



Maria Mies' Ecofeminist Thoughts on the Mandalika Project and Sasak Women

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Article history: Receipt on January, 2025 · Accepted on February, 2025 · Published online on April, 2025

Abstract

This study discusses Maria Mies' ecofeminist perspective on the Mandalika project and its impact on the viability of Sasak women as entities living in the area. Ecofeminism in Mies' perspective is seen as an approach that connects women's equality and freedom with the phenomenon of exploitation of nature by capitalist companies. Maria Mies' ecofeminism gives rise to a subsistence perspective approach. The impact of this exploitation of nature affects women's lives socially, economically, and health-wise. This study uses a qualitative approach with a library research data collection method. This study traces Mies' thoughts from her books and reviews the lives of Sasak women affected by the Mandalika Project. By using the ecofeminist approach in Mies' Subsistence perspective, this study concludes that Sasak women are in a condition of life that is not feasible in terms of health and economy due to the Mandalika project. Mies call this condition of Sasak women an unattainable step towards the goal of the subsistence perspective, the imaginary manipulation of capitalists, or the limited awareness of Sasak women to rise to fight for freedom and equality to live a decent life. Expectations drawn from this study can contribute to thinking about government policy and public awareness regarding the importance of paying attention to equality, justice, and the impact of the interconnectedness between nature, women, people, and a sustainable economy.

Keywords: Ecofeminism · Maria Mies · Mandalika · Sasak women · Subsistence perspective

BACKGROUND

Feminism initially emerged as a movement against the cultural, political, and economic establishment that discriminated against the existence of women in terms of voting rights which were then stated in the Seneca Falls Convention, New York in 1848 (Rampton, 2015; Üstun & Suren, 2022). The feminist

movement entered the second wave in 1963 (Choudhary, 2022) when women were only considered servants who looked after children and stayed at home (Culver, 2021). The cultural supremacy of men required them to earn a living, make socio-political decisions, and view women as weak creatures and only used as commodities to serve men who had fulfilled their obligations. In social practices, many men could not meet the needs of their families and the obligations embedded in the stigma of men's duties. Is this due to the political and economic impacts, the psychological impacts of lower-middle-class men, and the impact of the culture of male decline? As a result, women must act to survive for their families and themselves in

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conditions of limited mobility and become commodities serving the egocentric men at that time. The third wave developed the expansion of feminist rights for races other than white who have the same rights needs, and the fourth wave developed towards the direction of individual awareness of the statement of existence as a feminist (Rampton, 2015).

Researcher realize that it is necessary to be careful in understanding this feminist movement when discussed and debated in the context of human rights conditions, human psychology, social, economic, and political. Misunderstanding feminism will have an impact on discriminatory fights for women and perhaps also men. This feminist movement and ideology will continue to develop towards the next wave or stop at the fourth wave when individual awareness places their attitude as a feminist. Regardless of the debate on the existence of the feminist movement from the past to the present, as an ideology that has developed and is recognized in the social sciences and humanities, feminism has grown into an approach to review and ensure that discrimination against women can be eliminated gradually. What this study wants to convey is that immediate elimination will be very difficult to do considering the qodrati beliefs that are still believed today.

The portion of the placement of rights and obligations between women and men also needs to be taken into account in efforts to eliminate discrimination against women gradually. The existence of women in supporting the obligations and rights of men needs to be considered and the perspective changed that women are not commodities serving the egocentric men, but social partners who collaborate and together with men in meeting the needs of economic and social aspects with their respective portions and roles. Nor does a paradigm shift occur with the development of feminism so that men are discriminated against by the existence shown by women. The feminist movement could be understood as a movement to ensure that there is no classification and discrimination of rights and obligations between living things, men and women. Not in the realm of discussing gender differences in the biological scope.

This study believe that in women there is a portion of masculine traits, and vice versa in men there is a portion of feminist traits. So equality is referred to in the feminist movement as a contribution

to awareness of the portion of equality of rights and obligations between living things, women and men.

The background narrative above needs to be stated as my attitude in understanding feminism and can explain the development of feminism that has developed by paying attention to social, economic, political, technological, and environmental issues that have an impact on women as part of the entity of living things. The development of the scope of feminist studies itself cannot be separated from the great influence of the role of female figures in collaborating with men to create equality and a decent life for humans on earth. The role of Raden Ayu Lasminingrat, for example, a female figure from Garut-West Java who played a role in the education movement for women to the point of establishing a school for the virtues of wives (Harpiah et al. 2018), the role of Maria Mies who produced research related to capitalist patriarchy and became an observer of ecofeminism (Lobo, 2023), and there are still many female figures who play their respective roles in ensuring equality and justice can be enjoyed by every human being.

This article describe the role of Mies in the ecofeminism movement, this choice is based on the availability of references that describe feminist figures and the redevelopment of the ecofeminism movement phenomenon. The development of ecofeminism is inseparable from attention to environmental issues and green theory due to changes in international geosocial, geopolitical, and geoeconomic phenomena. In march 1980 when the first ecofeminist conference was held, King wrote a description of what ecofeminism is. Ynestra stated that ecofeminism is a balance between interconnected practices and theories to save interdependent living things. Ynestra's statement is contained in a book entitled "Ecofeminism" written by Mies and Shiva in 1993 (wloe.org).

"Ecofeminism is about connectedness and wholeness of theory and practice. It asserts the special strength and integrity of every living thing. For us the snail darter is to be considered side by side with a community's need for water, the porpoise side by side with appetite for tuna, and the creatures it may fall on with Skylab. We are a woman-identified movement and we believe we have a special work to do in these imperilled times. We see the devastation of the earth and her beings by the corporate warriors, and the threat of nuclear annihilation by the military warriors, as feminist concerns. It is the masculinist

mentality which would deny us our right to our own bodies and our own sexuality, and which depends on multiple systems of dominance and state power to have its way” (King, 1980).

Mies' ecofeminist perspective that sees the connection between women, nature, society, and economic sustainability in practice and theory is very appropriate to be used to explore how the connection between Sasak women, Sasak society, and the illustration of sustainable economic policies expected from the existence of the Mandalika project. Does the Mandalika project pay attention to justice, equality, and the connection between nature, Sasak women, and a sustainable economy, or does this project even have the opposite impact which only aims to fulfill the desire for capitalist profit without paying attention to the aspects of nature, Sasak women, and justice for the Sasak people, and leaving behind traces of modern slavery that result in excessive exploitation of nature, Sasak women, and the Sasak people?

METHODS

This study uses a qualitative approach with a library research data collection method. The main source used in this study is Mies' books. Secondary sources used in this study are scientific articles from the internet, journals, and books other than Mies' works. The exploration of Maria Mies' thoughts that made her a figure in the development of the ecofeminism approach, can be studied through Mies' works both in the form of books during Mies' active campaign for equality for women's rights related to environmental activities. Some of Mies' works include: *Indian Women and Patriarchy* (Mies, 1980); *The Lace Makers of Narsapur: Indian Housewives Produce for The World Market* (Mies, 1982); *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor* (Mies, 1986); *Women: The Last Colony* (Mies, von Werlhof & Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1988); *Ecofeminism* (Mies & Shiva 1993); and *The Subsistence Perspective; Beyond the Globalised Economy* (Mies & Bennholdt-Thomsen 1999). Mies' book work was heavily influenced by the thinking of Marx and Engels, which meant his resistance to the exploitation of women by the capitalist patterns implemented by world governments.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Maria Mies: A brief biography

Maria Mies was born on February 6, 1931, and died on May 15, 2023, at the age of 92. During her

lifetime, Mies actively taught as a professor of sociology at Cologne University, Germany. Mies was a Marxist feminist who was actively involved in the feminist movement since the late 1960s and in 1979 initiated the Women and Development program (Bloomsbury.com). Mies' childhood with her patriarchal father greatly influenced her choices and thoughts on becoming a feminist, this can be seen in her works that discuss patriarchy. Not in the sense that Mies hated men and her father, her struggle for thought peeled away the patriarchal way of thinking as a form of struggle for equality and rights that women need to get as human beings. Mies' willingness to give up her work contract in Pune-India because her mother was sick in Germany, shows Mies' feminist side that cares about the condition of women. On the other hand, her marriage to Saral Sakar shows her attitude of accepting men as part of the balance in living life (Schuster, 2020).

The formation of Mies' character as a feminist and opposing patriarchal attitudes was not only influenced by her personal relationship with her father. During Mies' placement in Pune, India by the Goethe Institute, Mies witnessed many negative impacts of the patriarchal culture practiced in India and realized that women's lives in India were discriminated against and had restrictions on movement and rights. Betty Friedan's book entitled "Feminine Mystique" brought by the Pune Campus librarian opened Mies' horizons and determined his seriousness in fighting for women's liberation. Mies said "One day our librarian, Mrs. Parekh, came up to me very excitedly and held a book under my nose. I read the book and many things that I had observed in India and Germany became clear to me. I also realized that women's liberation would be my future topic." (Mies 2008; in Schuster, 2020).

Determining herself to fight for women's rights in a world full of patriarchal power, Mies involved herself in several women's movements such as; Political Night Prayer initiated by Solle, the Female Help Female campaign at the Women's Forum Cologne organization which she participated in until the end of Mies' life, the "Diverse Women for Diversity" movement as a protest movement against companies that control globalization, and together with Werlhof formed the Committee for Resistance to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (Mies 2008; in Schuster, 2020). In every movement she participated in, Mies was more interested in positioning herself as an "Activist Scholar" where

Mies was not only involved in movements in the field but also campaigned through the books she wrote.

Mies's thought on ecofeminism

Mies' early contributions in the 1980s demonstrate his opposition to the exploitation of women as commodities due to patriarchal attitudes that favor men. *Indian Women and Patriarch* highlight how patriarchy operates in India through cultural, social, and economic structures that oppress women. He shows how Indian women are placed in subordinate positions through practices such as early marriage, the dowry system, and restrictions on women's mobility. Mies link patriarchy to colonialism and modernization, showing how both worsen women's conditions by exploiting their labor in the household and informal economy. Mies wants to convey that patriarchy is not just a local phenomenon, but is connected to global structures of colonialism and modernization that exploit women, especially in developing countries (Mies, 1980).

Mies continues his opposition to the exploitation of Indian women through his work "The Lace Makers of Narsapur" which explores the exploitation of Indian women working in the lace industry in the village of Narsapur. He describes how women, despite being the main workers, are not recognized as "formal" workers and remain economically and socially marginalized. The results of this study show that women's work in the informal economy is often ignored, even though it is the core of capital accumulation. On the other hand, Mies shows the egocentric attitude of men who are not responsible for the livelihood of the family and depend on the sweat of Indian women to produce lace. The men in Narsapur position themselves only as sellers of products produced by women. Mies in this work wants to convey that patriarchy is not only a local phenomenon but is connected to the global structure of colonialism and modernization that exploits women, especially in developing countries (Mies, 1982).

Colonialism against women in this work is the inequality of the placement of women who are only manual workers and men only become workers in ties without sweating. It does not mean that Mies wants to reverse the placement of men as manual workers, but the opportunity and equality of women who have the ability to sell not to work hard as lace producers and place men who are not able to sell in the position of lace producers. If this is realized, then for Mies,

equality and justice can be applied. Mies' resistance to patriarchal attitudes gained its moment to be known as the woman who introduced the term "housewifeisation" in her 1986 work entitled "Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor". This work is one of Mies' main works, in which she developed the theory of "materialist feminism" that connects patriarchy and capitalism at the global level. She argued that capitalism relies on the exploitation of three forms of unpaid labor: women's labor, exploitation of natural resources, and colonization.

Mies introduced the concept of *housewifeisation*, which is the process by which women are integrated into capitalism as domestic workers without official recognition. The intersection with the exploitation of natural resources written in this book became the beginning of Mies' thoughts to pay attention to environmental issues that are associated with the exploitation of women before being further developed in her work ecological feminism in 1993. Mies' book entitled "Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor" highlights that global capitalism cannot function without the exploitation of women's labor, nature, and colonial countries. Patriarchy is the main mechanism that sustains this exploitation. In an effort to achieve justice and equality for women's contributions to political involvement at all levels, Mies proposed several basic principles that must exist, namely (Mies, 1986):

1. The rejection and elimination of the principles of colonialism that classify dualistically (between men and women, between nations and classes, between humanity and nature, between spirit and matter) based on exploitation for the sake of expanding the production of commodities and the accumulation of capital.
2. The creation of non-exploitative, non-hierarchical, and non-influencing reciprocal relationships between the parts of our bodies, between humanity and nature, between women and men, between the different classes and groups within a society, and between the different nations.
3. The necessary consequence of non-exploitative relationships with ourselves, nature, other human beings, and other nations or countries is the re-acquisition of autonomy over our bodies and our lives. This autonomy means, first and foremost,

that we cannot be blackmailed, or forced to do things contrary to our human dignity in exchange for our means of subsistence or life. Autonomy in this sense must not be understood in an individualistic and idealistic way - as feminists often do - because no woman in our atomized society is capable of maintaining her autonomy. Indeed, autonomy is the antithesis of autonomy if understood in this narrow egoistic sense. The enslavement of the consumer under the capitalist conditions of general commodity production is due precisely to the illusion that each individual can buy his independence from other human beings and social relations by buying commodities.

4. The rejection of the idea of infinite progress and the acceptance of the idea that the human universe is finite, our bodies are finite, the earth is finite.
5. The aim of all human work and effort is not the endless expansion of wealth and commodities, but human happiness (as the early socialists saw it), or the production of life itself.

Continuing his thoughts in the book "Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor", Mies collaborated with Werlhof & Thomsen, writing a book entitled "Women: The Last Colony" in 1988 which consistently opposed the establishment of capitalism against women and the environment. In this book, Mies together with von Werlhof & Thomsen discuss women as the "last colony" exploited in the global capitalist system. This book highlights how women, like colonies in colonial times, are used as resources that can be exploited without limits by capitalism. Women, along with nature, are considered "last" because both are the material basis of production, but are not recognized in the structure of modern capitalism. Mies together with Werlhof & Thomsen conclude that women are the last material basis of capitalist exploitation, similar to the way nature and colonies are plundered for economic gain. For Mies, the colonization of women and nature was caused by the problem of the concept of demands for equality and justice for women which was understood biasedly. Habits towards the concept of women are not only caused by understanding the results of the analysis of biological determination but also analytical tools and understanding of the basic definition of determination and the concept of women are influenced by beliefs about biological determination (Mies, 1988). Mies

suggests an approach to overcome this biased concept with the perspective of the historical experience of the oppressed, exploited, and subordinated and how they struggled to gain emancipation (Mies, 1988).

Mies's thinking, which consistently sees the connection between women and nature as commodities that are both exploited capitalists, is strengthened by his work with Shiva entitled "Ecofeminism". This book combines a feminist perspective with ecological criticism, claiming that the capitalist and patriarchal view of nature and women as resources that can be exploited is the root of the global ecological crisis. Both Mies and Shiva rejected the concept of capitalist development which was considered to destroy traditional communities, seize land, and destroy ecological sustainability. Mies and Shiva argued that women and nature were placed in a subordinate position by the patriarchal paradigm and capitalism that pursued unlimited profits. This exploitation was reinforced by modern science and technology that treated nature as an object that could be controlled by capitalist organs or companies. Mies gave the example of the Chernobyl disaster that occurred in 1986 where 4 nuclear warheads exploded in Ukraine. This disaster resulted in women being contaminated and having the responsibility to care for the lives of their children, themselves, and their families. Mies then stated the lessons learned from the Chernobyl disaster (Mies & Shiva 1993), namely:

1. An industrial disaster like Chernobyl may occur in a faraway place, but its impact knows no territorial or political boundaries, geographical distance does not determine whether we will not be affected and whether we are guaranteed safety;
2. The impact of what is done by modern humans and machines will be felt by all humans because we are interconnected. "Infinite progress" is a dangerous myth that states that we can rape and destroy living nature, which is an integral part of ourselves, without ourselves being responsible for it, but also other humans and natural resources;
3. Trusting those who call themselves the 'responsible' parties is dangerous. Chernobyl has clearly shown that the main concern of the 'responsible' parties is to stay in power. The arbitrary manipulation of permissible pollution limits by politicians is clear evidence that science is subject to political opportunities. Politicians promise compensation only if they have to fear losing an election. They will find arbitrary reasons and proposals to compensate women for their

- extra work to protect their children. An exploitation disguised as a concern for power;
4. Trust in those in power in politics and science is very dangerous, especially since their thinking is not based on ethical principles. Many scientists are ready to do morally questionable research because they are paid; in the United States (at the time of this study by Mies, probably 1989-1993), 60 percent of scientists did research paid for by the Pentagon. Even scientists who warn about the dangers of nuclear energy and genetic engineering still distinguish between 'pure' 'value-free' research and applied research. Much of the 'value-free' research of scientists is hampered by moral considerations, public fears, emotions, and especially financial constraints by politicians. Ethics and morality should only play a role after the research has been done when the question arises whether the research should be applied or not. Only then are ethics commissions formed. However, the final decision is left to politicians. On the other hand, they turn to scientists for guidance and expertise when they have to make difficult ethical decisions such as setting permissible contamination limits. In reality, both scientists and politicians depend on those who have the money to finance a particular technology and want to promote it for profit;
 5. It is dangerous to trust politicians and scientists not only because they lack ethics, but also because they lack imagination and emotion;
 6. The manipulation of the situation by politicians and scientists to convince citizens that the level of nuclear radioactivity is at a low level. This reassurance is shown by how the wives of the elite cook calmly on television as if the Chernobyl disaster was not dangerous. Even a scientific organization (at that time), published a full-page advertisement to convince the public that scientific analysis showed that radioactivity was very low so that panic or fear of health risks was unnecessary. These advertisements were funded by the nuclear industry;
 7. The methodology of using nuclear power ultimately causes the destruction of relationships and symbiosis of living things;
 8. The emergence of spontaneous women's movements such as "Women Against Nuclear Power", "Mothers Against Atomic Energy", "Parents Against Atomic Energy" and others like

- it, gave influenced of the fear of the ruling elite over the voices of women's protests;
9. The Chernobyl disaster teaches about the hypocrisy of modernity and advanced civilization, where there are simple needs that are still needed, such as: the availability of green vegetables, clean water, or milk for children.

Mies and Shiva's thoughts in the book "Ecofeminism" have contributed references for ecofeminist activists in formulating issues of the connection between women and the environment. Mies's presentation of the Chernobyl disaster example in the book provides a space for classifying rejections of sustainable development efforts that do not pay attention to the importance of environmental impacts and only aim to gain corporate profits through unethical actions, especially for women. This does not mean that Ecofeminism rejects sustainable development and technology, but the process of implementing sustainable development and the use of technology needs to be carried out ethically and not only for the sake of gaining profits from a group of corporate elites. So in an effort for ethical sustainable resilience, Mies and Shiva provide several recommendations for ideas that they call the "subsistence perspective" (Mies & Shiva 1993), namely:

1. The purpose of economic activity is to meet basic human needs, primarily through the production of utility values, and self-sufficiency, and not through the purchase of commodities. Local and regional resources are used but not exploited.
2. Economic activity is based on the relationship between nature and humans. Nature should not be exploited for profit, but rather nature is respected in its richness and diversity, both for its own sake and as a prerequisite for the survival of all beings on the planet. Human interaction with nature is based on respect, cooperation, and reciprocity. Human relations have principles such as reciprocity, mutual benefit, solidarity, reliability, sharing and caring, respect for the individual, and responsibility for the whole. The subsistence perspective can be realized only in a reliable and stable network of human relations, it cannot be based on the atomized and selfish individuality of the market economy.
3. The subsistence perspective is based on and promotes the principle of participatory or grassroots democracy. Political responsibility and action are no longer expected only from elected

representatives of the people, but are borne by everyone communally and practically.

4. The subsistence perspective is one of the main insights of ecofeminism that requires a multidimensional or synergistic approach to problem-solving. This approach is based on the recognition that not only are systems of domination and different problems interrelated, but also that these problems cannot be separated separately or simply through technological improvements. Thus, social problems (patriarchal relations, inequality, alienation, and poverty) must be solved together with ecological problems.
5. The subsistence perspective demands a new paradigm of science, technology, and knowledge developed in participatory community action. Grassroots, women's, and community-based knowledge and science lead to a re-evaluation of older survival wisdom and traditions and also utilize modern knowledge in such a way that communities retain control over their technology and the basis of their survival. Science and technology will not reinforce unequal social relations, but gradually enable greater social justice.
6. The subsistence perspective leads to the reintegration of culture and work with the ultimate goal of happiness and a fulfilled life. This perspective also requires the reintegration of real spiritual and materialistic values.
7. The subsistence perspective rejects any attempt to further privatize, and/or commercialize the common natural resources: water, air, waste, land, and resources. Instead, this perspective encourages shared responsibility for the gifts of nature and demands their preservation and regeneration.
8. The subsistence perspective is not about excluding men from the network of shared responsibility for creating equality and justice. This perspective suggests that men begin to practice shared responsibility for the creation and preservation of life on this planet. Men and women together disengage from the production of commodities that are cumulatively destructive.
9. The subsistence perspective sees that the dichotomy between production and preservation of life and commodity activities needs to be eliminated. Men need to hone the care and nurturing that has so far been considered the domain of women. This does not mean that

women replace men or vice versa, but together have a sense of balanced care. Because the subsistence perspective does not base its concept of a good life on the exploitation and domination of nature and others.

10. The subsistence perspective recognizes that humans live in a limited world. Therefore, the exploitation of other nations, countries, regions, groups, and individuals for the sake of sustainable development must be avoided and generalized. Because this perspective has proven to fail to meet its expectations of happiness, freedom, dignity, and peace.

The strengthening of the meaning of the subsistence perspective as part of Maria Mies' ecofeminism was carried out with the publication of Mies' book in 1999 entitled "The Subsistence Perspective; Beyond the Globalised Economy" which she wrote with Thomsen. Both agreed that the subsistence perspective is not an abstract approach shown from the experiences and practices discussed in the book. The subsistence perspective is also not a new economic model approach, the subsistence perspective is a point of view expressed to ensure that economic equality and justice and concern for the environment can be achieved to create a balanced world, not exploited and exploited, dignified, has freedom of rights and obligations, and gets happiness (Mies & Thomsen, 1999). The subsistence perspective is also an effort to raise the spirit of a group of women to get the right to freedom and equality in economic, cultural, political, educational, and environmental aspects. It does not mean that this freedom is based on an attitude of consumerism and irresponsible freedom. In other words, the subsistence perspective does not allow women to take advantage of arbitrary freedom under the pretext of equality and justice. This will cause women to be trapped in capitalist values and exploit themselves and others.

There are several academic reasons shown by Mies and Veronika who chose the word "subsistence" to describe the position of the ecofeminism perspective, among these reasons are (Mies & Thomsen, 1999):

1. For Mies and Veronika, the word "subsistence" expresses the inclusiveness expected in describing alternative social orientations: happiness, freedom, and self-determination according to the limitations that are owned. The word "subsistence" has or is similar to the concept of

- moral economy that does not separate (interconnected) between economy, culture, politics, society, and others.
2. For Mies and Veronika, the word “subsistence” historically describes the interconnectedness of every aspect and it is found that the interconnectedness is real in human life in an effort to maintain itself.
 3. The word “subsistence” is used in modern language and has the same meaning as “everywhere”.
 4. The word “subsistence” also has contradictory meanings. For example, for men and women who benefit from the war on subsistence, ‘subsistence’ means backwardness, poverty, and hard work. For the victims of this war, it means security, ‘the good life’, freedom, autonomy, self-determination, preservation of the economic and ecological base, and cultural and biological diversity.
 5. The concept of ‘subsistence’ also expresses the continuity with nature within us and around us, and the continuity between nature and history, the fact that dependence on the world of urgency should not be seen as a misfortune and limitation, but as a good thing and a prerequisite for our happiness and freedom.
 6. The more the current crisis affects those who have benefited from the war on subsistence, the more the appeal of the subsistence lifestyle will be rediscovered. The concept encompasses many things that are included under such headings as regionalization, local economy, self-sufficiency, new communities, alternative lifestyles, caring for the economy, maintaining the economy of life, and the ‘third way’.
 7. For Mies and Veronika, the word “subsistence” is used because it has the value of describing a point of view.

Maria Mies' thought journey from a patriarchal family background and reading sources of Marx' thoughts when she was young, influenced Mies' contributions academically and practically. Academically, Mies' thoughts are expressed in her works that have been mentioned on page 5 of this article. Practically, Mies' involvement in women's forum activities in fighting for equality and awareness for women. Mies' thought transformation consistently fought against patriarchal attitudes that she saw in India and Germany as a culture that was believed by society. Entering the late 1980s, Mies

developed her thoughts on the attention to the connectedness of feminism and the environment to formulate a subsistence perspective in her commitment to ecofeminism.

Mandalika project and Sasak women through Maria Mies' thought.

Mies's way of thinking, which devoted himself to caring for women through environmental issues that influenced efforts to discriminate against women, can be found in the lives of Sasak women after and before the Mandalika Circuit mega project was inaugurated. This article attempts to touch on the conditions of Sasak women before the idea of building the Mandalika Circuit mega project was initiated when the Mandalika circuit was being worked on, and after the Mandalika circuit was inaugurated and used until now. The data presented and analyzed are sourced from articles on the Internet, books, and journals. In explaining the conditions of Sasak women and the Mandalika project, Mies' perspective, especially in the last 2 books he wrote, will be a reference for thinking in this article.

The Sasak tribe is the indigenous population of the island of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara who have lived and descended from each other since 4000 years before Christ. The traditions of the Sasak tribe are strongly influenced by the cultures of the Javanese and Balinese people, which are the characteristics of the identity of the descendants of the Sasak people. Being in an archipelago shows that the Sasak tribe makes a living as farmers and fishermen. At least the tradition of living is still maintained even though there is a transformation due to the era of modernization that affects the horizon of the Sasak people today. Imagining Lombok, I imagine the beauty of the island inhabited by the Sasak tribe and the abundant natural wealth as a source of livelihood for the Sasak tribe. Not only its natural beauty, the Sasak tribe also has beautiful traditions and culture that respect the values of togetherness and equality between men and women. Even in the Kotaragama Lontar manuscript, women are described as figures who must be respected, honored, and protected to achieve a good life and reward. One of the verses of the Kotaragama Lontar manuscript reads (Pudja, 2015):

Hana wong lanang, hing kala dalu hangunggahinhing wong wadon, sampun melebenting pura. Ya ta kaget ni wadon, nuli hanjerit. Ya ta kang lanang hatarutul. Ya ta sakwehing

hamiharsa, sami hatatandang, sagelar sasapun. Nuli kinepungiriku, hatarutul, hamalampah sa;ah, den sami harsa hanggugoni. Ya ta hasung denda. Dene during during hanggameli 2500. Yen wus hanyekel, dende 5000. Yan malih bahu kinepung hatarutul hasung tukon, tat a sami hakarsa wong ngakatah, hanging sanaking rara hiku meneng tanpa ngulagi during katur ring gustine. Ya ta kala dalu kasudukang, kang ngasung tukon, hanunten pejah. Rahuing pamirahos, sanaking rara hika denda 4000 (If there is a man at night who wakes up a woman and enters the house the woman is shocked and then screams. Then the man chases her until she screams. Then those who hear it come and cause the community to come and be shouted at for doing wrong, and bad, and everyone will believe the incident, then the person is fined 2,500 even though he has not touched her and if he has touched her, he is fined 5,000. Thus at night, he is killed until he dies. If prosecuted, the girl's family will be fined 4,000).

The depiction of the Sasak tribe tradition as stated in ancient manuscripts has shifted with the current acculturation and the values of modernity and culture. It may be true that the current globalization and modernity are some of the reasons for the change in wise culture that has begun to shift to what Mies called imaginary capitalist consumerism. Ancient Sasak manuscripts that make women a valued figure have begun to be eroded by the value of "general appropriateness" which is believed by modern society as part of civilization. For Hariyanto (2015), the shift in the ethical values of the Sasak tribe is greatly influenced by the influence of different eras, materialism, and individualism (Hariyanto, 2015).

What about Sasak women? Traditionally, the Sasak tribe has experienced a period of class grouping between the noble group called perwangse and the lower class society called Amaq. The social class of the Sasak tribe also influences how the class is juxtaposed to the noble Sasak women called Dende, Baiq, and Le, as well as the lower-class women called jajar karang. The social stratification of women in the conservative Sasak tribe also influences the values practiced by Sasak women, just like the global conservative view of the role of women. If Sasak women in the conservative era were not allowed to receive an education, contemporary Sasak women have been allowed to receive an education and form a new class of contemporary women's values determined by the level of education they have received (Dewi, 2015). Furthermore, Sasak women

are still part of the patriarchal tradition in the Sasak tribe.

Sasak women in their tradition are positioned as domestic workers who take care of children, serve their husbands, and take care of the house. While men are responsible for the public work sector. The condition of Sasak women as domestic workers is what Mies fears is part of the patriarchal values that must be changed to achieve equality and justice in terms of shared responsibility. If this condition continues, Mies will see the failure of the subsistence perspective understood by the Sasak tribe. principles such as reciprocity, mutual benefit, solidarity, reliability, sharing and caring, respect for individuals, and responsibility in the network of human relations will not be realized. The erosion of the existence of Sasak women in ecofeminism is not only caused by social attitudes that grow in Sasak society. The formation of inequality in social life will be strengthened by political and economic factors, especially the dreams and coercion carried out by political and business elites over Sasak society.

Ecofeminism considers that the Mandalika circuit project is part of masculine egocentrism to fulfill masculine desires. We can see this assumption from the purpose of Mandalika as a motorbike racing circuit followed by men. It is undeniable that this motorbike racing spectacle is also of interest to some women. From Mies' perspective with his ecofeminism, the involvement of women in fulfilling masculinity desires is part of capitalist manipulation to make women the last materialist commodity in order to gain profit by exploiting human and natural resources. The construction of the Mandalika circuit has failed to fulfill justice and equality for women, nature, and the Sasak tribe. Afra (2023) said "as a result of the development of Mandalika priority tourism, it will make it difficult for Sasak women who have the task of looking after livestock because of the lack of land for grass and pens. Relocation to a suitable place is built without proper clean water facilities and results in the cleanliness of women's reproductive organs" (Afra, 2023).

On the one hand, the development of the Mandalika circuit according to the perspective of subsistence in ecofeminism implies that the development of the Mandalika circuit does not pay attention to the aspect of the connection between nature and humans which causes the loss of sources of income for the Sasak women so that there is vulnerability in their efforts to maintain their lives.

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The Mandalika circuit project has broken the continuity with nature within us and around us, and the continuity between nature and history. On the other hand, the Sasak people (especially women) who are victims of the masculine project of the Mandalika circuit are required to see the misfortune that befell them as security, a 'good life', freedom, autonomy, self-determination, preservation of the economic and ecological base, and cultural and biological diversity. Awareness and concern for the economic and ecological base that grows in the Sasak people will be the capital to be able to better appreciate the importance of nature and humans that are utilized according to the levels needed. The Sasak people will raise anti-materialistic values and resistance to capitalist slavery.

CONCLUSION

Mies' thinking was greatly influenced by her life experiences in a family with a strong patriarchal culture. This culture made the condition of her beloved mother look weak not because of her mother's inability to become a woman who could achieve her desires. However, the socio-cultural life that was believed in at that time limited Mrs. Mies' freedom. She also found something similar when she worked in India which strengthened Mies' point of view in fighting for equality for women. Mies' thinking was greatly influenced by the works of Marx and Engels who saw that patriarchal culture was nothing more than a capitalist materialistic product. Her resistance to patriarchy and the capitalist imagination also influenced Mies' thinking in her phenomenal work.

Ecofeminism in Mies' point of view is seen as an approach that connects women's equality and freedom with the phenomenon of exploitation of nature by capitalist companies. The impact of this exploitation of nature affects women's lives socially, economically and health-wise. Mies explained this condition by using the Chernobyl disaster as an example that had an impact on women. The Chernobyl disaster situation, in terms of impact, has similarities with the capitalization of the Mandalika project for Sasak women. The condition of Sasak women who experience an unworthy life in terms of health and economy due to the Mandalika project is an important note for Afra. The condition of Sasak women is referred to by Mies as an unattainable step towards the goal of a subsistence perspective, imaginary manipulation of capitalists or the

limitations of Sasak women's awareness to rise up to fight for freedom and equality to live a decent life.

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