaid	14	1	democracy
330	2-Oct-14	Infrastruktur	Jepang Menaruh Harapan kepada Basuki	A06	27	1	public space
331	3-Oct-14	KHL Masih Dihitung	Buruh Tuntut Kenaikan Upah Minimum 2015 Hingga 30 Persen	fro; ray; rts; win	26	1	labour
332	3-Oct-14	Unjuk Rasa Buruh	Aktivitas Bisnis Tak Terusik, Warga Tetap Bekerja	a06; a14; win	26		labour
333	6-Oct-14	Foto	Doa dan Harapan untuk Indonesia	Pransiska, Lucky	3	1	democracy

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334	6-Oct-14	Kilas Metro	Foto - Warga Tetap Berolahraga	Pransiska, Lucky	26	1	sports
335	12-Oct-14	Kesehatan Jiwa	Berkas Cahaya Skizofrenia	Kusuma, Mawar	1; 15	1	health and psychology
336	12-Oct-14		Bukan Penyakit Kutukan	Kusuma, Mawar	24		health and psychology
337	13-Oct-14	Perppu Pilkada	Kontras Siapkan Dua Gugatan ke MK	A13	4	1	democracy
338	16-Oct-14	Kilas Politik & Hukum	Foto - Dukungan Relawan Muncul Kembali	Pransiska, Lucky	4	1	democracy
339	17-Oct-14	Aparat Jaga Ketat Ibu Kota	Disiapkan Skenario Pengamanan	ART; RTS; RAY; NDY; FER; WIE; ANTARA	1; 15		democracy
340	17-Oct-14	Foto	Aksi Hari Pangan Se-dunia	Priyambo-do	20	1	economy
341	18-Oct-14	Polri Siaga Penuh di Ibu Kota	Ruas Jalan Sepanjang Hotel Indonesia-Istana Ditutup Saat Kirab	RTS; PIN; MKN; RAY	25	1	transportation and traffic
342	19-Oct-14		Menyambut Pemerintahan Baru	Widianto-ro, Wisnu	1	full page	democracy
343	19-Oct-14	Pawai Pelantikan Presiden	Gelaran Pesta Rakyat dari Rakyat	FRO; A14; a06; pin; RAY; NEL	1; 15	6	democracy
344	19-Oct-14	Komunitas Kaum Urban	Gowes ala Pesepeda Tradisional Inggris	A06	3		sports
345	19-Oct-14		Sebelum Pesta Rakyat Digelar	Kusuma, Mawar; Wisang-geni, Aryo	24	4	democracy
346	20-Oct-14	Pelantikan Jokowi Mempersatukan: Banyak Perwakilan Negara akan Hadir	Indonesia Baru	OSA;FER; NTA;IAM; A13	2		democracy
347	21-Oct-14		Bergerak Bersama demi Indonesia Raya	BIL; FER; RYO; NTA; AMR; WHY; ROW; IAM	1; 15	7	democracy
348	21-Oct-14	Syukuran Rakyat	Kami Ingin Menjadi Saksi Sejarah	DOE; MHF; MYR; ROW; WKM; XAR	15	1	democracy

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349	21-Oct-14	Warga Aktif Punguti Sampah	Relawan dari Sejumlah Daerah Bantu Petugas	FRO; NEL; MDN; NDY; RAY; PIN; BRO; MKN; A06; A14	26	1	environment
350	21-Oct-14	Antusiasme	Pelantikan Jokowi Sejarah Baru bagi Rakyat	a14; mdn	26		democracy
351	21-Oct-14	Ekonomi Rakyat Berputar	Syukuran Rakyat Memberi Dampak Positif bagi Sektor Usaha	NEL; FRO; PIN; RAY; NDY; MKN; BRO; WIN; A14; MDN; A06	27	1	economy
352	26-Oct-14	Fenomena Budaya	Konser Rakyat di Panggung Politik	DOE; WK; MHF; ROW; XAR; CAN	1	11	art
353	1-Nov-14	Foto	Pameran Satu Tahun MRT	Susanto, Agus	25	1	public space
354	11-Nov-14	Kilas Metro	Persiapan ERP, Sepeda Motor Dibatasi	fro	26		transportation and traffic
355	12-Nov-14	Pembatasan Sepeda Motor Perlu Dikaji	Pemerintah Harus Mempermudah Akses Warga Menggunakan Angkutan Publik	RTS; RAY; FRO; NDY	24	1	transportation and traffic
356	15-Nov-04	Foto	Kecam Penyerangan Masjid Al-Aqsa	Fathoni, Riza	2	1	solidarity
357	17-Nov-14	Pembatasan Sepeda Motor	Putar Akal di Thamrin dan Medan Merdeka	Sulistiyawaty, Agnes Rita; Adi, Windoro	1	3	transportation and traffic
358	17-Nov-14	Hari Toleransi Internasional	Kebhinekaan Modal Memperkuat Bangsa	iam	4	1	art
359	17-Nov-14	Polisi Mengawal Acara Pelantikan	Warga Dukung Basuki Jadi Gubernur	rts; win; art; ray	25	1	democracy
360	24-Nov-14	Foto	Jaga Jakarta	Pransiska, Lucky	26	1	civil rights
361	25-Nov-14	Sarana Pendukung	Pelarangan Sepeda Motor Mulai 17 Desember	fro; ray; ndy	27		transportation and traffic
362	28-Nov-14	Sektor Riil: Kemudahan Berbisnis Masih Jauh	Menatap Indonesia 2015 - Antara Harapan & Tantangan Ekonomi	Maryoto, Andreas; Gero, Pieter P	48	2	labour

NO	DATE	COLOMN	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	PHOTO	ISSUE
			dari Asa				
363	1-Dec-14	DKI Minati "Bike Shar-ing"	Wali Kota London Kagumi Program Hari Bebas Kendaraan Bermotor	fro; ndy; pri; dna	26	1	public space
364	2-Dec-14	Kasus HIV di Lapas Meningkat Drastis	Peringatan Hari AIDS Sedunia Digelar di Sejumlah Daerah	JOG; KOR; FLO; FRN; WER; JUM; WIE; ACI	13	1	health and psychology
365	4-Dec-14	Foto	Bunga di Jembatan	Pransiska, Lucky	25	1	public space
366	8-Dec-14	Korupsi SDA Marak	KPK akan Mengkaji Ulang Kontrak Karya di Daerah	faj; bil	3	1	anti-corruption
367	8-Dec-14	Publik Menagih Kasus HAM	Pelanggaran Syarat Bisa Membawa Polycarpus Kembali ke Penjara	ana	4	1	human rights
368	11-Dec-14	Ketenagaker-jaan	Ribuan Buruh Menuntut Revisi Upah	RTS; RAY; MKN; ILO; NAD; SEM; MED; TIN	15	1	labour
369	15-Dec-14	Rambu Larangan Mulai Dipasang	Lusa, Pelarangan Sepeda Motor Diujicobakan	art; ilo	25	1	transportation and traffic
370	29-Dec-14	Panggung Tahun Baru Bertebaran di Jakarta	PKL di Monas Terus Ditata - Jelang tahun Baru 2015	rts; san; bay	2	2	carnival
371	29-Dec-14	Foto	"Selfie" Marak	Kumoro, Heru Sri	19	1	public space
372	30-Dec-14	Laporan Akhir Tahun	Menggugat Kota Lewat "Meme"	Manumoyoso, Ambrosius Harto; Susilo, Harry; Yunus, Saiful Rijal	28		civil rights
373	2-Jan-15	Aksi Simpatik di Tengagh Gempita	Warga Diajak Tetap Optimis di Tahun Baru - Tahun Baru 2015	tim Kompas	2	1	solidarity
374	5-Jan-15	Selamat Datang, Selamat Datang...!	Riwayat Kota	Adi, Windoro	27	2	public space

NO	DATE	COLOMN	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	PHOTO	ISSUE
375	10-Jan-15	Pelarangan Tak Terhindarkan	Uji Coba Pembatasan Sepeda Motor Harus Dievaluasi secara Terukur	FRO; ART; RTS; RAY; DEA	25	1	transportation and traffic
376	13-Jan-15	Foto	Persoalan Urban	Priyambodo	1		health and psychology
377	19-Jan-15	Foto	Foto Bersama Presiden Jokowi	Widiantoro, Wisnu	3	1	public space
378	19-Jan-15	Kepala Polri Badrodin	Pengusutan Korupsi Jadi Prioritas	san; ryo	4	1	anti-corruption
379	11-Feb-15	Kolom Stasiun Mulai Dibangun	Banjir Tidak Ganggu Proyek MRT Jakarta	fro; b08	25		transportation and traffic
380	23-Feb-15	Eksekutif Mati	DPR Dukung Penuh Sikap Pemerintah	nta; jos; san; b02	1; 15	2	human rights
381	2-Mar-15	Kisruh APBD DKI	Dugaan Anggaran Siluman Menguat	mkn; dea; jal	1; 15	3	anti-corruption
382	2-Mar-15	Dukungan Warga	Mereka Bersatu dalam Semangat Anti Korupsi	dea; b10; mkn	25		anti-corruption
383	9-Mar-15	Kilas Politik & Hukum	Foto - Suara Perempuan Anti Korupsi	Kumoro, Heru Sri	4	2	anti-corruption
384	10-Mar-15	KPK-Polri	Kegaduhan Politik dan Keraguan Pasar	Marta, M Fajar; Osa, Stefanus	5	1	anti-corruption
385	10-Mar-15	Komunitas Mama Taufan	Solidaritas meringankan beban	Sulistiyawaty, Agnes Rita; Astono, Banu	24	3	solidarity
386	16-Mar-15	Foto	Tolak NIIS di Indonesia	Widiantoro, Wisnu	4	2	solidarity
387	16-Mar-15	Foto	Kampanye Kesehatan Gigi	Widiantoro, Wisnu	13	2	health and psychology
388	16-Mar-15	Kilas Ekonomi	Foto - Sosialisasi Pelaporan Pajak	Widiantoro, Wisnu	18	2	economy
389	27-Mar-15	Kata Kota	Mengembalikan CFD	Hermawan, Agus	27		public space
390	29-Mar-15	Penghematan energi	Tidak Semua Orang Memadamkan Lampu	HRS; RWN; B06; B07	15		environment
391	30-Mar-15	Radikalisme	Kesenjangan Turut Pengaruhi Ekstremisme	ham; ian; b12	4		civil rights
392	30-Mar-15	Foto	Aksi Donor Darah Serentak	Widiantoro, Wisnu	13	1	public space
393	31-Mar-15	"World Wide Insta Meet"	Kenalkan Bandung ke Dunia	Fauzia, Amirush Shaffa; Laksono, Arief	35	1	public space
394	4-Apr-15	Kilas Metro	Operasi Simpatik sampai 21 April	ray	26	2	transportation and traffic

NO	DATE	COLOMN	TITLE	AUTHOR	PAGE	PHOTO	ISSUE
395	15-Apr-15	Asia Afrika Kekuatan Penentu	KAA Sangat penting bagi Negara Palestina	ndy; che; dwa	11	1	solidarity
396	22-Apr-15	Kebersihan Kota	Penyapu Jalan Pun Menyambut KAA	b06	25		environ-ment
397	27-Apr-15	Lingkungan	HBKB Tanpa Keriuhan Kampanye Politik	b06; art	25		environ-ment
398	27-Apr-15	Foto	Tarian Tradisional	Priyambo-do	25	2	art
399	30-Apr-15	Kesejahteraan	Pemerintah Canangkan Program Sejuta Rumah	why	17	1	labour
400	2-May-15	Butuh Cemaskan Saat Pensiun	Aksi Unjuk Rasa di Beberapa Daerah Aman	B01; B06; B07; B09; DIA; DRI; GRE; COK; BAY; ACI; ESA; ENG; EGI; WIE; ODY; ETA; CHE; SIR; PIN; RAY; ARN; NDY	17	1	labour
401	6-May-15	Kinerja Pemerintah	Ekonomi di Antara Demokrasi dan Hukum	Marta, M Fajar; Osa, Stefanus	5	1	anti-corruption
402	8-May-15	Foto	Pemenuhan Hak	Kumoro, Heru Sri	25	2	health and psychology
403	18-May-15	Foto	Proyek Pembangunan Angkutan Massal Cepat	Setiyawan, Iwan	1	1	transportation and traffic
404	8-Jun-15	Jakarnaval Hibur Warga	Membengkak, Dana Penyelenggaraan Akan Diaudit	fro	26	1	carnival
405	15-Jun-15	Foto	1.000 Pendekar dan Gelar Pangsi Betawi	Priyambo-do	26	1	sports
406	22-Jun-15	Kegiatan Presiden	Ulang Tahun Tanpa Perayaan...	Suhartono	5	1	carnival

Appendix 2 Classification of Issues Based on News from *Kompas* (November 2009 – June 2015)

No	ISSUES	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	TOTAL
1	democracy	1	1	6	11	4	32		55
2	labour		6	7	12	11	8	2	46
3	public space	4	5	2	5	10	8	5	39
4	transportation and traffic		4	3	3	8	11	4	33
5	carnival	1	1	5	6	11	4	2	30
6	environment		4	6	9	3	3	3	28
7	anti-corruption	13	2	1	1	3	1	6	27
8	health and psychology	1	4	1	4	4	5	3	22
9	civil rights		2	2	6	4	4	1	19
10	human rights	1		4	6	1	3	1	16
11	sports		5	5		1	4	1	16
12	gender			2	2	6	5		15
13	solidarity		3	2	2	1	3	4	15
14	art		2	2	4	2	2	1	13
15	economy				3	5	3	1	12
16	religion			3	1	4			8
17	security			2	5				7
18	children					1	2		3
19	terrorism			1			1		2
	TOTAL	21	39	54	80	79	99	35	406