



Volume 9 Number 1,  
April 2022: 25-33

## Iconography and Iconology of The Aksi Kamisan Photo (13-2-2014) by Fanny Octavianus

Pamungkas Wahyu Setiyanto, Novan Jemmi Andrea, Agus Triyana

Jurusan Fotografi, Fakultas Seni Media Rekam

Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta

Jalan Parangtritis Km 6,5 Sewon Yogyakarta

Telp.: +628122969624, Email: pamungkaswahyusetiyanto@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

The presence of photography as a medium of communication has transformed into an art that not only perpetuates reality in images (visuals), but also poetic values and/or image language. Likewise, journalistic photography works are created not only based on existing moments or events, but are also influenced by views, skills, and other factors inherent in the photographer. The photographer has the right to place his philosophical aspects based on the importance of his secondary needs. The creation of photographic works is the result of the integration of the social, spiritual and cultural life of the photographer, in this context as was done by Fanny Octavianus who consistently documented the Aksi Kamisan by activists to demand that the government resolve cases of human rights violations. The consistency of the Aksi Kamisan becomes a strength that makes this action full of values that can be observed through the signs implied in every action they take. From this explanation, Fanny's work on Aksi Kamisan is studied through factual and expressive visual signs, themes and concepts, and also looks for the symbolic value in Fanny's work. In carrying out this excavation and search, the method of art history uses the Iconography and Iconology approach of Erwin Panofsky. As a result, this study found that there were various visual markers of the Aksi Kamisan photo that were factual and expressive. Factual markers can be observed from formal aspects, while expressional markers are obtained from motion effects created by controlling the camera using slow motion techniques. The symbolic values conveyed in this Aksi Kamisan photo are the era of openness in conveying people's opinions directly to the government, which can be seen as a symbol of cultural openness in the reform era.

Keywords: iconography; iconology; demonstration photo iconology

### ABSTRAK

**Ikongrafi dan Ikonologi Foto Aksi Kamisan (13-2-2014) Karya Fanny Octavianus.**

Kehadiran fotografi tidak saja mengabadikan realitas dalam gambar (visual), namun juga nilai puitis dan atau bahasa gambar. Begitu juga dengan karya fotografi jurnalistik yang tercipta tidak sekadar berdasarkan momen atau peristiwa, tetapi dipengaruhi oleh pandangan, kemampuan keterampilan, dan faktor lain yang melekat pada diri fotografernya. Fotografer berhak menempatkan aspek filosofisnya berdasarkan kepentingan kebutuhan sekundernya. Penciptaan karya foto merupakan hasil dari integrasi kehidupan sosial, spiritual dan kebudayaan si pemotret, dalam konteks ini seperti yang dilakukan oleh Fanny Octavianus yang konsisten mendokumentasikan Aksi Kamisan yang dilakukan para aktivis untuk menuntut pemerintah menuntaskan kasus pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM). Konsistensi aksi Kamisan menjadi sebuah kekuatan yang menjadikan aksi ini penuh dengan nilai yang dapat diamati melalui tanda-tanda tersirat dalam setiap aksi yang dilakukan. Dari pemaparan tersebut, karya Fanny tentang Aksi Kamisan dikaji melalui tanda-tanda visual yang bersifat faktual dan ekspresional, tema dan konsep, dan juga dicari nilai simbolik yang ada dalam karya Fanny tersebut. Dalam melakukan penggalan dan pencarian

ini menggunakan metode sejarah seni dengan pendekatan Ikonografi dan Ikonologi Erwin Panofsky. Hasilnya, penelitian ini menemukan adanya berbagai penanda visual foto Aksi Kamisan yang bersifat faktual dan ekspresional. Penanda faktual dapat diamati dari aspek-aspek formal, sedangkan penanda ekspresional didapat dari efek gerak yang diciptakan dengan pengendalian kamera menggunakan teknik slow motion. Nilai-nilai simbolik yang disampaikan dalam foto Aksi Kamisan ini adalah era keterbukaan dalam menyampaikan pendapat rakyat langsung kepada pemerintah bisa dipandang sebagai simbol keterbukaan kultur era reformasi.

Kata kunci: ikonografi, ikonologi, ikonologi foto demonstrasi

## Introduction

The presence of photography as a medium of communication, is something that cannot be denied as part of today's rapidly developing technology. In its development and also the changing times that affect it, photography has become an art that not only perpetuates reality in images (visuals), but also poetic values and or image language. work. This can be seen from the photographic work that presents the technical creation and also from the idea of creation. So is the case with journalistic photography. Journalistic photography is certainly created not only based on existing moments or events, but is also influenced by the views, skills, and other factors inherent in the photographer. In other words, the photographer has the right to place his philosophical aspects based on the interests of his secondary needs. The creation of photographic works is the result of the integration of the social, spiritual and cultural life of the photographer, in this context as done by Fanny Octavianus. In a wider context, apart from showing the object to be photographed, the photographer is able and has the power to choose the object to be photographed, in a certain way aimed at representing his thoughts (Susanto, 2017: 55).

For approximately seven years from 2009-2015, Fanny participated in the Aksi Kamisan which was routinely held in the area or around the State Palace in Central Jakarta. Aksi Kamisan is a sympathetic action to demand the completion of cases of human rights violations in Indonesia. This action is carried out by people who care about cases of human rights violations. These people have different backgrounds, even one of the people who

initiated and is known to be the most consistent in this action is Maria Katarina Sumarsih, the mother of Benardinus Realino Norma Irawan who was a victim of the Semanggi 1 tragedy. This action continues to this day. Fifteen years already, every Thursday, activists stand in front of the Jakarta State Palace. They demanded that the government fulfill its commitment to resolve cases of human rights violations. During that time, since the reign of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono until President Joko Widodo, no less than 540 letters have been sent to the Palace even though the government is still considered indifferent to their demands (Mantalea, 2022).

The commitment and consistency of the activists' struggle for the Aksi Kamisan is finally considered as a form of humanitarian struggle that conveys sympathy for the concern for human rights. In a specific perspective, this action is considered as an educational space for young people and power holders. For those who grew up along with the journey of this action, then got involved and got involved in politics in this country, this action is expected as an education about the big homework for the government regarding human rights cases that are part of the unfinished reform agenda (Subarkah, 2022).

Fanny photographic works that are produced from behind the lens are the result of an empirical journey about his observations of the activities or actions of the community. Of the many photos that Fanny has produced about this Kamisan Action, the work published in the 2013-2014 Kilas Balik book is seen as a work that can represent and have character. The work is considered to represent the aspects, meanings and supporting contexts that

make up Fanny's work on Kamisan Action. The Aksi Kamisan itself is a sympathetic action carried out by families and groups who care about resolving cases of past human rights violations, especially during the reformation period.

The consistency of the Aksi Kamisan becomes a strength that makes this action full of values that can be observed through the signs implied in every action they take. From this explanation, Fanny's work on Aksi Kamisan is tried to explore the factual and expressive visual signs, themes and concepts, and also look for the symbolic value in Fanny's work. In carrying out this excavation and search, the method of art history uses the Iconography and Iconology approach of Erwin Panofsky.

**Methodology**

This research departs from using an interpretive paradigm rooted in a social science perspective that is more holistic in looking at problems. The interpretation effort in this research will use requires three stages that must be passed the Iconography and Iconology approach of Erwin Panofsky, 1) Pre-Iconography description 2) iconographical analysis), and 3) iconological interpretation (Panofsky, 1955: 26-40).

To assist in exploring the analysis, Panofsky also formulated a confirmation framework as a corrective tool in each stage of the analysis. The formulation of this confirmation framework is as shown in table 2. (Panofsky, 1955: 41).

The pre-iconography stage is the initial stage that explores the visual aspects of photographic works, the primary or natural meanings contained in factual and expressional meanings are explored through visual forms or artistic motifs. Excavation

of factual meaning is done by identifying the visual form that appears on the object, the situation of the event and the moment of the object. This can be done by observing or seeing visual elements such as lines, colors, shapes, techniques, and the main object, background, or other supporting objects. Meanwhile, the exploration of expressional meaning can be done by observing the habits and familiarity of the sad character of a pose, gesture, or a pleasant/sad atmosphere of objects and events. Identify the relationship between a pose or motion and the atmosphere of the object of events that can make expressive qualities.

In order for the description in the pre-Iconography stage to be more in-depth, a corrective principle of interpretation of the history of tradition is needed, in this case the history of journalistic photography. In the development of journalistic photography is very fast. A work of photojournalism is not only created when an event occurs. But the work of photojournalism is created of course because of an idea. The idea in photojournalism is a message plan that will be conveyed to the public through photo news media with a specific purpose (Darwanto, 2007). In addition, photojournalism works can also be categorized as expressive photos if the connotative message is stronger than the text that explains or is visually legible (Ajidarma, 2003).

The next stage is the second stage, namely Iconographic Analysis, this stage is a stage to explore secondary meanings. At this stage, the analysis is assisted by literal knowledge and various allegory, as well as images of other works of art. Iconography implies a sense of familiarity with a particular theme or concept as understood through literal sources, whether acquired through reading

Table 1. Stages of Iconography and Iconology Studies.

No	Object Interpretation	Action Interpretation
1	Primary or natural (A) factual, (B) expressional subjects make up the world of artistic motifs.	Pre-iconographic description (pseudo-formal analysis)
2	Secondary or conventional subject matter, compiling the world of images, stories and allegory.	Iconographic Analysis
3	Intrinsic meaning or content, composes the world of 'symbolic'	Values Iconological Interpretation

Table 2. Confirmation framework.

No	Tools of Interpretation	Corrective Principles of Interpretation (History of Tradition)
1	Practical experience (a sense of familiarity with objects and events)	Art history (views into the ways in which, under varying historical conditions, objects and events are expressed in form.
2	Knowledge of literal sources (familiarity with specific themes and concepts)	History of types (views of the way in which, under varying historical conditions, specific themes and concepts are expressed through objects and events)

or through word of mouth tradition. To see this relationship requires knowledge and observation of the habits of everyday practical experience. (Panofsky, 1955: 35).

In order for the depth of iconographic analysis to be achieved, a confirmation framework with the corrective principle of historical type is needed, namely historical conditions that affect the convention of a theme or concept that is expressed in specific objects and events and applies to a certain time and region (Panofsky in Burhan, 2015: 4).

The next stage is the third stage, namely the iconology interpretation stage. This stage is the most important stage to explore the intrinsic meaning or content of a work of art. After exploring the aspects through pre-Iconographic descriptions and Iconographic analysis, then mental ability is needed to understand symbols. This mental ability, which is called synthetic intuition, concerns the tendency of the importance of personal psychological thinking and *weltanschauung* (views of life) (Panofsky in Burhan, 2015: 5). So by paying attention to visual forms, motifs, images, stories and allegory as the embodiment of the underlying principles, these elements can be interpreted as what Ernst Caissar calls symbolic values. To get a deeper iconological interpretation, a confirmation framework is needed with the corrective principle of interpreting cultural history through various symptoms that form symbols. It should be realized that studies to examine works of art originating from the past automatically often raise awareness of space and time, so that a historical construction is needed to present stories from the past (Zuliati, 2014: 3).

The research method used in this study is descriptive qualitative. Descriptive research method is a method of conducting research on an object, a condition, a system of thought or a class of events in the present (Nazir, 1988). Ardial (2014: 248-262), also emphasized that qualitative research that believes in multiple realities can be carried out using descriptive methods that do not attempt to test hypotheses, but rather explore phenomena and clarify variables and units under study based on apparent facts. The purpose of this descriptive research is to produce a systematic, factual and accurate description of the facts, characteristics and relationships between the phenomena being investigated.

This research is a qualitative research, using the theory of iconography and iconology. The art history approach was used as a research method. The steps taken with the art history approach are by conducting source searches (heuristics), source criticism, analysis and interpretation, then compiling historiography (Herdiani, 2016).

The search for sources (heuristics) is carried out by collecting oral sources, library sources, internet pages, and also actors to be used as research data. The next step is the selection and criticism of sources to criticize the sources that have been collected to prove their authenticity and credibility. Then the step is continued with the analysis and interpretation of the sources used, namely the step to interpret the facts and determine the meaning to produce a synthesis. After that, the

last step was compiling historiography by conveying the reconstruction of historical traces



Figure 1. Aksi Kamisan by Fanny Octavianus in the 2013-2014. (Source: Kilas Balik Photobook)



Figure 2. Aksi Kamisan by Fanny Octavianus in the 2013-2014. (Source: Kilas Balik Photobook)

based on Panofsky's iconography and iconology theory.

### **Description of Pre-Iconography**

The pre-Iconography stage is the initial stage that explores the visual aspects of photographic works, the primary or natural meaning contained in factual and expressional meanings explored through forms. visual or artistic motive. (Panofsky, 1955:33-34). Excavation of factual meaning is done by identifying the visual form that appears on the object, the situation of the event and the moment of the object. This can be done by observing or seeing visual elements such as lines, colors, shapes, techniques, and the main object, background, or other supporting objects. This process is done by looking at two photos that present the Kamisan Action.

The first photo shows a visual form of a movement such as a black scroll or circle, the object of the roll or circle that seems to move has white letters that are disguised but can still be read. The letters are the sentence "KAMISAN MELAWAN". On the left side of the scroll object or circle that seems to move, there is a human figure with a white line on the head that looks faint with light brown clothes. The background or background of the main object looks like a white building with vertical lines or large and tall pillars. Then the second photo shows a blurry or out of focus visual form of a person's head that looks black from the side with a gaping mouth or a silhouette under a black umbrella that stretches diagonally across the photo field. The black umbrella has the words "DON'T SILENCE RESIST!". It can be seen that the focus of the photo is on the white text. The background of the main object is the blue sky and a few white clouds. The visual representations of these forms are the construction of the action scenes displayed. in her photographic work Fanny Octavianus on Kamisan Action.

Expressional meaning exploration is done by observing the habits and familiar feelings of sad character from a pose, gesture, or pleasant/sad atmosphere towards objects and events. Identifying the relationship between a pose or motion and

atmosphere The visual appearance of the two photos of the Aksi Kamisan shows an emotional action, which is illustrated in the first photo of a chaotic movement and the second photo shows faces with gaping mouths that seem to be shouting something or shouting about their demands.

The first photo is depicted with the effect of movement, but it is clear that the words "Kamisan Resist" represent the attitude of the people who participated in the action, then the second photo explains that the first photo is a group of people who are demanding their rights. The background of the first photo shows a white building with sturdy tall pillars or pillars showing that the building is the State Palace located in Central Jakarta, which is the center of government of the Republic of Indonesia.

The two photos created by Fanny illustrate the actions taken by the public demanding the central government. The motion effect created by controlling the camera using slow motion techniques in the first photo adds to the expression or dramatization of the atmosphere when the action occurs, then the accuracy in capturing the silhouette facial expressions screaming in the first photo also strengthens the dramatization of the first photo, that the atmosphere in the action is full with tension and emotion.

The depth of description in the pre-Iconographic stage requires corrective principles of interpretation of the history of tradition, in this case the history of journalistic photography. Judging from the history of photojournalism which was initially only an illustration of news and photographers only as documenting events, then along with technological advances and the development of journalistic photography, the idea of creating journalistic photography became important. As stated by Darwanto, the idea of creating journalistic photo works is very important so that the message contained in the photo can be read by the reader. This idea will certainly affect the results of the photos created by the photographer, so that in the same event due to differences in the photographer's ideas, the photos displayed can also be different. Thus, this Aksi Kamisan photo was created with the photographer's idea to show a chaotic and tense atmosphere as well as emotionally

displayed by using slow motion techniques in the first photo to get the picture.

Then in the second photo, Fanny uses the backlight technique to get a silhouetted face by shouting, because maybe Fanny doesn't want to break the reader's attention to the main object of writing and her mouth is open by displaying a clear face, so that the reader remains focused on the writing and the silhouette of the screaming face. Fanny's connotative message is strengthened by Ajidarma's statement, that photojournalism works can also be categorized as expressive photos if the connotative message is stronger than the text that explains or is visually legible (Ajidarma, 2003). The presence of the shape or style of the first photo created by Fanny with this slow motion technique has also been found in the world of journalistic photography.

The photo in the style of the first photo can be seen from the work of Robert Capa, a war photographer who photographed the second world war during the landing of Allied troops on the Omaha coast of Normandy. You can also see the work of John Moore, the Getty Image photographer who won the World Press Photo, about the 2008 bombing in Pakistan that killed the former prime minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhuto. As a photographer who is in a situation or event that occurs, Fanny feels the need to create a chaotic or tense or even emotional atmosphere by shooting slow motion techniques.

### **Iconographic Analysis**

Process of Analysis is a stage to explore secondary meanings. At this stage, the analysis is assisted by literal knowledge and various allegory, as well as images of other works of art. Iconography implies a sense of familiarity with a particular theme or concept as understood through literal sources, whether acquired through reading or through word of mouth tradition. To see this relationship requires knowledge and observation of the habits of everyday practical experience (Panofsky, 1955:35).

The theme of this Thursday's Action photo is about the dissatisfaction or demands of the community for the handling of cases of Human

Rights (HAM) that occurred in Indonesia. This kind of theme often occurs in this part of the world, more specifically in Indonesia, there is also frequent public dissatisfaction with human rights cases. Since Indonesia's independence, there may have been human rights cases handled by the government, but when the handling of human rights cases is deemed unsatisfactory to the community, then sometimes people will take to the streets or stage demonstrations to voice their demands.

The human rights case demanded by the Aksi Kamisan has actually been going on for a long time. The Aksi Kamisan is an action that is carried out every Thursday in front of the State Palace by victims of human rights violations in Indonesia. This action was first started on January 18, 2007. The demands of this activity are demanding the state to resolve gross human rights violations in Indonesia such as the Semanggi Tragedy, Trisakti, and May 13-15 1998 Tragedy, Tanjung Priok Incident, Talangsari Incident 1989 and others (Ristianto, 2019).

Same theme regarding demands for handling human rights also occurred when the families of the victims of the attack on the Cebongan prison in Sleman Yogyakarta occurred in 2013. The families of the victims made demands to the government through Komnas HAM so that the perpetrators of the attacks received the appropriate punishment. (<https://bali.antaranews.com/foto/115296/family-korban-lapas-cebongan> )

From the presentation of the theme of Fanny's photo about the Aksi Kamisan which has been traced from several literal sources, it can be concluded that the concept raised in the theme of the photo Fanny Aksi Kamisan is a concept about social conflicts with human rights nuances that occur in society and are related to settlements carried out by the government.

Achieving the depth of analysis required Iconography is a confirmation framework with the principle of historical corrective type, namely historical conditions that affect the convention of a theme or concept of the created photo. Conventions on themes and concepts regarding social conflicts or demands from the community to the government so that human rights cases are resolved like Fanny's

work have actually happened a long time ago or since the old order era when time is drawn from the history of independent Indonesia.

The way or pattern of appearance of the work delivered is more of a form of freedom for the photographer in processing his ideas so that what he wants to convey is according to his message. Various themes and concepts about conflicts that occur in society in journalistic photography are included in the theme of conflict or controversy news values, namely photos that contain or raise conflicts and controversies that occur in society, both those that occur between the people and the authorities as well as horizontal conflicts between people. own people.

During the observations made on Fanny's work on *Kamisan Action*, it provides an overview of visual characteristics, themes, and concepts, which are strong in the category of conflict and controversy photo themes in the categorization of news value in journalistic photography.

### **Iconological Interpretation**

Interpretation process is the most important step process to explore the intrinsic meaning or content of a work of art. Iconological Interpretation is carried out after pre-Iconographic and Iconographic Analysis processes. To carry out this process, a mental ability or what is called synthetic intuition is needed to understand symbols. This mental ability, called synthetic intuition, concerns the tendency of the importance of personal psychological thinking and *weltanschauung* (views of life) (Panofsky in Burhan, 2015; p:5).

Various views on the psychological tendencies in revealing the symbols behind Fanny's work can be seen from the views of the photojournalists and their enthusiasm when Fanny's work was created. In 2013-2014 there were many young journalists in Jakarta, apart from those who joined LKBN Antara, there were also those who worked in media companies or as contributors to foreign news agencies, even as freelancers or freelance photojournalists. Most of them are members of professional organizations, namely the Indonesian Photojournalist (PFI), their average age is still

relatively productive, namely in their 30s. In addition, the spirit of the times, especially the world of photojournalism, which is at the forefront of the social sphere and adheres to truth and humanity, greatly influences their work.

Even though they are in a job situation as photojournalists who meet the needs of the company or news agency where they work, but as a photographer they certainly don't just shoot events as long as they get photos. But they also cultivate their ideas and creativity to get photo works that fulfill their personal aesthetic as the creators of photographic works. The organization they belong to, namely PFI, also often conducts discussions and presents resource persons related to professionalism as a photographer. This also fosters the creative spirit of photojournalists. As "field workers", these journalists always interact directly with issues that occur, whether political, social, cultural, arts, sports and others.

By going directly to the "field", these journalists finally also feel what the community feels in the conditions and events that occur. Because a photojournalist, to be able to get the results of his work, must go directly to the event, it is not enough just to do interviews or make phone calls to sources. It is this continuous interaction that enables the photojournalists to appreciate the events that are in front of them.

These various background events of social, political, cultural phenomena experienced by photojournalists, then they have the responsibility to carry the message of what they feel in the "field" so that readers of their work can also feel it. The message they convey is contained in the visual symbols that they put into their work by processing or controlling the work of the camera they use. As in Suzanne K. Langer's theory of art symbols, artistic symbols are a form of expression, as a link between sensibility, emotion, feeling, and impersonal cognition, which are the main characteristics of works of art (Sudiarja in Burhan, 2013; p:245). So the message that Fanny wants to convey in this *Aksi Kamisan* photo is the appreciation and empathy as well as the feelings he felt when he was at the event, where the chaos, emotional atmosphere of *Action*, with screams he poured with her camera control

to get photos that were perfect. according to the circumstances of the event. So that the result of the work created is a photo with a slow motion technique that illustrates how chaotic and uncertain the people's demands are to the government with the unclear feelings of the people, represented by a screaming silhouette face.

The confirmation framework with the corrective principle of interpretation used to gain depth from this Iconological Interpretation is cultural history through various phenomena that form symbols. This confirmation framework for the Aksi Kamisan photo is Fanny's expression in conveying a message about the events that occurred during the Kamisan Action. Fanny with her photography skills tries to give a message to the readers of her work what she feels. To express chaos and uncertainty, Fanny's demands give symbols or signs with unclear objects that seem to move but the letters on the main object can still be read. People who have no names or are not figures but are just ordinary people are symbolized by Fanny with a silhouetted face under an umbrella.

Fanny's work is also a historical reflection which states that the event was in 2013-2014, which means that Indonesia is in the reform era. The culture that was built in the reform era was a culture of openness. The history of the Indonesian people, before the reform era, could be that photojournalism works like the one Fanny created would never be published to the public. Many cases of human rights in the pre-reform era were not informed to the public. The period of Indonesian history before the reform era was very limited in terms of public information, both photos and writing. In the pre-reform era, the press was very limited by the government, even all press industries had to get permission from the government for publication. After the reformation era, information was more open, so that photographs about public demands or mass demonstrations demanding the government could be freely informed. With this cultural historical background, it can be seen various psychological symptoms and Fanny's views in reading the events that occurred during her profession as a photojournalist, so that Fanny's work on the Aksi Kamisan can be seen as a symbol

of cultural openness in the reform era as well as a symbol of popular expression. submit their demands to the government directly to obtain their human rights as citizens of the country.

## **Conclusion**

Conclusion of this study is that there are various visual markers of the Aksi Kamisan photo which are factual and expressive. A factual visual marker is a visual form of the first photo of a movement such as a black scroll or circle, a scroll object or circle that seems to move, there are white letters that are disguised but can still be read. The letters are the words "KAMISAN MELAWAN", and a photo of the two silhouetted figures under a black umbrella that reads DO NOT SILENCE RESIST!.

The accuracy of the objects conveyed about the events of demonstrations or demands of the people to the government is represented by the writings in the two photos. The expressive visual form in this photo is a motion effect created by controlling the camera using slow motion techniques in the first photo, adding to the expression or dramatization of the atmosphere when the action occurs, then the accuracy in capturing the silhouette facial expressions screaming in the first photo also strengthens the dramatization of the first photo. , that the atmosphere in the action is full of tension and emotion.

Then the theme and concept of Fanny's work on Aksi Kamisan is the theme of conflict and controversy photos in the categorization of news value in journalistic photography with the concept of social conflicts with human rights nuances that occur in society and are related to settlements carried out by the government.

Finally, about the symbolic values conveyed in this Aksi Kamisan photo, the era of openness in conveying people's opinions directly to the government can be seen as a symbol of cultural openness in the reform era as well as a symbol of people's expressions of conveying their demands to the government directly to obtain their human rights as human citizens.



## References

- Ajidarma, S. G. (2003). *Kisah Mata: Fotografi Antara Dua Subjek Perbincangan Tentang Ada*. Yogyakarta: Galang Press.
- Ardial, H. (2014). *Paradigma dan Model Penelitian Komunikasi*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- Burhan, M. A. (2013). "Ikonografi dan Ikonologi Lukisan Djoko Pekik: 'Tuan Tanah Kawin Muda'." *Jurnal Panggung*, 23(3).
- Burhan, M. A. (2015). "Lukisan Ivan Sagita 'Makasih Kollwitz' (2005) dalam Sejarah Seni Lukis Modern Indonesia: Tinjauan Ikonografi dan Ikonologi." *Jurnal Panggung*, 25(1).
- Darwanto. (2007). *Televisi sebagai Media Pendidikan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Herdiani, E. (2016). Metode Sejarah Dalam Penelitian Tari. *Jurnal Seni Makalangan*, 3(2), 33–45.
- Mantalea, V. (2022). *15 Tahun Aksi Kamisan dan Negara yang Seakan Lari dari Tanggung Jawab*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/01/21/07582381/15-tahun-aksi-kamisan-dan-negara-yang-seakan-lari-dari-tanggung-jawab?page=all>
- Nazir, M. (1988). *Metode Penelitian*. Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia.
- Panofsky, E. (1955). *Meaning of The Visual Arts*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Ristiano, C. (2019). *8 Fakta Tentang 12 Tahun Aksi Kamisan, Hanya Sekali Diajak Masuk ke Istana*. <https://Nasional.Kompas.Com>.
- Subarkah, T. (2022). *15 Tahun, Aksi Kamisan Menjelma jadi Ruang Pendidikan*. media indonesia.com. <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/465833/15-tahun-aksi-kamisan-menjelma-jadi-ruang-pendidikan>
- Susanto, A. A. (2017). Fotografi adalah Seni: Sanggahan terhadap Analisis Roger Scruton Mengenai Keabsahan Nilai Seni dari Sebuah Foto. *Journal of Urban Society's Arts*, 4(1), 49–60.
- Zuliati. (2014). Ikonografi Karya Sudjojono "Di Depan Kelamboe Terboeka." *Journal of Urban Society's Art*, 1(1), 1–16.