

The Body as Resistance: The Naked Body Movement of Women in Nusa Tenggara Timur as A Political Action from Hannah Arendt's Perspective

Petrus Tan¹, Norbertus Jegalus²

^{1,2} Fakultas Filsafat Universitas Katolik Widya Mandira Kupang, Indonesia

Abstract

In recent years, the naked body movement as a form of women's resistance against the expansion of the extractive industries in Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) has drawn less attention from academics. This movement significantly redefines women's public roles and drives social development. This research explores the meaning of women's naked body movement based on Hannah Arendt's theory of action. This research uses a qualitative approach, including a literature review, a document study, and critical analysis. This study indicates that the women's naked body movement in NTT is a political action because it is challenging and subverting structural and political injustice, transforming the negative association of nudity into positive power. This movement transforms the woman's body from a laboring and working body to a political body. This politicization of sexuality has drawn public attention to the female body, making it a form of politics itself. The transformation redefines the female body as a powerful site of resistance against state authority, capitalist exploitation, and patriarchal control.

Keywords: Hannah Arendt, naked body, resistance, solidarity, theory of action

Introduction

In recent years, tourism, mining, and energy projects have transformed Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) into a contested frontier. Here, “frontier” refers to a conflict zone where valuable resources are contested, with the state supporting corporations and extractive industries (Mbembe, 2013). Robbins (2020) states that resource exploitation causes marginalization, degradation, control, hegemony, conflict, exclusion, identity crisis, and subject issues. These activities turn areas into zones of privilege, war, and death, with increased sales of extracted products fueling the conflict (Mbembe, 2013). In this context, the state uses its power to control life and death, deciding who benefits and who suffers. Michel Foucault called this biopower, where a state’s sovereignty controls who may live and who must die, destroying human bodies and populations (Foucault et al., 2003).

However, Foucault’s view that women’s bodies are docile and controlled by biopower (Bustamante, 2013; Mbembe, 2013) is challenged by the civil resistance of indigenous women in NTT. They defend their ancestral land against oligarchs and industry, using their naked bodies as weapons of resistance. This nakedness movement occurred in Besipae Village (Timor Tengah Selatan Regency), Rendu Village (Nagekeo Regency), Poco Leok Village (Manggarai Regency), and Legur Lai Village (East Manggarai Regency). Through their naked body, women in Legur Lai blocked government officials, military personnel, and investors from accessing a mining site that threatened their indigenous territories in 2014 (*Kompas*, 2014). In 2020, a group of women in Besipae bared their breasts before the NTT Governor and military personnel in the Pubabu forest, shouting, “This is our homeland,” rejecting the government’s claim to the land (Romli, 2017). In 2021, the women of Rendu protested against the construction of the 617-hectare Lambo reservoir, which threatened to submerge their land, gardens, traditional ritual sites, and graves (Bala, 2021). In 2023, women in Poco Leok confronted the geothermal project that destroys the forest, land, and water of indigenous people, using their naked bodies (Susabun, 2023).

The naked body as a form of protest is not new in the feminist movement. Contemporary feminists generally agree that women’s bodies are political and can serve as instruments of political struggle (Grabowska, 2023). In poststructuralist feminism, a woman’s right to her body is not merely a philosophical concept (Ahmad, 2023) or what Maurice Merleau-Ponty refers to as the “epistemology of the body” (Kristianto, 2023), but rather a foundation for politicizing the female body. This ideology is reflected in radical feminist movements such as Femen in Russia, which practices “sextremism”, namely the use of nudity to protest gender-based oppression in authoritarian regimes, religious institutions, and the sex industry (Mahayasa, 2023). While such forms of protest may be normalized in liberal Western societies where women’s bodily autonomy is widely recognized, they are far more provocative in patriarchal societies like NTT, where the female body is viewed as the property of men and public nudity is considered repulsive.

Previous theories and findings often depict the woman’s body as controllable. Theoretical frameworks from figures like Foucault and Marx have historically portrayed the female body as a site of control and subjugation (Miguel-Alfonso & Caporale-Bizzini, 1994). Foucault sees the female body as one disciplined to serve state power (Da Silva Borges & Labidi, 2021), while Marx identifies its commodification in the public sphere. Fanon and several feminist thinkers extend this by linking the colonization of women’s bodies to broader systems of accumulation and expropriation (Bohrer, 2015). However, these perspectives tend to frame the female body primarily as a sexualized and vulnerable object, rather than an autonomous political subject. More recent studies on women’s resistance in

Indonesia, particularly in NTT, highlight ecofeminist and cultural frameworks as the main drivers of protest against corporate and state exploitation (Parastasia, 2024; Humaidi, 2023). Others emphasize the defense of cultural values and local wisdom as central motivations (Dalupe, 2020). While such approaches shed light on the collective role of women in the ecofeminist movement, they often overlook how the female body itself operates as a symbol of political resistance and social transformation.

Different from those studies, this research will focus on the issue of how women's bodies become the model of resistance against biopower, or how the naked body movement serves as a political action. By exploring the philosophical perspective of Hannah Arendt, the main argument of this research is that the politicization of sexuality by NTT's women has drawn public attention to the female body, making it a form of politics itself. This transformation positions the female body as a radical antagonist to the state, capitalism, and patriarchy. When persuasion, political negotiation, and rational communication failed, this movement has been employed as an effective tactic to challenge authority and patriarchy. In the context of NTT, it has proved particularly effective because the patriarchal perspective regards the female body as forbidden from being displayed in public spaces. When such exposure occurs, the radical and transgressive nature of this movement shames public officials and confronts their moral sensibilities.

Mapping Arendt's thoughts regarding the issue requires careful consideration. Arendt is a prominent female political philosopher, especially because of her success in unveiling the architecture of totalitarianism in the 20th century through her works such as *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1979), *The Human Condition* (1998), and *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (2000). However, most contemporary feminists claim that Arendt did not pay particular attention to politics and women's issues. Some leading experts of contemporary feminism such as Rich (1979), O'Brien (1981), and Pitkin (1981), state that Arendt's silence on gender issues is a masculine form of thinking. Some of her works such as *Rahel Varhagen*, *Rosa Luxemburg*, or *Isak Dinesen* seem successful in incorporating revolutionary feminist components into political theory.

Some studies have been conducted to bridge the Arendtian theory with non-Western feminist praxis. For instance, Neda Mohamadi (2023) and Mohanty (2003) depicted how Arendt's theory of action, particularly the idea of appearing in public and initiating something new, is deepened and expanded through aesthetic and feminist curatorial practices. Many non-Western feminisms, including Indigenous, Southeast Asian, or African feminisms, perceive curation not just as artistic matter, but political performances that reclaim agency and challenge dominant narratives—especially in contexts where women are erased or controlled by the evolving agenda of neocolonialism.

However, for those contemporary feminists, in these works, Arendt views women only as part of political life, not political subjects. They also argue that Arendt's notion of distinction on labor, work, and action in *The Human Condition* is a model of ontological division of gendering labor and living space that supports the restriction of women to *oikos*, namely the area of fulfilling the need of biological body, sex, and reproduction. For them, it is a kind of female body phenomenology as a signifier of necessity, irresistibility, imitability, and the determination of pure process (Des Portes, 2022).

This research proposes a different perspective on Arendt's thought, especially her theory of action and its relation to the women's movement against extractive industries in NTT. This proposal is advanced in two main arguments. First, the criticism of contemporary feminists fails to disclose Arendt's hidden phenomenology of the body. It is true that in the theory of *vita activa*, Arendt considers biological needs as a characteristic of labor. For Arendt, the laboring body is generic, uniform, univocal, and a virtual prison house (Arendt & Canovan, 1998). However, feminist criticism fails to uncover Arendt's phenomenology of the political body, the communicable, public, and non-generic body (Des Portes,

2022). For Arendt, the body represents more than a silent motivation. The body has another role: through its appearance, it can function as political discourse and speech (Flohr, 2024). Politics is a space of appearance, and thus, when the body appears before others as a political act, the body is political (Des Portes, 2022). Arendt criticized the bodyless *res cogitans* of Descartes. According to Arendt, the body cannot be separated from the mind, just as reality cannot be explained without appearance and perception. Appearance differentiates the political body from the laboring body (Arendt & Canovan, 1998). Quoting Merleau-Ponty, the body is not an object, because “*je ne suis pas devant mon corps, je suis dans mon corps, ou plutôt je suis mon corps*” [I am not in front of my body, I am in it, or rather, I am it] (Bertens, 2014). Reflecting on Arendt's phenomenology of the political body, this research perceives the women's naked body movement in NTT as a political action.

Second, Arendt's theory of action reveals the ontology of oppression and liberation that continues to illuminate women's struggle (Benhabib, 1993). According to Arendt, action is a human activity that is born from creativity, spontaneity, and freedom. Action is a natality, which means initiating and putting something into motion creatively to produce something new (Arendt & Canovan, 1998). For Arendt, all human beings, men and women, can act as agents and begin something new (Meredith, 2021). Therefore, actions have political value, and politics itself is an action. It means, politics is a network of actions, carried out consciously and creatively to produce novelty (Koten, 2023). In action, a person moves from the *oikos* (private realm) to the *polis* (public realm). In the *oikos*, there is a relationship between the masters and slaves, men and women. Women's bodies are viewed to function for sex and reproduction. Arendt identifies *oikos* as a pre-political area characterized by domination and exploitation (Mohamadi, 2023). Different from *oikos*, the *polis* is a public realm, standing on the principles of equality and freedom. In the *polis*, every citizen appears in the public realm not only to search for recognition but also to participate in public decision-making and social change (Salikov & Yudin, 2018; Arendt & Canovan, 1998)

Arendt holds the view that humans are unpredictable creatures with the ability to act in new ways (Rogers, 2014). This idea is pivotal to understanding the naked body movement of women in NTT as a creative, initiative and political act, through which those women show themselves as the subjects. They not only succeeded in intervening in the public sphere by destroying domestic power in the form of household pressure and customs that favored men. Moreover, the politicization of sexuality has succeeded in attracting the entire public space to women's bodies, making their bodies political itself or politics is their bodies, and transforming their bodies into a field of power and resistance against the power of state, capitalism, and patriarchy.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach, namely literature review, document study, and content analysis. In philosophy, literature review is understood as the principle of expression, namely a qualitative approach based on critical study and comprehensive hermeneutics (Sastrapradja, 2021). This method is conducted through the following three stages. First stage: Data collection by classifying primary and secondary literatures. Primary literature is literature that contains key theories according to a particular field of science (Khusnun Nadhifah & Thamrin Hasan, 2022). Data and information will be gathered from books and journal articles on the research topic, including previous studies (Budiarto & Yusuf, 2023). Classification of primary and secondary literatures. Primary sources include works by Hannah Arendt, such as *The Human Condition* (1958) and *The Origin of Totalitarianism*. Secondary

sources consist of journal articles collected from Google Scholar, ResearchGate, SINTA, Scopus, and DOAJ. Additional secondary data (news articles and documents) will be collected from sources like *Jurnal Perempuan*, *AMAN*, *Project Multatuli*, and *Floresa.co*. They were selected for their focused and consistent exploration of in-depth journalistic investigations and research on the resistance of women in NTT against mining and geothermal companies that harm the environment and disrupt the integrity of local communities. Four local communities- Rendu, Besipae, Legur Lai, and Poco Leok- were sorted as research samples because, between 2014 and 2024, these were the locations where local women engaged in nudity movement as a form of protest.

Second stage: Selection of references based on keywords: Hannah Arendt, action theory, women's naked body, resistance, and power. Third stage: Data analysis. Data from the literature review and document studies will be analyzed critically to compare and contrast the research focus on understanding the naked body as resistance against injustice in NTT from Arendt's perspective. At this stage, the principle of expression or content analysis based on critical hermeneutics is applied.

Findings and Discussion

The Theory of Action as a Starting Point

There are two main reasons why we need to begin with the theory of action. First, the theory consists of Arendt's unique anthropology of who human beings are. The question of who human beings is existential. Arendt understands humans not in an ideal and abstract way like Plato and modern rationalist philosophers. They formulate the single essence of human beings by proposing the question "What is man?". This question assumes total equality thereby ignoring the plurality and uniqueness of each person (Arendt & Canovan, 1998). For Arendt, this is a typical symptom of modernity. Modernity uproots individuals from their ontological roots in the shared world, turning them into floating persons, persons without identity, gender, or cultural community. Arendt calls this the pathology of modern society, namely loneliness. Looking for a hold, they were stranded in totalitarian regimes such as Nazism and fascism (Meredith, 2021; Hyvönen, 2016). Arendt takes another path, diagnosing humans as a fact, in the sense that humans exist, and they exist in certain concrete communities. Arendt takes this concept from Heidegger's metaphysics of *Lebenswelt* (a shared world) and human beings as *mitsein* (Being-with-Others).

Second, this anthropology underlines reflections on freedom, politics, and the struggle against oppression. Through this anthropology, Arendt understands the network of human actions in *Lebenswelt* as a source of power. Different from Marx who sees power as a pattern of control, Arendt views power as a product of political relationships that are consciously constructed by individuals in a community (Arendt, 1972; Sharon, 2018). This concept is important to understand the struggle and resistance of women in NTT in defending their rights from the extractive industries exploitation. This women's resistance was initiated, woven, and constructed within indigenous communities based on the shared awareness to maintain history, heritage, and collective rights. As weapons of resistance, naked bodies are viewed in the context of discourse on the individual's rootedness in a shared world or community.

In *Human Condition*, Arendt proposed a theory of *vita activa*, explaining the activities that shape human political action. *Vita Activa* is the Latin word for naming the active life, that is, living within the *polis* as the highest value. Through the concept of active life, Arendt emphasizes human existence as a subject of action (Liang, 2023). *Vita Activa* is opposite to *vita contemplativa* namely a life at the level of theory and philosophy. For Arendt, there are three dimensions of *vita activa*: labor, work, and action, and each of them relates to the three conditions of human existence: life, worldliness, and plurality.

Work is a biological process that must occur because of human demands to live and fulfill basic needs. Its nature is absolute because humans, just like animals in general, are subject to natural necessity (Arendt & Canovan, 1998). Reproduction, sex, and eating are examples of human activities that are controlled by natural necessity. Because these natural necessities have no beginning and end, work is an endless cycle, turning out as a repetition of the natural cycle (Navarro Diaz & Romero-Moreno, 2016).

According to Arendt, work is human activity to produce something new using certain tools (Arendt & Canovan, 1998; Koten, 2023). In work, humans surpass animals but their behavior is similar to machines: using each other as tools for certain ends. Humans are not free because they become the subjects of the instrumental logic of means-ends. Humans simply function and react based on commands without asking why they do it (Ozola, 2023). In her thinking on the architecture of banality of evil, Arendt explains how totalitarian regimes deprive someone like Eichmann from the ontology and capacity to think freely. Arendt claims that modern totalitarianism turns individuals into banal crime machines (Arendt, 1994; Tan, 2024). Both labor and work are the typical characteristics of totalitarian and market societies, where the capability of building collective political power is undermined by individualism and privatization. Then Arendt concludes that modern politics is not the realm of freedom but the servant of the utilitarian purposes of property owners, producers, and bureaucrats. Political action is replaced by the conformist behavior of mass society, and bureaucracy replaces deliberation. The zoon politicon is extinct, and the modern citizen seeks meaning in isolated subjectivity (Arendt, 1994).

Different from labor and work, action is a creative process. Humans relate to others freely and spontaneously, in mutuality and togetherness, with the ability to express their stories, building a shared strength (Arendt & Canovan, 1998; Anowai, 2019). Action is the only thing of active life that corresponds directly with humans, without material mediation. Because it is directly related to the facts of humans (plural), and not “The Man” (singular), the action implies plurality (Arendt & Canovan, 1998). For Arendt, plurality is not a natural but a political fact that emerges when individuals communicate with each other, build networks, and do social movements. For Arendt, politics is not innate or necessary, but rather contingent because it is constructed through a network of free, spontaneous, and unmanipulated actions (Riyadi, 2013).

For Arendt, the network of actions constitutes the political dimension of human beings. Two activities shape it, namely speech (*lexis*) and action (*praxis*). Political action is the sharing of deeds and words (Navarro Diaz & Romero-Moreno, 2016). Deliberation and social movement are fundamental features of political action and the key topologies of the public sphere. Arendt states that *lexis* and *praxis* are interrelated. Speech itself is an action, and speech without *praxis* is meaningless. Without labor and work, humans can still be identified as human beings. But without speech and deeds, humans are no longer human beings (Meredith, 2021; Koten, 2023). Both speech and deeds create politics because politics depends on the ability to build communication, solidarity, and movement amid the facts of plurality.

The dialectics of discourse and movement in the context of *Lebenswelt* are crucial to understanding how women's resistance in NTT was born from the dynamics of long and deep discussions in traditional houses, initiated both by the local community and NGOs. From Arendt's perspective, the deliberation encourages the collective movements. Therefore, behind the naked body movements, there is an important dynamic regarding the relationship between *lexis* and *praxis*, words and actions. In addition, Arendt said that political action occurs in mutuality with others, shaping the network of action. The network of action causes the power (Arendt, 2011). It means that ontological

rootedness in the community of indigenous peoples is the mental topology behind the women's resistance against the state and extractive industries in NTT.

From the view of the theory of action, the women's resistance in NTT succeeded in changing the private sphere into the public. Villages, traditional houses, and gardens which are the locations of the movement are no longer private but public spheres. Different from Aristotle who categorizes the public and private spheres based on empirical categories, Arendt transcends the private and public spheres up to the abstract stage of relation and theme of speech (Meredith, 2021; Salikov & Yudin, 2018). Even though a space is empirically private, but if in that space there is collective deliberation and movement taking place, then the private space is public. Vice versa, even though the parliament building is empirically public, it is private when everyone in that space speaks in the language of self-interest.

In a similar paradigm, a woman's body which is considered to only function for sex and reproduction gets a different meaning. When the body becomes an antagonism of biopower and the power of struggle for rights, it is truly public and political. Here, the slogan of the second-wave feminism at the end of 1960- coined by Carol Hanisch, is true: "The personal is political". It means that the private issues concerning women, such as sex, reproduction, taking care of children, and housekeeping, are political, and thus they require political intervention. The power relations shaped life in marriage, in the kitchen, the bedroom, the nursery, and at work (Lee, 2007). However, the concept of the female body as a political body is much more radical. The female body is not merely a site of political expression, but becomes synonymous with politics itself, dissolving the boundary between corporeality and political action. If politics is synonymous with the public sphere, then those women intervened in the public sphere not with the cunning of a politician, the eloquence of a demagogue, the strength of a general, or the intelligence of an intellectual, but rather with something truly private, namely their bodies. In that way, they dismantled the barrier between the sphere of the *polis* and the sphere of the *oikos*. They show that power is everywhere, including in women's bodies and sexuality (Grabowska, 2023).

Arendt defines public space in two meanings, as an appearance and a shared realm. As an appearance, public space is a field where everything is transparent and can be experienced, and accessed by everyone (Hardiman, 2005). If the public sphere is a shared space, while political action can only occur in plurality and coexistence, then political action is a condition of the possibility of the public sphere. The public sphere is a place where individuals communicate, dialogue, and create collective power. So, for Arendt, the public sphere is not just a social sphere, but a political field, where people discuss public issues and build collective movements, fighting for the good of the community (Butler, 2024). In that context, the body slavery in the private realm such as the household, sex, reproduction, and consumption can be removed when the laboring body is transformed into a political body, a body as resistance.

However, isn't it in pornography or in fashion magazines like *Femina*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Hijabelle*, *Baccarat*, and others who show off women's beauty, and bodies also enter the public sphere? Is not the sexy body of a girl, dancing on the stage of a political campaign, also a public body? Based on Arendt's theory of action, all these types of bodies are not political and public but biological and private. These bodies are not independent because they are controlled by natural necessities and market mechanisms (Des Portes, 2022). The appearance of women's bodies in pornographic, media, or political campaigns has no political value, if politics is interpreted as a way to win social justice. These bodies are weaker bodies that cannot transcend themselves beyond their appearances. As Marx said, the body is the colonized body when controlled by commodification practices; or according to Foucault, a disciplined body, serving the biopower (Ahmad, 2023). Even though they both enter the public realm,

commodified women's bodies and the women's naked bodies in the resistance movement are sharply different. Their differences lie in their position before the power. Meanwhile, the naked bodies of local women in NTT take an antagonistic position against the power of the state and capitalism to win their rights, the women's bodies described by Marx and Foucault are exploited as tools to reach the purpose of market and state, where the unfair practices toward women's bodies are exacerbated.

The Naked Body as Resistance

Joan B. Landes, in *Woman and the Public Sphere in the Age of French Revolution*, wrote that there are two ways by which women can break into the public sphere and counter with power: through spoken words and written words (Landes, 1988). Cut Njak Dien and Rasuna Said are Indonesian female figures who entered the public space and countered colonial rule by using their verbal authority, provoking people to fight against colonialism. Another study also shows how female shamans in Banten mobilized people against Dutch colonialism by quoting holy verses of the Al-Quran, amulets, etc., (Dhakidae, 2015). Another route where women can encounter public space is through written words (*diarum*, press, social media, daily notes). For example, Kartini countered with the Dutch colonial government through her letters.

However, Landes fails to see another way women enter the public space and counter with power, namely through their bodies. Based on Arendt's phenomenology of the political body, the women's naked body in resistance movement in NTT is not the laboring body as the object of state and capitalism, but rather the political body as a field of power and resistance. For Arendt, the laboring body is controlled by necessity and conditioned by instrumental or utilitarian rationality. Vice versa, a political body is characterized by its presence in front of others, displaying its uniqueness from other bodies, and therefore, cannot be controlled and manipulated. This body gives new birth to human existence and responds the public issues in a new way (Arendt & Canovan, 1998; Des Portes, 2022). Quoting Merleau-Ponty, the political body is the subject-body, the body that creates meaning. Therefore, the human body is not a mechanistic machine as in Cartesian dualism, not a passive object, but a subject capable of producing creative perceptions of the world (Bertens, 2014; Kristianto, 2023).

The ontology of political body has been expressed in a drama entitled *Lysistrata*, arranged by the classical Greek poet, Aristophanes, in the 5th century BC. It expresses the idea that gender, sexuality, and power demonstrate complex relationships. It shows how women prove that their sexuality is a strong weapon in countering male domination (Muhsin, 2022). *Lysistrata* tells us the story of the Peloponnese war between Sparta and Athens. This decades-long war could not be stopped by any men, philosophers, or generals in Athens and Sparta. Then, a woman named *Lysistrata* appeared, gathering Greek women in a discussion about how to stop the war. They are of the same mind that the only possible action to stop the war is a massive sex strike (Muhsin, 2022). They stopped serving sex with their husbands until the war completely stopped. By avoiding sex, these women succeeded in stopping the violence in its concrete form, namely war (Dhakidae, 2015). The politicization of sexuality to build resistance against political evil that has failed to be resolved by politics as usual is the clearest intersection between the *Lysistrata* and the naked body movement of women in NTT.

The naked body movement is a radical approach, dealing with the failure of persuasion and negotiation to draw the government and public attention. Therefore, here we prefer using the term "nakedness" rather than "nudity". According to Tamale, nudity and nakedness are different concepts. Nudity presupposes display and invites sexual connotations. On the other hand, nakedness asserts agency in the shedding of clothes: "A naked body has to be seen as an object to become nude" (Tamale,

2022). When those women bare their breasts to the public, they are not engaging in sexual provocation. Rather, they are challenging and subverting structural and political injustice, drawing attention to their plight. As powerless people, they mobilize their bodies as a powerful resource. It transforms the sexual connotations of women's bodies into political ones or changes the negative associations of nudity into positive power.

The idea that the naked body movement is a kind of political resistance is not from Arendt. However, it can be interpreted along the line of her thoughts on resistance, political action, and the phenomenology of the political body. For Arendt, resistance is the main component in the concept of political action. Resistance is not violence or domination, but power, namely the ability that arises whenever individuals talk and act together democratically (Arendt, 1972). Hence, the resistance as civil disobedience always contains three aspects: action, judging, and will (Gretić, 2007). Countering injustice with the naked body signifies an unusual and new politics. Such politics rejects the advent of repressive regimes (Tamale, 2022).

Arendt further states that modernity is characterized by the invasion of economic production structure in the public realm, turning politics into a field of domination, control, and exploitation (Franěk, 2014). For Arendt, as for Foucault, the modern commercial economy development requires new strategies of domination, intending to control, dominate, and exploit “the country’s most valuable resource, namely its people” (Villa, 1992; Franěk, 2014). This strategy creates docile bodies, instrumentalized by the market for capital ends. Foucault calls it a biopower. Arendt calls it a social domination. Social domination drops individuals to the biological level of existence, exploiting life energy, and transforming them into workers and consumers under the control of an imperialist economic system (Arendt, 1973).

For Arendt, the utilitarian strategies of economic imperialism create conformist individuals whose reactions are predictable, act like machines and can be controlled and manipulated (Arendt, 1973; Franěk, 2014). Just as totalitarianism subordinates’ freedom of thinking, new modes of economic domination subordinate individuals to their biological level of existence. Arendt stated that those who are imprisoned in natural necessity (labor) and instrumental system of the global market (work) find it difficult to resist evil such as totalitarianism, imperialism, and racism. By not fighting the regime, they organized themselves into the same criminal acts (Rae, 2019).

Arendt mentions Adolf Eichmann as an example of individuals who lost their character as a free and creative person and were unable to raise resistance. For Arendt, Eichmann's evil did not originate from the natural fact of a human being but rather from his ability to obey all the brutal logic of the Nazi (Hunt, 2015). Arendt called it the banality of evil, namely a condition where a person fails to identify evil as the evil caused by his sheer thoughtlessness (Arendt, 1994). Thoughtlessness refers to one’s inability to decide critically about an action by thinking about its consequences for other people (Tan, 2024). Arendt discerns between thinking and non-thinking. Non-thinking is technical reasoning that undermines the capacity of moral judgment. Whereas thinking is an activity that leads a person to a critical moral judgment about what action should be taken in a particular situation (Morgan, 2016).

The woman’s naked body as a resistance is a thinking body. This body moves beyond the natural necessity and the functional logic of the system. It becomes a living and active body. It was transformed from laboring bodies and machinery or robotic bodies to political bodies (Rae, 2019). The resistance of women in NTT confirms Arendt’s view that the political evil of a regime is never total. Under the condition of terror and repression, most people will be silent, but some will choose to counter (Arendt, 1994). The women’s resistance in NTT is displayed as a natality dimension of existence that transcends

normativity and normality, creating alternative forms of action (Çubukçu, 2021). The naked body movement depicted women's ability to reject the norms and instrumental logic imposed on them. With resistance, those women “established and maintained in their existence a space where freedom (...) can appear” (Arendt, 1973). It shows that human beings are independent only as long as they act. Freedom is won by countering all exploitative forces (Franěk, 2014), creating a “space where that freedom manifests itself,” (Arendt, 1981).

In their resistance against the state and extractive industries, women in Besipae, Rendu, Legur Lai, and Pocoleok represented Arendt's idea of political action. Investigative reports by *Jurnal Perempuan*, *AMAN*, *Floresa.co*, and *Walhi NTT* indicated that women's naked body movement was the culminating point after dialogue and negotiation failed to draw government attention, protecting their rights to lands, forests, and villages. The nakedness itself spreads an ecological meaning about the relationship between nature, culture, and humans. Aleta Baun, a women's activist of the Molo indigenous community once said: “During demonstrations, women naked their breasts to show that seizing our land has similar meaning with exploiting our breastmilk, and we will no longer be able to breastfeed.” Aleta Baun's statement indicates that the female body can act as a symbol of nation and motherland, where the image of mother is often associated with nation-building (Tamale, 2022). The use of some terms in Indonesia such as “ibu pertiwi” (motherland), “ibu kota” (the capital), “bahasa ibu” (mother tongue), “tanah kelahiran” (hometown), and other words with feminine connotations are constructed to arise patriotism and love for the nation. The metaphor of motherhood is much more important now as the expansion of unchecked global neoliberalism deprives our homelands. Metaphorically, exploiting the motherland is similar to exploiting the women.

The naked body movement of those women was driven by their initiative, not by male force or pressure (Bala, 2023). From Arendt's view, this movement has its political value because it displays freedom and creativity (Rae, 2019). The typical mode of political action is that it makes freedom and the experience of a new beginning encounter, fueling a revolutionary spirit to create public happiness (Hyvönen, 2016). When those women had no choice but to maintain their dignity and rights, they used their eroticism by showing their breasts. According to Audre Lorde (Lorde & Clarke, 2007), the meaning of “erotic” in the political naked body goes beyond sexuality and pornography. The erotic is a hidden energy resource that exists within every woman, a deeply feminine and spiritual force that can strengthen every woman's experience of the world. The naked body movement of women in NTT displayed the erotic power in Lorde's sense. Their resistance against oppression is “an integral part of who they are, driven and empowered from within,” (Lorde & Clarke, 2007; Tamale, 2022).

Quoting Foucault that “where there is power, there is resistance,” (Foucault, 1970), the naked body transforms from an object of control to a locus of power. Similar to Foucault's concept, for Arendt, power is strategy and relationship, not the ability to impose individual will on others. Arendt distinguishes power from violence, strength, force, and authority. Violence is the ability to coerce by using weapons, military force, mass rage, and terror. Violence can be compared to power, but it is not a manifestation of power. It can damage democracy because it undermines rationality and consensus of the common good. Violence can be used to sustain power. Yet it is no longer legitimate power but terror (Arendt, 1972).

Power is also not strength either. Strength is a person's ability that surpasses the abilities of others. One's strength can be canceled if another stronger appears. If power becomes strength, then authoritarianism comes. Power is not force because force always produces terror and threats. Neither is power authority, because authority is just as strength, possessed individually and institutionally (Jena,

2011). For Arendt, authority can justify coercion by more powerful individuals/institutions against weaker individuals/institutions. Based on this distinction, Arendt emphasizes her concept of power. In *On Violence*, Arendt understands power as “the human capability not just to act, but to act in concert.” (Arendt & Canovan, 1998). Power is the art of organizing the community and transforming plurality into collective ideals. Power arises from the network, relationship, and togetherness of citizens.

Reflecting on that analysis, we can see the naked body as a locus of power. It means that the woman’s naked body is not the personal body with its strength and authority, but “the body as it acts in the concert” (Des Portes, 2022). The body in the pornography and fashion industry is a personal body that only has the strength of its attractive beauty. By exploiting it as a commodity, the body becomes a working body. It cannot counter market capitalism. In contrast, the naked body as an act in concert is political because of its ability to resist. From Arendt's perspective, we call this naked body a locus of power always in the sense that power is generated by relations and strategies (Rae, 2019). Foucault's claim on power can be added here. According to him, power cannot be localized, rather it is melting, and exists everywhere, depending on the ability to build mechanisms, strategies, and relationships. Power is not a possession, rather it is exercised in a sphere where many positions are strategically related to one another and constantly shifting. Power does not come from outside but from relationships between humans (Bustamante, 2013).

Arendt emphasizes power as a mechanism of persuasion through words and deeds. For Arendt, civil disobedience should be carried out in a persuasive manner, not in a violent way (Rae, 2019). The women's naked body movement is a persuasive symbolic action that manifests women's protest against socio-economic injustice. This movement was able to draw greater public attention to women's role in winning social justice and the rights of NTT local communities from oppression and exploitation. Quoting Foucault, the women's naked body in the resistance movement is “a medium of communication to the larger world,” (Foucault et al., 2003) . This naked body, as Merleau-Ponty puts it, is a source of perception that connects the world and the subject’s consciousness (Cañas, 2019).

Reflecting on Arendt's theory of action, this naked body movement also expresses the uniqueness of women’s bodies, or according to Arendt, it uncovers women’s unique distinctness, their who-ness, not their what-ness (Des Portes, 2022). In the “who-ness”, each person is unique and different from others. On the other hand, in the “what-ness” everyone is considered as the same thing as everyone else. Under the control of biopower or unchecked global neoliberalism, individual differences are removed, resulting the total sameness (Sandel, 2020). Human beings become objects or machines. This totalitarian politics and structural injustice are opposed by women in NTT, using their naked bodies.

Women, Solidarity, and Community

Arendt distinguishes two models of the public space, namely agonistic public space and associational public space. The agonistic public space is a space where individuals demonstrate their personal strength, moral greatness, and heroism. It is the space of conflict of interest and competition where each seeks recognition for themselves. On the contrary, associational public spheres do not stand on individual strength and competition, but rather on collaboration, organization, and networks of action to empower weaknesses and transform individual plurality into a shared power (Benhabib, 1993). The sustainability of associational public space relies on the loyalty, solidarity, and community feeling of its participants. This public space can appear anytime and anywhere, as long as individuals “act together in concert”. Associational public space unites individuals and prevents them from destroying and manipulating each other (Anowai, 2019).

Arendt proposed a compelling thesis that plurality, solidarity, and community are the sources of power. If politics is a space in-between, then political power requires an associational public space. If for Marx, imposing individual arbitrariness is a form of power, Arendt, on the other hand, thinks that solidarity, not coercion, is power (Hardiman, 2005). Power emerges when citizens act in solidarity, community, and networks of action. It disappears when solidarity collapses. For Arendt, the advent of modern totalitarian regimes is closely related to the weakening of social and community bonds in modern society. In other words, power is not a personal possession but rather belongs to a collectivity. For Arendt, the power comes to appear, and can only come to appear, through intersubjective actions; inversely, it is this very process of acting that constitutes the subjects to themselves and others (Maze, 2018). According to Pinto and Pereira, Arendt's concept of power is in line with Antonio Negri's concept. For Negri, the power of democracy is a constituent power where the citizens organize the modern revolution democratically (Jacon Ayres Pinto & Maieron Pereira, 2017).

In his critique of liberalism and democratic crisis in America, Michael Sandel, an American communitarian philosopher cites Arendt's concept of solidarity as a source of power: "What makes modern society a floating mass is not the number of people involved, but the fact that the world between them has lost its power to gather them together, to relate and to separate them." According to Sandel, Arendt's thought on solidarity and community indicates that when our public life withers, our sense of involvement and togetherness diminishes so that we are vulnerable to being trapped by totalitarian mass politics (Sandel, 2020).

Sandel's explanation is not far from Arendt's intention. According to Arendt, Nazi was an example of totalitarian mass politics that oppressed the freedom of individuals at the time when these modern individuals were uprooted from their cultural roots and communal values. Struck by the flood of modernity's ambivalence, modern individuals struggled to find a hold, and finally they were stranded in the primordial political communities such as Nazism and fascism. As Arendt stated, in a totalitarian regime, individuality, or whatever differentiates one from another, cannot be tolerated. As long as individuals are not melted in the same ideology, the dream of a totalitarian regime remains attainable (Arendt, 1973). For Sandel, Arendt's thoughts direct most of our moral and political projects towards the common good and strengthen the republican values in democracy (Sandel, 2020).

In the background of Arendt's idea about solidarity, there is Heidegger's metaphysics of *Dasein*. *Dasein* means being-there, namely the concrete space of an individual in a shared world. *Dasein* is only visible in the world that is dwelled with other people. Hence, *Dasein* is *Mitdasein*, which means Being-with-Others. Based on this social ontology, Arendt believes that plurality, solidarity, and community are the sources of power to fight against dictatorship and injustice. Solidarity, plurality, and community also depend on intersubjective communication between citizens to reach effective political decisions, discuss public issues, formulate collective actions, and organize communities to build social movements (Gómez, 2016).

Based on those explanations, we can see how the women's movement in NTT was born from the social ontology of individuals. Solidarity and community are the foundations of their resistance movements. The report of *Jurnal Perempuan* (2021), *Project Multatuli* (2023), *AMAN* (2021), *Walhi NTT* (2022), and *Floresa.co* (2023), show that the women's resistance movement originated from a long dynamic deliberation, involving the three processes that Arendt called: will, judging, and action. First, they started by mapping their position as victims. It has a special meaning for women because they are the main victims of extractive industry projects in NTT. When their land was confiscated, indigenous women lost their jobs, sources of food, their vegetable or fruit gardens, for their household necessities.

For those women, seizing their land means destroying their dignity and existence (Bala, 2023; Bala, 2021). Initiation, or natality according to Arendt, is the key concept. These women engaged in the movement not because they were urged by men, nor even out of an awareness of gender equality, but rather because they sought to defend the rights of their communities and preserve an imagination of nature as a nurturing mother sustaining their lives.

Second, deliberation. Before the movement was carried out, the traditional houses became the rooms of discussion of indigenous communities to judge their fate and how to build a resistance movement. Everyone, both men and women, has the same right to express their opinions (Susabun, 2023). The deliberation culminates in a consensus about what should be done next, which Arendt calls judging. Third, organize the community to fight. Resistance is carried out persuasively. They visited the government institutions, expressing their aspirations. However, this dialogue process is often blocked by the state's repressive state actions (Bala, 2023). The women carried out the naked body movement as the alternative action when politics as usual (negotiations and negotiations) were blocked by the state's military. The naked body movement relies on community support and solidarity between indigenous peoples.

Talking about solidarity as a community strength, in *On Revolution*, Arendt says: "Pity may be the perversion of compassion, but its alternative is solidarity. It is out of pity that men are "attracted toward les hommes faibles," but it is out of solidarity that they establish deliberately and, as it were, dispassionately a community of interest with the oppressed and exploited. The common interest would then be "the grandeur of man", or "the honour of the human race", or the dignity of man. For solidarity, because it partakes of reason, and hence of generality, is able to comprehend a multitude conceptually, not only the multitude of a class or a nation or a people, but eventually all mankind. But this solidarity, though it may be aroused by suffering, is not guided by it, and it comprehends the strong and the rich no less than the weak and the poor; compared with the sentiment of pity, it may appear cold and abstract, for it remains committed to "ideas" – to greatness, or honour, or dignity – rather than to any "love of men", (Arendt, 1972).

Reflecting on that statement, the women's naked body movement contains two main dimensions in relation to the shared goals of the local community. First, the dimension of responsibility, namely responsibility for what and whom (Sharon, 2018; Gómez, 2016). Those women have a responsibility to the earth, to the next generations, and the sustainability of their indigenous community. This responsibility indicates women's care and concern for the fate of the community and its purposes (Sandel, 2020). Second, the women's naked body movement is a form of *amor mundi* (love for the world) and compassion. For Arendt, solidarity as *amor mundi* and compassion strengthen the formation of "a community of interest" (Sharon, 2018). The women's resistance can be interpreted in that sense. Love for the world, living space, village, farming lands, forests, etc. drives the women's energy to counter the state and extractive industries. Compassion for the fate of the community and its future fuels the resistance in a new and creative way (Hunt, 2015). Thus, reflecting on Arendt's theory of action, the women's naked body movement in NTT is truly a political action, when it's viewed in the context of solidarity, care, love, and unity with the local community and its sustainability.

However, it is necessary to present a critique to expose the limitations of Arendt's framework. Although Arendt's thought provides a useful lens for exploring the nudity movement of women in NTT, this study also finds that the Eurocentric orientation of her philosophy might be insufficient to fully capture the dimensions of the movement. For instance, Arendt places strong emphasis on verbal communication and the dialogic space as strategic tactics in the pursuit of justice. Her reflections on

resistance to totalitarianism are also shaped by the language of human rights and Western notions of equality. However, the nudity movement of NTT women prioritizes the spontaneity of action itself, precisely at the moment when discursive language and verbal dialogue- which are central to Arendt's thought- fail to function. These local women, which most of them have limited formal education, are not familiar with sophisticated Western feminist theories; thus, their movement does not emerge from an intellectual engagement with the concept of gender equality. Rather, it arises from a collective sense of the land's value to them, as a mother who nurtures and sustains them, reflecting an ecological sensibility that compels radical action--something perhaps beyond Arendt's philosophical horizon.

Conclusion

This study finds that, based on Hannah Arendt's theory of action, the women's naked protest against extractive industries in NTT constitutes a political act. In this context, the female body undergoes a transformation: from a laboring and working body to a political body. Arendt distinguishes the laboring body as one subjected to natural necessities such as sex, reproduction, and biological survival, while the working body is commodified, regulated by the logic of market mechanisms. Both are docile bodies, subjugated by natural needs, patriarchal structures, and capitalist systems. These bodies, Arendt argues, are not political, as politics is characterized by freedom, plurality, and collective struggle. In contrast, the political body is autonomous, ungoverned by external forces; it asserts agency, resists domination, and becomes a site of power and resistance.

In the NTT case, the naked female body no longer signifies sexuality or vulnerability, but rather serves as a radical and militant political strength. It challenges the authority of the state, global capital, and patriarchal norms. This act transforms women's bodies into a site of public dissent, collapsing the binary between private (bodily) and public (political) spheres. While in many parts of the world, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, India, and Indonesia, women continue to struggle for autonomy under male guardianship systems, discriminatory inheritance laws, and patriarchal violence, the women of NTT confront oppression by reclaiming their bodies as instruments of political expression.

This form of embodied resistance offers a powerful symbolic message: in women's bodies, the world's injustices are inscribed, but through these same bodies, those injustices are now opposed. Their nakedness, therefore, is not a retreat into vulnerability but a deliberate act of empowerment and confrontation. From Arendt's perspective, such action epitomizes the true essence of political life: freedom, visibility, and plurality. Thus, the women's naked protest in NTT emerges as a profound political intervention, reimagining both the meaning of the body and the space of politics.

References

- Ahmad, F. (2023). Gendering Women: Body, Power and the Processes of Subjectivation. *Journal of Education Culture and Society*, 14(1), 451–464. <https://doi.org/10.15503/jecs2023.1.451.464>
- Anowai, E. (2019). Hannah Arendt on the Destruction of Public Realm in Modernity: A Case with Modern Democracy. *Journal of Social Service and Welfare*, 1(1): 21-28.
- Arendt, H. (1972). *Crises of the Republic: Lying in Politics, Civil Disobedience on Violence, Thoughts on Politics, and Revolution*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Arendt, H. (1973). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Arendt, H. (1981). *The Life of the Mind*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Arendt, H. (1994). *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. Penguin Books.
- Arendt, H. (2011). *Essays in Understanding, 1930-1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

- Arendt, H., & Canovan, M. (1998). *The Human Condition, 2nd Edition* (2nd edition). The University of Chicago Press.
- Bala, A. (2021, Desember). Waduk Lambo: Mengapa Ibu-ibu Rendu Bertelanjang Dada? *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara*. <https://www.aman.or.id/index.php/news/read/lambo-reservoirwhy-do-mothers-in-rendu-go-shirtless>.
- Bala, I. (2023, March 7). Kala Perempuan Pejuang Adat Patrilokal Melawan Keserakahan Negara. *Project Multatuli*. <https://projectmultatuli.org/kala-perempuan-pejuang-adat-patrilokal-melawan-keserakahan-negara/>
- Benhabib, S. (1993). Feminist theory and Hannah Arendt's concept of public space. *History of the Human Sciences*, 6(2), 97–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/095269519300600205>
- Bertens, K. (2014). *Sejarah Filsafat Kontemporer*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Bohrer, A. (2015). Fanon and Feminism: The Discourse of Colonization in Italian Feminism. *Interventions*, 17(3), 378–393. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2014.996180>
- Budiarto, M. K., Yusuf, M., & Subagya. (2023). Implementation of Pedagogical, Andragogical, and Heutagogical Approaches in Education System Sustainability. *Indonesian Journal of Educational Research and Review*, 6(2), 281–298. <https://doi.org/10.23887/ijerr.v6i2.59889>
- Bustamante, C. B. (2013). Michael Foucault's Philosophy of Biopower and the Construction of Human Subject. *Philippiniana Sacra*, 143(3), 77–108.
- Butler, J. (2024). Judgement, Freedom, Solidarity: Thinking with Arendt. *Journal of Italian Philosophy*, 7.
- Cañas, P. M. (2019). The understanding of the body and movement in Merleau-Ponty. *Trans/Form/Ação*, 42(1), 201–226. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0101-3173.2019.v42n1.10.p201>
- Çubukçu, A. (2021). Of Rebels and Disobedients: Reflections on Arendt, Race, Lawbreaking. *Law and Critique*, 32(1), 33–50. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10978-020-09271-x>
- Da Silva Borges, A. L. L., & Labidi, S. (2021). Rethinking What It Is to Be a Feminist. *Advances in Applied Sociology*, 11(04), 206–212. <https://doi.org/10.4236/aasoci.2021.114017>
- Dalupe, B. (2020). Dari Hutan Ke Politik Studi Terhadap Ekofeminisme Aleta Baun Di Mollo-NTT. *Jurnal Polinter: Kajian Politik Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 5(2), 31–51. <https://doi.org/10.52447/polinter.v5i2.4056>
- Des Portes, C. (2022). Hannah Arendt's Hidden Phenomenology of the Body. *Human Studies*, 45(1), 139–156. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10746-021-09614-2>
- Dhakidae, D. (2015). *Menerjang badai kekuasaan: Meneropong tokoh-tokoh dari sang demonstran, Soe Hok Gie, sampai putra Sang Fajar, Bung Karno*. Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Flohr, M. (2024). Beyond the Nation State: Rereading Hannah Arendt's "We Refugees" Eighty Years Later. *New Political Science*, 46(1), 6–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2024.2303223>
- Foucault, M. (1970). The archaeology of knowledge. *Social Science Information*, 9(1), 175–185. <https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847000900108>
- Foucault, M., Rabinow, P., Rose, N. S., & Foucault, M. (2003). *The essential Foucault: Selections from essential works of Foucault, 1954-1984*. New Press.
- Franěk, J. (2014). *Arendt and Foucault on Power, Resistance, and Critique*. 6(3), 294–306.
- Gómez, N. B. (2016). A critical approach to Hannah Arendt's concept of worldliness and its applicability in the social sciences. *Human Affairs*, 26(2), 201–211. <https://doi.org/10.1515/humaff-2016-0019>
- Grabowska, B. (2023). Perspective Chapter: The Female Body as Sites of Power. In D. S. Erasga & M. Eduard L. Labayandoy (Eds.), *Feminism—Corporeality, Materialism, and Beyond*. IntechOpen. <https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.109680>
- Gretić, G. (2007). Agency and "Ethical Resistance": Hannah Arendt and Emmanuel Levinas. *Anali Hrvatskog politološkog društva: časopis za politologiju*, 4(1), 265–282. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/45801>.
- Hardiman, F. B. (2005). *Memahami negativitas: Diskursus tentang massa, teror, dan trauma*. Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Humaidi, M. W. (2023). Wadon Wadas: Women's Resistance in Agrarian Conflict of Andesite Mining Construction Policy in Purworejo Regency. *PALASTREN: Jurnal Studi Gender*, 16(1), 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.21043/palastren.v16i1.14695>

- Hunt, G. (2015). Arendt on Resentment: Articulating Intersubjectivity. *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 29(3), 283–290. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jspecphil.29.3.0283>
- Hyvönen, A.-E. (2016). Political Action Beyond Resistance: Arendt and “Revolutionary Spirit” in Egypt. *Redescriptions: Political Thought, Conceptual History and Feminist Theory*, 19(2), 191–213. <https://doi.org/10.7227/R.19.2.5>
- Jacon Ayres Pinto, D., & Maieron Pereira, C. (2017). The Concept of Power in Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault: A Comparative Analysis. *Brazilian Journal of International Relations*, 6(2), 344–359. <https://doi.org/10.36311/2237-7743.2017.v6n2.07.p344>
- Jena, Y. (2011). Pemikiran Hannah Arendt Mengenai Kekerasan Dalam Kekuasaan. *Diskursus*, 10(2), 166–190. <https://journal.driyarkara.ac.id/index.php/diskursus/article/view/190/107>.
- Kompas. (2024, September 3). Dipicu Demo Wanita Telanjang Dada, Pemda Bentuk Tim Investigasi. *Kompas*. <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2014/09/03/14364731/artikel-video-kgmedia.html>.
- Koten, Y. K. (2023). Hannah Arendt dan Konsep Politik Sebagai Ruang ‘Di-Antara’ Manusia: Refleksi untuk Konteks Indonesia. *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 14(2), 235–252. <https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.14.2.2023.235-252>
- Kristianto, P. E. (2023). What Is Perception?: Interpreting “Flesh, Chiasm (L’entrelacs-Le Chiasme) According to Maurice Merleau-Ponty. *Jurnal Filsafat*, 33(1), 95–116. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.74744>
- Landes, J. B. (1988). *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. Cornell University Press.
- Lee, T. M. L. (2007). Rethinking the Personal and the Political: Feminist Activism and Civic Engagement. *Hypatia*, 22(4), 163–179. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2007.tb01326.x>
- Liang, X. (2023). Freedom and Responsibility: A Discussion by Hannah Arendt. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 11(11), 298–309. <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2023.1111020>
- Lorde, A., & Clarke, C. (2007). *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Crossing Press.
- Mahayasa, D. P. S. (2023). Nudity as Strategy: Examining Femen Sextremism Ideology to Weaponize Women’s Body. *JUSS (Jurnal Sosial Soedirman)*, 6(1), 72–89. <https://doi.org/10.20884/juss.v6i1.8384>
- Maze, J. (2018). Towards an Analytic of Violence: Foucault, Arendt & Power. *Foucault Studies*, 120–145. <https://doi.org/10.22439/fs.v0i25.5577>
- Mbembe, A. (2013). Necropolitics. *Public Culture*, 15(1), 11–40. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-15-1-11>
- Meredith, M. (2021). Academic practice and public engagement through the lens of Hannah Arendt’s public sphere of action. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 51(6), 751–763. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2021.1926928>
- Miguel-Alfonso, R., & Caporale-Bizzini, S. (1994). *Reconstructing Foucault: Essays in the Wake of the 80s*. BRILL. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004456839>
- Mohamadi, N. (2023). Hannah Arendt’s action theory, aesthetics and feminist curatorial praxis. *Arts*, 12(2), 47. <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts12020047>
- Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Duke University Press.
- Morgan, M. (2016). Hannah Arendt and the ‘freedom’ to think. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 48(2), 173–182. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2016.1144579>
- Muhsin, Ihsan Alwan (2022). The Politics of Gender and Sexuality in Aristophanes’ Lysistrata. *Journal of the College of Basic Education*, 20(84), 817–833. <https://doi.org/10.35950/cbej.v20i84.8207>
- Nadhifah, K., & Hasan, T. (2022). Tingkat Kemutakhiran Literatur Rujukan Dalam Artikel Ilmiah Pada Jurnal Online Mahasiswa (JOM) Bidang Keperawatan Universitas Riau Publikasi Tahun 2019-2021. *Jurnal Gema Pustakawan*, 10(1), 20–32. <https://doi.org/10.31258/jgp.10.1.20-32>
- Navarro Diaz, L. R., & Romero-Moreno, M. C. (2016). The concepts of power and violence in Hannah Arendt: An analysis from the point of view of communication. *Revista Pensamiento Americano*, 9(17), 54–66. <https://doi.org/10.21803/penamer.9.17.359>
- Ozola, Z. (2023). Freedom as a Mode of Thought: Hannah Arendt. *Athens Journal of Philosophy*, 2(4), 221–233. <https://doi.org/10.30958/ajphil.2-4-1>

- Parastasia, C. (2024). Ekofeminisme Spritualis pada Gerakan Perempuan Adat dalam Menolak Tambang Marmer di Mollo, Nusa Tenggara Timur. *Peradaban Journal of Religion and Society*, 3(1), 67–83. <https://doi.org/10.59001/pjrs.v3i1.144>
- Rae, G. (2019). Hannah Arendt, evil, and political resistance. *History of the Human Sciences*, 32(3), 125–144. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952695119833607>
- Riyadi, E. S. (2013). Politik sebagai Kebebasan: Menilik Teori Tindakan dan Konsep Kebebasan Politik Hannah Arendt. In *Kembalinya Politik: Pemikiran Politik Kontemporer dari [A]rendt sampai [Z]izek*. Margin Kiri.
- Robbins, P. (2020). *Political ecology: A critical introduction* (Third Edition). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Rogers, C. (2014). Beginning and Becoming: Hannah Arendt's Theory of Action and Action Research in Education. *I.e.: Inquiry in Education*, 5(1). <https://digitalcommons.nl.edu/ie/vol5/iss1/2>
- Romli. (2017). Aleta Baun: Perempuan yang Menyusui Batu dan Mengasuh Tanah. *Jurnal Perempuan*. <https://www.jurnalperempuan.org/tokoh-feminis/aleta-baun-perempuan-yang-menyusui-batu-dan-mengasuh-tanah>.
- Salikov, A., & Yudin, G. (2018). Hannah Arendt and the Boundaries of the Public Sphere. *Sotsiologicheskoe Obozrenie / Russian Sociological Review*, 17(4), 9–13. <https://doi.org/10.17323/1728-192x-2018-4-9-13>
- Sandel, M. J. (2020). *The Tyranny of Merit: What's Become of the Common Good?* Allen Lane.
- Sastrapatedja, M. (2021). *Manusia dalam Berbagai Relasi*. Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Driyarkara.
- Sharon, A. (2018). Solidarity without Sentimentality: *Raisons Politiques*, N° 70(2), 97–116. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rai.070.0097>
- Susabun, A. (2023, June 22). Pengukuran Lahan Proyek Geothermal Poco Leok, Flores Dikawal Ketat Aparat, Protes Warga Direspons dengan Represi. *Floresa.Co*. <https://floresa.co/reportase/mendalam/54221/2023/06/22/pengukuran-lahan-proyek-geothermal-poco-leok-flores-dikawal-ketat-aparat-protos-warga-direspons-dengan-represi>
- Tamale, S. (2022). Nudity, Protest and the Law in Uganda. *Feminist Africa*, 22, 52–86.
- Tan, P. (2024). Totalitarianisme, Banalitas Kejahatan dan Kebebasan Berpikir: Refleksi Bersama Hannah Arendt. *Jurnal Filsafat Indonesia*, 7(1), 119-130. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jfi.v7i1.62413>.
- Villa, D. R. (1992). Beyond Good and Evil: Arendt, Nietzsche, and the Aestheticization of Political Action. *Political Theory*, 20(2), 274–308. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591792020002004>.