



“Communicating Resistance: A Narrative Analysis of Women’s Struggle Against Tyranny”

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Abstrack

Women's resistance against the authoritarianism of the New Order is the socio-political context of Indonesia during the leadership of President Soeharto. In the book "Berjuang Melawan Tiran" written by 42 authors, it provides motivation from the side of resistance to fight oppression. This study aims to find out how the analysis of women's resistance against the authoritarianism of the New Order is described in the book entitled "Berjuang Melawan Tiran" using Tzvetan Todorov's narrative theory, namely, conditions of balance, disturbance, awareness of disturbance, to repair the disturbance, new balance. The research method uses literature studies. The results of the study obtained equilibrium (initial balance) starting from the normal life of women before the conflict as students or workers, disruption (disruption) from the New Order regime created injustice and violence, recognition (awareness of disturbance) awareness that the struggle also concerns gender inequality and patriarchy, repair (efforts to repair disturbances) building organizations and continuing after the reform, new equilibrium (new balance) formed a new awareness even though the struggle is now more individual and full of challenges. This research demonstrates the author's real-life experiences, demonstrating how feminist theory and narrative analysis of the New Order can be used together to gain a better understanding of the complexities of resistance that motivated other women to defend social equality.

Keywords: Authoritarianism; New Order Era; Resistance; Women

1. Introduction

During the New Order era, the principles of Pancasila Democracy were implemented in a highly centralized and patriarchal political system. Although the government claimed to uphold the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, in practice this resulted in restrictions on the political space of citizens, especially women. This masculine power structure marginalized women from decision-making processes and ensured that gender issues were not prioritized in social organizations or political movements.

In these conditions, women's resistance emerged as a form of criticism against two forms of oppression: state repression and patriarchal domination in society. The narrative of women's struggle is important because it challenges history that has been written from a male perspective and shows that women are active actors who organize actions, build solidarity, and contribute to political change. However, many women activists face internal obstacles such as paternalistic views, in addition to pressure from the state, which uses the discourse of morality and domestic roles as a means of control. The book *Struggling Against Tyrants* describes women's struggles against injustice in various contexts, including Indonesia. The narratives in this book reveal the dynamics of power between dominant and marginalized groups, as well as women's strategies in opposing authoritarianism. Through these stories, women's resistance was an important part of the process of social and political change during the New Order.

This topic is important because it helps to correct the historical bias that places men at the center of political change. Understanding women's experiences enriches the analysis of how power works and how resistance strategies are built in repressive conditions. In addition, the patriarchal legacy of the New Order still influences Indonesian society, making this research relevant for understanding contemporary gender dynamics.

Literature Review

1.1 Theoretical Framework

The study "Analysis of Women's Narratives of Resistance to New Order Authoritarianism in the Book 'Perjuangan Melawan Tiran'" uses three theoretical frameworks Narrative Theory, Feminism, and Authoritarianism to understand how women constructed narratives of resistance under a repressive regime. Narrative theory views stories as social practices that not only convey events but also challenge the dominant discourse. In the context of the New Order, women's narratives became an important space for revealing hidden experiences and rejecting state control. Through a feminist perspective, this study assesses how women experienced multiple layers of repression due to patriarchy institutionalized by the state, particularly through

the construction of the “ideal domestic role” that limited women's participation in the public sphere. Meanwhile, authoritarianism theory explains how the state-controlled information and produced a single narrative that excluded women's voices from official history. The three theories are interrelated: authoritarianism reinforces patriarchy, patriarchy silences women's voices, and women respond by creating narratives of resistance that restore memory and assert their agency. This study also fills a gap in the literature in the form of a lack of studies that integrate the three theories, a lack of attention to women's micro-narratives, and limited studies of women's autobiographical texts as alternative historical sources. Thus, this study confirms that narratives are an important political tool for women to confront repression and reclaim their place in the history of resistance against the New Order.

1.2 Framework of Thought

The Authoritarian Regime that oppresses political freedom and strengthens patriarchy, causes marginalization of women in various aspects, women build narratives of resistance to fight social, political and economic oppression under the New Order. Governments that suppress individual freedoms and opposition including women's rights are involved in resistance against patriarchy and authoritarianism, building narratives to fight for women's freedom and justice are involved in pro-democracy, human rights, and reform movements even though they are often not recognized in historical narratives.

2. Method

This study uses a library study method with a qualitative descriptive research type, which emphasizes the collection of data in the form of words from books, articles, and literature related to “The Struggle Against Tyrants.” The data is presented through text quotations to describe the narrative of women's resistance in context. The analysis process begins with the collection of data from relevant literature, followed by purposive sampling, namely quotations that directly reflect women's experiences and strategies of resistance. Sample return logic is used to ensure that the data analyzed is representative. Next, the data was coded based on main themes, such as forms of resistance, experiences of patriarchy, and the pressure of authoritarianism, before being analyzed narratively to interpret the meaning of resistance in a socio-political context. Data validation was carried out through literature triangulation and code consistency checks, accompanied by the presentation of original quotations so that the interpretation remained contextually appropriate. This approach allows for a deep understanding of women's narratives of resistance as a strategy against authoritarianism, while presenting their experiences in an authentic and contextual manner.

3. Discussion Results

Book Profile Fighting Against Tyrants



Figure 1. Book Image Fighting Against Tyrants

This book compiles narratives from female activists during the New Order era as a feminist counter-narrative to patriarchal history that erases the role of women. Through experiences of repression, detention, and political work, the authors demonstrate the position of women as political subjects, in line with feminist standpoint theory, which emphasizes the importance of knowledge from the experiences of oppressed groups.

Their narrative structure connects personal experiences with the characteristics of authoritarianism, state violence, body control, and narrative monopoly. Thus, these stories become an archive of resistance that challenges the state's construction of women as passive and domestic.

The life journeys of the authors, who are now active as journalists, artists, diplomats, or politicians, confirm that women's resistance is ongoing, not limited to the moment of the regime's downfall. The book *Memories of Women: Struggling Against Tyrants* consists of 42 authors, 11 of whom are the focus of the research, providing an important basis for understanding how women construct narratives of resistance in authoritarian systems and their relevance to today's democracy

The Women's Memory Book entitled *Fighting Against Tiran* was written by 42 women who were in the New Order era and 10 of them will be studied by researchers because the stories of the 10 authors are very relevant to the title that will be raised by researchers entitled *Analysis of the narrative of Women's Resistance to New Order Authoritarianism*. 11 of them are:

NO	NAME
1	Ade Sulawati Dialectics of Activist Life
2	Angela R.E Noviarini Ancestor's call
3	Nila Ertina Father's example
4	Eva Bande Lifelong Activist
5	Henny Vidiarina Go and Learn
6	Nuraini Hilir White Veil Memories of Resistance
7	Nor Hiqmah Ratna Furry's story according to PRD
8	Ratri W. Mulyani (Love, Books, and Endless Struggle)
9	Sri Wahyuningsih (Live happily without giving up idealism)
10	Tunggal Pawestri Once underestimated, rise with one word: Fight
11	Vivi Widyawati Self-Transformation; Building a Feminist Organization

1. Ade Suliwati (Dilectics of Activist Life)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism Ade's story depicts women's journey in fighting social and political injustice under an authoritarian regime. At the beginning, Ade lived a stable life and had equal opportunities with men to become an activist, reflecting Wollstonecraft's principle of equality. Disruption arose when she faced violence, arrest, and social pressure due to her involvement in protests, demonstrating the double risk women face in patriarchal and authoritarian systems. Through awareness and efforts to improve, Ade learns to become an agent of change, organising collective action and attempting practical politics, reflecting liberal and radical feminism: women play a strategic role in decision-making and oppose structures of injustice. In this new equilibrium, Ade builds mental resilience, continues to fight for social justice, and affirms women's empowerment through concrete action amid the pressures of patriarchy and authoritarian regimes.

This journey demonstrates that Todorov's narrative structure and Wollstonecraft's feminist theory can be combined to understand women's role in confronting oppression and building collective and individual strength.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Fase Todorov	Narrative	Feminism
Equilibrium	Family support;equal access in the movement.	Women are equal;they have rights in public spaces.
Disruption	Repression,violence, disease, arrests.	Oppression is structural, not natural.
Recognition	Awareness of partisanship and leadership.	Critical consciousness the basis for women's liberation.
Repair	Advocacy,the role of mothers, trying electoral politics.	Demands for equality and dismantling patriarchal structures.
New Equilibrium	New identity: mental resilience & independence.	A woman's identity is built through experience.

2. Angela R.E Noviarini (Call of the Ancestors)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism

Angela began her life in an initial state of equilibrium, stable and active at school and church, reflecting gender equality according to Wollstonecraft. This equilibrium was disrupted when she became involved in activism, facing the risk of violence and pressure from an authoritarian regime. At the stage of recognition, Angela became aware of the real struggle against oppressive structures, emphasising the importance of collective strategies for women. In the repair stage, she withdrew from open politics to focus on her family, but still maintained the values of struggle, demonstrating freedom of choice in existential feminism.

Finally, in a new equilibrium, Angela found a stronger meaning of struggle and identity, proving that women remain empowered in both domestic and socio-political spaces, while adapting to an authoritarian context.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Fase Todorov	Narrative	Feminism
Equilibrium	Stable life, active in church and school	Equal capacity; no repression yet.
Disruption	Entering activism, facing repression and terror.	Facing patriarchal-authoritarian structures.
Recognition	Aware of the great risk; must disappear.	Critical consciousness political subject.
Repair	Withdrawning; focusing on family.	Autonomy in choosing one's path in life.
New Equilibrium	Interpreting struggle as a legacy.	Dynamic and historical female identity.

3. Nila Ertina (Father's Example)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism Nila Ertina's story depicts a woman's journey from a stable life to political and moral awareness following her father's arrest during the New Order era. Using Todorov's narrative structure, this journey consists of initial equilibrium, disruption, awareness, attempts at restoration, and new equilibrium. The disruption opened Nila's eyes to injustice and fostered values of courage, honesty, and social responsibility.

From a feminist perspective, Nila shows that women are not merely passive witnesses, but agents of change who are capable of internalising moral and political values and actively fighting for justice. This story reinforces Wollstonecraft's view that women are equal to men in intellectual, moral, and social capacity. Nila's transformation from a passive position to a conscious and empowered subject illustrates the feminist journey in the context of patriarchy and New Order authoritarianism.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Narrative	Feminism
Equilibrium	Nila lives a stable life in Pagar Alam, with a good education and a warm family, without any major conflicts.	Women's equal educational and social capacity challenged New Order patriarchy.
Disruption	Father's arrest over election refusal brought fear and chaos to the family.	It awakened women's political consciousness in authoritarian rule.
Recognition	She learned her father was detained for refusing electoral manipulation.	Women emerge as agents against injustice.
Repair	Nila internalized her father's courageous and responsible values.	Women form identities as agents of change.
New Equilibrium	Nila evolved into a socially conscious activist and journalist amid a changing world.	She exemplified women's transformation into active socio-political agents.

4. Eva Bande (Lifelong Activist)

- a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism.

The narrative structure of Eva Bande follows Todorov's pattern, but the disruption and restoration are shaped by state repression, not personal conflict. The new balance does not mark the end of conflict, but rather the internalization of struggle as a living identity.

From Mary Wollstonecraft's feminist perspective, Eva represents a rational woman who gains awareness through education and political experience. Her struggle shows that the oppression of women is closely related to class structures and state power, thus transcending liberal feminism towards structural feminism.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov phase	Key Findings	Theoretical Meaning
Equilibrium	Eva knew the PRD and was active in political education.	Access to education female rationality (Wollstonecraft)
Disruption	State arrests and repression	Authoritarian states as a source of narrative disruption
Recognition	Ideological awareness of class and gender injustice	Women as conscious subjects, not victims
Attempt to Repair	Establishing women's organizations	Collective agency of women (Structural feminism)
New Equilibrium	Consistency in long-term struggle	New equilibrium and political stability

5. Henny Vidiarina (Go and learn)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism

Within the framework of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure, Henny's journey follows a pattern of equilibrium disruption–restoration–new equilibrium. However, this structure does not function neutrally. The disruption in Henny's narrative arises not from individual conflict, but from the structural violence of an authoritarian state, particularly against women activists. This shows that the narrative of women's activism modifies Todorov's model into a political narrative, in which the state acts as an agent of disruption.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Core Event	Feminist Analysis
Equilibrium	Henny views the movement asideologically and organizationally stable and strong	In line with Wollstonecraft: women as rational subjects equal to men in political thought.
Disruption	State repression: arrest, imprisonment, and murder of women activists	Authoritarianism reinforces patriarchal exclusion of women from the public sphere.
Recognition	Henny recognized her limited knowledge of feminism	Early feminism framed women's oppression as structural rather than individual.
Attempt to Repair	Involvement in mass work and organizations	In line with socialist feminism: women's liberation through collective struggle
New Equilibrium	Understanding the multiple burdens of women in the movement	Equilibrium as permanent political awareness, not the end of oppression

6. Nuraini Hilir (white veil memories of resistance)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism

Within the framework of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure, Nuraini's story follows a pattern of balance-disruption-awareness-recovery-new balance. However, the narrative disruption is not personal in nature, but rather is caused by the authoritarian New Order state through its security apparatus. This shows that the narrative structure becomes political.

From Mary Wollstonecraft's feminist perspective, Nuraini appears as a rational subject who has intellectual and political capacities equal to those of men. Her participation at the forefront of action and her courage to speak in public spaces challenge patriarchal restrictions on women's roles.

The Recognition phase reflects the formation of feminist and political consciousness, that the oppression of women is related to the power structures of the state and patriarchal culture. In the Attempt to Repair phase, Nuraini entered the masculine public sphere (media, formal politics), asserting women as agents of change, not victims.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Key Events	Feminist Analysis
Equilibrium	Nuraini was involved in collective action with a clear division of roles.	In line with Mary Wollstonecraft: women as rational and equal subjects in the public sphere.
Disruption	State repression of demonstrations	Authoritarian states function as tools of patriarchy that limit women's political participation
Recognition	Recognition of the need for organized and strategic action	Feminist awareness: the oppression of women is structural, not individual
Attempt to Repair	Public speeches and active	Women entering masculine spaces, asserting female agency and leadership

	political involvement	
New Equilibrium	Sustained commitment as an activist	Women's empowerment as a dynamic and political process

7. Nor Hiqma (PRD's version emma Ratna Fury's story)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism

Nor Hiqmah's story follows Todorov's structure: the initial equilibrium shows a stable life before political involvement. Disruption arises when demonstrations are forcibly dispersed, marking state and patriarchal repression. Recognition makes Nor aware that oppression is structural, triggering politicization and feminist consciousness. Attempts to repair take the form of concrete actions as Secretary General of KNPD, breaking through the boundaries of patriarchy. A new equilibrium shows new stability while maintaining political commitment. Overall, Nor's journey affirms the transformation of women from self-awareness to agents of change, fighting against authoritarianism and patriarchy, in accordance with the principles of sustainable women's empowerment.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Key Events	Feminist Analysis
Equilibrium	My past experiences with the PRD have made me strong enough to accept whatever happens in my life.	A stable life before politics; women are equal and rational (Wollstonecraft).
Disruption	“The demonstration was forcibly dispersed Almost all participants were arrested	Repression by the authorities and patriarchy; Nor's resistance against injustice.
Recognition	“In 1994, I joined SMID to free the people from oppression.”	Recognising structural oppression; forming feminist consciousness.
Attempt to Repair	“I was assigned Secretary General of KNPD.”	Leadership roles, challenging patriarchy, concrete actions against authoritarianism.
New Equilibrium	“The party...focused resistance in Jakarta...I was assigned to organize pockets of popular resistance	New stability while continuing to play a role in socio-political struggles, dynamic empowerment of women

8. Ratri W. Mulyani (Love, Books, and Endless Struggle)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism

At the outset, Ratri was inspired by her father and Suroso's courage to fight injustice, demonstrating that women can play an active role even in a patriarchal society (Wollstonecraft's feminism). Disruption arose when Ratri experienced violence at the hands of state officials, marking a crisis and the domination of women in authoritarian structures. In the awareness phase, Ratri realises the need to oppose the regime and her family, transforming from a victim into an agent of change. In her efforts to improve the situation, she becomes a letter courier, accompanies prisoners' families, and participates in demonstrations, affirming the strategic role of women in opposing patriarchal norms and authoritarianism. In the new equilibrium, Ratri and Suroso achieve a stable and meaningful life, remembering their struggles, demonstrating gender equality and socio-political collaboration. Overall, Ratri's journey illustrates the transformation of women into agents of change, with Todorov highlighting the stages of conflict and resolution, and feminism emphasising the empowerment of women in the face of oppression.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Key Events	Feminist Analysis
Equilibrium	“It was also this man's courage”	Women can play an active role, even in patriarchal societies
Disruption	“We were beaten with batons”	Women are often victims of authoritarian domination.
Recognition	“Since then, I have been inspired to join”	Women take an active role in socio-political resistance
Attempt to Repair	“I became a courier for letters”	Women play a strategic role, challenging patriarchal norms
New Equilibrium	“Two decades have passed”	Equality achieved; women collaborate and achieve socio-political results

9. Sri Wahyuningsih (Living Happily without compromising Idealism)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism Sri's journey illustrates the transformation of women from oppressed positions to agents of change in the context of an authoritarian regime. In the initial stage of equilibrium, Sri and other activists maintained the spirit of resistance through the formation of KNPD, demonstrating that women could play an active role in political struggles despite living in a patriarchal society. A stage of disruption emerged when riots and the banning of PRD signalled significant pressure from the regime, revealing women's vulnerability to structural violence. In the stage of awareness, Sri realised the need to take an active role, including through art and culture, affirming women as agents of change who oppose patriarchal and authoritarian domination. In the stage of improvement, Sri led the PRD extraordinary congress, taking a strategic role in the collective struggle, while freeing women from gender stereotypes. Finally, in the new equilibrium stage, Sri found a stable and meaningful life, emphasising simple values and personal happiness, demonstrating that women's empowerment means being able to define success for oneself, challenging social and authoritarian norms that judge success solely by material status.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Key Events	Feminist Analysis
Equilibrium	“We tried to keep the flame of resistance alive KNPD was formed”	Women active in political struggles in patriarchal and authoritarian societies
Disruption	“Riots broke out We were all hunted down”	Women face structural pressure and violence
Recognition	“I then joined STN and Jaker”	Women become agents of change, challenging patriarchal norms
Attempt to Repair	“I then chaired the committee for the Extraordinary Congress of the PRD”	Freeing women from gender stereotypes, a strategic role in the struggle
New Equilibrium	“Not many former activists have succeeded... Life is not just about personal ambitions”	Women's empowerment is reflected in freedom from social pressure and patriarchal norms.

10. Tunggal Pawestri (Once Underestimated, rise up with one word: Fight)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism

Tunggal's journey depicts a transformation from a state of stability to active resistance against socio-political injustice. Initially, she learned consistency and defended the oppressed through organisations, affirming women's empowerment in a patriarchal society. Disruption arose through threats from the regime and abuse of the law, demonstrating authoritarian domination. Awareness led her to realise the importance of collective strength in fighting structural injustice and patriarchy. To bring about change, Tunggal took on a leadership role and faced physical risks, demonstrating women as agents of change. Ultimately, a new balance was achieved through solidarity and collective engagement, affirming the value of democracy and women's empowerment in fighting authoritarian structures.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Key Events	Feminist Analysis
Equilibrium	PRD nurtured her courage, collective struggle, and defense of the oppressed.	Organization fosters women's empowerment in patriarchal, authoritarian contexts.
Disruption	The PKB Law may enable military repression of protests amid political turmoil.	Highlights authoritarian impact on women and marginalized groups.
Recognition	Organizational experience fostered courage and collective resistance to injustice.	Discrimination reveals patriarchy, spurring women's agency.
Attempt to Repair	Singles assumed leadership and direct action, risking repression and violence.	Women fight patriarchy via political and social action.
New Equilibrium	"I mingled with workers in Cakung involved in the strike importance of collective work" Finding balance through collective engagement and social solidarity	Women's empowerment is reflected through collective organisations for justice and democracy, fighting against oppressive systems

11. Vivi Widyawati (Self-Transformation: Building a Feminist Organization)

a. Analysis of Tzvetan Todorov's narrative structure and Mary Wollstonecraft's feminism

Vivi's journey shows a transformation from an initially stable life to active resistance against socio-political injustice. Initially, she found courage and purpose through democratic organisations. Disruption arose through threats from the regime and structural oppression that suppressed women. Political awareness led Vivi to understand colonialism, military domination, and gender oppression. In an effort to bring about change, she took an active role in protests, organisations, and advocacy for women's rights. Ultimately, a new balance was achieved through the establishment of a grassroots feminist organisation, affirming women's empowerment in the face of patriarchal and authoritarian systems.

Todorov's Narrative Structure Table

Todorov Phase	Key Events	Feminist Analysis
Equilibrium	<p>“My activism... increased until I was appointed as SMID”</p> <p>A stable life, becoming active in the struggle</p>	Women find purpose and courage, asserting empowerment in patriarchal and authoritarian societies
Disruption	<p>“Authorities launched an operation to arrest PRD activists”</p> <p>Regime threats, political turmoil</p>	Demonstrating authoritarian dominance that oppresses women and marginalised groups
Recognition	<p>“I realized soldiers in Dili were occupying Timor Leste”</p> <p>Recognising colonialism and structural injustice</p>	Feminism emphasises women's experiences as part of a system of oppression
Attempt to Repair	<p>“I continued to be involved in the movement against Suharto”</p> <p>Joining organisations, participating in protests, advocating for women's rights</p>	Women become agents of change through collective action
New Equilibrium	<p>“We built a feminist organization based on workers, farmers, students”</p> <p>Establishing grassroots feminist organisations</p>	Empowering women through solidarity and resistance against patriarchy and authoritarianism

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