

# The Ecofeminism Practice: The Women's Movement in the Documentary Film “Sangihe Melawan”

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Accepted: 9 July 2024 | Published online: 17 July 2024

## Abstract

Ecofeminism is an interrelated and holistic theory and practice. Ecology, in conjunction with discourses on women's freedom and radical democracy, constitutes one of the primary pillars of democratic confederalism, which is the development of the political paradigm in Indonesia. Ecofeminism also manifests in several areas, including the women's resistance movement against gold mining by PT Tambang Mas Sangihe (TMS) in Sangihe. This study aims to describe the representation of the women's movement in the documentary film "Sangihe Melawan," which was uploaded to the YouTube channel of Watchdoc Documentary on July 1, 2022. This research employs semiotics techniques. The data analysis unit in this study includes images or visuals, audio (dialogue and narration), acting, setting, type of shot, and angle, which collectively demonstrate the role of women in the concept of Social Ecofeminism. The results indicate that women are represented as the most disadvantaged parties in the exploitation of natural resources. The women's movement to protect the environment is also depicted as an effortful endeavor. The women's resistance to the expansion of gold mining in Sangihe was manifested in various actions, including awareness-raising activities, a women's rally, legal action against PT TMS through the Manado and Jakarta Administrative Courts, and other legal avenues.

**Keywords:** Ecofeminism; Environment; Capitalism

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## Introduction

Ecofeminism is a recent designation for conventional ideas from the feminist social movement. Francoise D'eaubonne first introduced the term in his book *Le Feminism ou La Mort* (1974). However, it gained popularity due to the mounting environmental damage caused by repeated ecological disasters (Vandana and Maria 2005). Ecology, in conjunction with discourses on women's freedom and radical democracy, constitutes one of the principal pillars of democratic confederalism, representing the advancement of the political paradigm (Piccardi 2022). Industrialization has led to the implementation of development policies that have failed to consider the importance of ecosystem preservation. The damage to the ecosystem will impact society, with women being particularly affected. Furthermore, the socio-cultural and economic aspects are also affected.

In her book *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1990), Maria Mies applies Marxist theory to this study. Mies' ecofeminism represents a significant contribution to the field of research in this area. Indeed, since the 1980s, and particularly through her fieldwork with women in Andhra Pradesh, she has analyzed the international division of labor shaped by the recent neoliberal and capitalist accumulation processes in the Global South, with a particular focus on the destructive effects of development on the economy, especially women's economic subsistence. Corporations' management of natural resources legitimized by economic development policies frequently results in environmental degradation and other adverse consequences. In this context, the concept of "profit" within the capitalist system is presented as a means of achieving collective well-being. The impact of environmental damage is felt most acutely by women, who are the most closely connected to nature and the environment.

Ecofeminism is a discourse that examines the relationship between women and nature. Tong (2009) defines ecofeminism as a movement that considers women's needs, experiences, and femininity to create and preserve nature and the environment. In Indonesia, the discourse of ecofeminism is still regarded as an unconventional perspective

within society. Although the practice of ecofeminism has existed for a considerable period, there are still some individuals who are unfamiliar with this term (Farez and Andhita 2020). In other parts of the world, ecofeminism has been implemented. The year 1980 marks the inception of the ecofeminism movement, which commenced in March of that year. The genesis of this movement can be traced to the nuclear industry leak at Three Mile Island in the United States in 1979. In 1984, 40 tons of toxic gas were released from the Union Carbide pesticide plant in Bhopal, India. The incident resulted in the deaths of over 3,000 individuals. In addition, more than 400,000 individuals were affected, and it is probable that many of them subsequently died and experienced prolonged suffering (Astuti 2012).

In Indonesia, ecofeminism also occurs in several areas. The strategy of the women's movement against environmental pollution occurred in Lakardowo Village, Mojokerto Regency (Azmi 2021). The women's movement was led by a conflict between the Lakardowo community and PT PRIA regarding B3 waste management. Women's awareness as a central point in the domestic space is the motive of the women's movement on environmental issues. The Green Woman movement was established through social media as a women's movement that cares about environmental issues and waste management. The representation of the women's movement on ecological issues can also be seen in the conflict in Kendeng, Rembang, Central Java, Indonesia. Several women farmers in Kendeng, known as "Kartini Kendeng" consistently voiced their rejection of the existence of PT Semen Indonesia because its mining activities are considered to hurt the surrounding environment. The impact can be massive, from agricultural land and air pollution to water sources (Setiadi and Rosyid 2021).

Women's involvement in the environment as part of ecofeminism must be addressed. An abundance of impacts on women due to environmental damages shows the impartiality of government policies towards them. The representation of the impartiality of development policy is presented in the documentary film "Sangihe Melawan" uploaded on the YouTube channel of Watchdoc Documentary on July 1, 2022. Up to September 08, 2022, this film has been liked by 2,600 and watched 67,120 times. It shows the exploitation of natural resources to be carried out by PT Tambang Mas Sangihe (TMS) through the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 163. K/MB.04/DJB/2021 concerning approving an

increase in production operations activities. PT TMS has been permitted to add mining gold since January 2021, seven months after the Minerba Law No. 3 of 2022 enactment and three months after the law's ratification on "Cipta Kerja" No. 11 of 2020. The permit granted is the management of 42,000 hectares and is given for 33 years of management until 2052.

The documentary "Sangihe Melawan" showed the relationship between PT TMS and Bowone Village. Bowone Village is the location of a mineral processing factory. PT TMS is going to buy community land for Rp. 10,000/m<sup>2</sup> (Sangihe Melawan, Saputra & Rompas 2022). One of the gold mining sites is Mount Sahendaruman, which is upstream of 72 rivers and streams that flow into 70 villages. PT TMS aims for open-pit mining, starting with land clearing and removing existing vegetation. This action will lead to damage to ecosystems, especially marine ecosystems. Thus, fishermen may also be forced to lose their livelihoods since fish catches will decrease when their ecosystem is damaged. Another impact of this policy is ecosystem destruction that will threaten people's lives, including women's lives.

Demonstration activities involving the local community in this film present how recent media or digital media provide alternative spaces for social movements, including the women's movement (Rahayu, Leona, et al. 2021). YouTube is one of the latest media platforms that provides an open space for anyone, including women. The documentary "Sangihe Melawan" produced by Watchdoc Documentary, is an example of the women's movement in new media (digital media). This documentary video represents women's role in ecofeminism and how women are aware of protecting and preserving their environment. Illustrated in various demonstrations against illegal mining activities. On the other hand, women are also depicted as having household chores and domestic-related activities (Purwono 2021). This domestic role leads women to be closely related to the environment. So, the environmental impacts of industrial activities greatly affect women than men.

Women's struggles to preserve the environment are portrayed in this film through the steps achieved. The rally movement as part of protests was carried out by the "Save Sangihe Island" community, which women led. The resistance is also reflected in the results of interviews with female informants who show women's awareness that the future impacts of development become women's burden and their families. In addition, the intensity of the

refusal to mine gold was also carried out through legal action by filing a lawsuit with the Manado Administrative Court (PTUN), although the lawsuit was rejected. The women's movement then continued the lawsuit through the "Save Sangihe Island" community to the Jakarta Administrative Court. All women's movements to reject gold mining are presented in the 32.47-minute video, which can be accessed publicly on the YouTube channel Watchdoc Documentary.

## **Methods**

This research employs Roland Barthes's semiotic analysis. According to Barthes, semiology is the science of signs that attempts to ascertain how humans interpret things that exist in realities. This semiotic analysis is used to analyze the meaning of the signs in the research object. Roland Barthes developed the idea of two-stage significance (Barthes, 1964). Semiology is composed of levels of the language system in two language levels. This significance refers to the concepts of denotation and connotation, producing myths.

Denotation is the first signification system and the literal meaning of the sign. Denotation is interpreted as the literal meaning of a sign or the general meaning that society understands. Meanwhile, the connotation is a second-stage significance term that can be interpreted as the relationship that occurs when a sign is mixed with feelings or emotions. Connotation works on a subjective level, so it is often not realized. Furthermore, the connotation will give rise to a myth, a message about public views. Barthes defines myth as something related to the habits or culture of society (Barthes, 1964: 1972). The following diagram illustrates how the signs operate.

**Figure 1.** The Sign Map Roland Barthes

1. Signifier	2. Signified
3. Denotative Sign	
4. Connotative Signifier	5. Connotative Signified
6. Connotative sign	

*Source: Sobur, 2006*

An analysis of the map of sign function (above) reveals that the second stage is built on the foundation laid by the first. In stage one, the relationship between the signifier and the signified is employed to create a denotative sign. In the second stage, or myth stage (metalanguage), the sign in the first stage becomes a signifier, which is connected with the signified in the second stage and produces a connotative sign. In the second stage of significance, signs also work through myths that mark a society. Myth is the development of connotations. If a connotation has long been developed, it will become a myth.

The research material used is a documentary film, "Sangihe Melawan," produced by Watchdoc Documentary in 2022. The unit of data analysis in this study is images or visuals, audio (dialogue and narration), acting, setting, type of shot, and angle, which demonstrates the role of women in the concept of social ecofeminism in the film *Sangihe Melawan* (2022). The research was conducted between August 2022 and November 2022.

The data collection method in this study is the documentation technique because the research object is a document, namely a film. The stages of data collection are as follows: first, watching carefully the entire film *Sangihe Melawan* (2022) to obtain the general theme of the film; second, grouping the data according to the predetermined research problems; third, incorporating data as quotes from conversations in the film that show the role of women (in this case, showing the resistance movement against PT TMS) in Social Ecofeminism in the film of *Sangihe Melawan* (2022) into the analysis table.

The data analysis process in this research was conducted in two stages: description and representation. The research team concentrated on two female figures, Elbi Pieter and Jull Takaliuang. The descriptive analysis commences with the grouping of scene captures and

quotes from conversations in the film, which demonstrate the role of women in the two figures above in the form of a resistance movement against PT TMS. Subsequently, the researcher analyzed the denotative and connotative signs, revealing the myths embedded within the scene. Subsequently, the representation stage was conducted by reflecting on the theory of Social Ecofeminism in conjunction with Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis of the film *Sangihe Melawan*, a Watchdoc Documentary production. This method served to refine the analysis.

### **Ecofeminism: Ecology and Development Failure**

The thoughts of Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies pioneer the ecofeminism used in this research. Shiva and Mies' ecofeminism strongly criticizes development that gives way to open access to industrialization and capitalism. Development is promoted to third-world countries. As a developing country with a rich natural resource base, the industrialization that develops is extractive and capitalistic, thus leading to environmental degradation and ecological crisis. Therefore, development is a myth that creates poverty in third-world countries. Development only provides a way for first-world countries. Modern countries can control their sexuality, fertility, employability, and labor force (Shiva and Mies 2014).

The initial beginning of environmental damage is the development paradigm that refers to economic activities, consumption, and markets. The environmental degradation caused by development in third-world countries has affected women's lives. Women are the subjects who must bear the brunt of the impact. As subjects close to nature after domestication, women have increasingly difficult access to natural resources, food, family nutrition, and family economic status. Therefore, ecofeminism is more than a manifesto. It already lives in the actions of women (Salleh 2017). This concept is especially true for women in agricultural and plantation areas whose livelihoods depend on nature, such as in *Sangihe*.

This theory is used as an analytical framework to look at the problems of industrialization in *Sangihe*, in this case, the mining industry. Furthermore, it looks at the efforts of the women's movement against industrialization and the vulnerability of women

who are said by Siva and Mies to be responsible for the environmental damage caused by the operation of the gold mine in Sangihe. On the other hand, the women's movement has become a struggle for the marginalized and hitherto excluded segments because of the development project (Shiva 2017). Industrialization, resistance, and vulnerability are all represented in the documentary *Sangihe Melawan*

## **Results**

### **Representation of The Women's Movement in The Documentary Film "Sangihe Melawan"**

The documentary *Sangihe Melawan* explains several things about the life of the Sangihe people and the mining industry. Firstly, it explains the livelihoods of the Sangihe people, who depend on nature, plantations, and coastal waters. Second, the film explains the legal violations committed by PT TMS to build the mine. Thirdly, it talks about the possible consequences of the mine's construction. Fourthly, the film tells the story of the Sangihe community's movement against mining, which, in this case, involves women.

The result shows several forms of women's resistance presented in the documentary "Sangihe Melawan" to reject the existence of gold mining in Sangihe. The representations of women's resistance include the emergence of women's awareness of the bad effects of exploitation, protests, and the beginning of a lawsuit against PT TMS to PTUN Manado and Jakarta.

Two female characters are highlighted in the film "Sangihe Melawan"; each has a different background. However, they pursue the same goal of defending Sangihe from the unexpected impacts caused by PT TMS. These women played a role in the emergence of the women's movement against PT TMS in Sangihe. The two-female speakers are:



Table 1. Female characters in the film “Sangihe Melawan”





No	Name	Employment	Role in the women’s movement in Sangihe
1	Elbi Pieter	Housewife	Participating in protests
2	Jull Takaliuang	Environmental and human rights activists	The initiator of <i>Save Sangihe Island</i>

Source: Primary Data (2022)

### 1. The emergence of women's awareness of the negative impacts of exploitation

The following scene illustrates the awareness of women (Elbi's character) of the adverse effects of PT TMS exploitation in Sangihe.

**Figure 2.** The scene portrays women’s awareness of exploitation.

	
Scene 01 (10.07-10.40)	Scene 02 (30.04-30.28)
	
Scene 03 (17.03-17.35)	Scene 04 (20.30-21.05)

Resource: Documenter Film “Sangihe Melawan”

**Denotation:**

In the first scene, Elbi can be seen seated, engaged in the process of peeling coconuts to produce Copra. The scene is captured using the medium shot technique, and the camera is placed at eye level. During the scene, Elbi is observed expressing her dissent towards the compensation offered by PT TMS to acquire her copra plantation. She perceives the offered compensation as inadequate, considering her status as a copra farmer. This scene is evident in her dialogue, highlighting her disagreement with the compensation.

"The estimated land size is between 2 to 3 hectares. However, the return on investment is not commensurate with the income my spouse and I currently generate. We are currently engaged in Kopra production, which yields approximately one million rupiahs per harvest. A portion of our earnings is set aside to fund our children and grandchildren's education." Elbi Pieter (10.07-10.40)

In the second scene, Watchdog interviews Elbi in the serene surroundings of her garden. During the interview, Elbi articulated her views on the predicament faced by the residents of Sangihe. Her measured and thoughtful response was aimed at creating awareness amongst the masses, as evidenced by the following quote:

"I was profoundly affected by the resilience of some of the existing communities. I asserted that if we remain silent, it implies that we accept our fate. Undeniably, they perceive us as naive. Consequently, we must advocate for our right to inhabit our land, our territory, and our rights. We have the right to live in peace, to live in peace." Elbi Pieter (30.10-30.29)

In light of her remarks in the film, Elbi recognizes that when residents are subjected to exploitation, they must take a stand against it. She posited that residents should not remain silent without resistance, as this would render them susceptible to being perceived as foolish or helpless.

In the third scene, a photograph of a coastal settlement encircled by hills is displayed. The scene depicts the location of the Sangihe Islands district. This section contains Jull Takaliuang's explanation as follows:

"Any activity performed on a small island must have the appropriate recommendation or permit from the KKP, as they are authorized to regulate such activities. The issue with Sangihe is that its size is only 736 km, and the limit for small islands is 2000 or less. This section means that Sangihe is

considered a very small island and should not be forced to undergo mining activities." Jull Takaliuang (17.00-17.38).

In the fourth scene, the character of Elbi is observed in the mangrove garden. Elbi indicated the mangrove plants with the following commentary.

"More than 20 hectares. What will happen to Sangihe Island? It will definitely be destroyed. Inside this mangrove forest (pointing to the middle of the mangroves), what did we find yesterday? We found some delicious clams, but we had to search for them by foot. It's easy to catch fish there, but it makes us a little worried, you know? We are afraid that it might be contaminated."  
Elbi Pieter (20.26-20.59)

### **Connotation:**

In Scene 01, a medium shot and an angel's eye demonstrate the object's profile and establish parallels. In most instances, documentary filmmaking techniques position the object and the filmmaker simultaneously. This section implies that the filmmaker maintains an objective stance, neither supporting nor opposing any particular viewpoint can thus provide a balanced and impartial account of the events in question. Furthermore, Elbi's activities in harvesting Copra are also aimed at providing an overview of the daily lives of Copra farmers. In the opening conversation, Elbi begins to perceive that something is amiss.

As Elbi posits, numerous phenomena can harm residents when PT TMS is present. One such instance is attempting to purchase land from residents at exceedingly low prices. Elbi stated that his land, which encompasses an area of 3 hectares, was offered for Rp. 10,000 per square metre. She believes the price offered to sell the land differs from the income generated from his garden if used to meet his daily living needs. This section represents a form of exploitation perpetrated by PT TMS. They attempt to generate substantial profits with minimal capital investment. It can be reasonably assumed that all commercial or otherwise transactions will inevitably give rise to exploitative relationships.

In the second scene, the narrative focuses on Elbi Pieter's profile as a woman who is aware of her condition and the oppression she experiences at the hands of PT TMS. The excerpt from the conversation in Scene 02 above indicates that Elbi is becoming aware of the negative consequences of exploitation. Due to this awareness, she joined other women and residents in the Save Sangihe Island movement, which Jull Takaliuang initiated.

In the third scene, it can be inferred that Jull Takaliuang is opposed to mining by PT TMS in Sangihe because the island is relatively small and, therefore, unsuitable for mining. Jull asserted that the island should not be mined. Meanwhile, in the fourth scene, Elbi expresses concern about the potential impact of PT TMS mining. He posits that mining in Sangihe could harm the island's ecosystem; thus, he is opposed to it.

**Myth:**

The opening four scenes collectively construct a mythical narrative portraying the detrimental effects of mining in Sangihe. Should the mining operations conducted by PT TMS continue, they will likely contribute to the deterioration of the ecosystem in Sangihe, which will subsequently hurt the survival of the local population and the surrounding environment. For instance, as depicted in scenes 1 to 4, Elbi will lose his livelihood as a copra farmer and witness the deterioration of his garden. This awareness of the potential damage caused by mining operations conducted by PT TMS has prompted the community, including Elbi, to recognize the dangers and negative impacts that may result from such activities. The interview with Elbi exemplifies this scene.

## 2. Demonstration

**Figure 3.** The scene portrays women's movement**Denotation:**

In the fifth scene, the first panel on the left depicts Jull being interviewed. The background of the interview location is depicted in the workroom. The table, computer, and documents behind Jull evidence this scene. In this scene, Jull makes the following assertion.

“The only viable option is to engage in combat. Indeed, if we remain silent, we risk experiencing the consequences of our inaction in the future. We are

insignificant and cannot perceive reality. This condition is not easy in the context of our advocacy efforts within the community. Why do I say that? What is the societal choice? His chosen society responded with its strength. Should the authorities refrain from initiating legal proceedings, horizontal conflict will inevitably ensue. In such instances, it is not uncommon for members of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) and the Indonesian Military (TNI) to resort to the use of excessive force against the civilian population. "That is precisely the outcome we are striving to avoid," stated Jull Takaliuang (15.23-16.12).

In the second panel on the right, a crowd of demonstrators can be observed at the mining site. The banners carried by the demonstrators and the mining location marked by trucks and heavy equipment behind them indicate that the demonstration is taking place at the mining operation site.

The sixth scene is comprised of three panels. In the initial panel, Elbi is depicted wearing a hat, bag, and a t-shirt bearing the message "Reject PT TMS." Additionally, four women were observed wearing similar t-shirts in the background behind Elbi. The second panel (middle) depicts trucks and pickups transporting resident side-by-side. The road appears relatively quiet, with the hills in the background. Meanwhile, in scene 07, we see Jull engaged in conversation with residents while raising her finger in the middle of the crowd.

The initial two scenes, comprising seven panels each, are interrelated. In the seventh scene, Elbi addresses the crowd from a pickup truck, utilizing a loudspeaker. It would appear that Elbi is gesturing towards the residents. The following is a transcript of Elbi's dialogue in that scene.

"Once again, it is imperative to reiterate that one should never be afraid. We do not solicit financial assistance from others, yet we rely on the sweat of our brows to provide for our children and grandchildren. Today, we have a right to express our opinions. One must never back down or be afraid. It can be argued that humans are essentially similar and that officials and society are similar. In essence, there are no officials if there is no society. They are above us, the society. There is no reason to be afraid. I am speaking on behalf of the women currently in this situation. I will proceed to challenge them. Long live the people! The student experience" Elbi Pieter (24.35-25.33)

#### **Connotation:**

In the fifth scene, Jull Takaliuang is identified as the initiator of the Save Sangihe Island movement. Jull Takaliuang is an environmental and human rights activist. In the PT

TMS case context, Jull stated that his party would not defend any actions that resulted in environmental destruction. As stated in the film, he asserted that his only recourse in opposing PT TMS was to confront it directly.

Jull is reputed to be one of the most astute women in North Sulawesi. In 2015, Jull was selected by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to represent Indonesia in receiving an award from the 2015 N-Peace Award in the Untold Stories category in the category of Women Transforming their Communities (Indonesian Corruption Watch, 2015).

Scene 06. The three panels illustrate instances of women's resistance to mining. The scene depicts Elbi and the local population preparing to stage a demonstration against PT TMS's rejection of mining activities. Elbi and the residents were observed departing for the demonstration site in trucks and pickups. Jull served as the field coordinator for the demonstration. Furthermore, the third panel illustrates Jull providing instructions to the residents regarding the demonstration. Jull assumed full responsibility for the demonstration from its inception to its conclusion.

In the seventh scene, Elbi is depicted as an orator at a demonstration. An orator is an individual tasked with the delivery of orations. Those engaged in the practice of oratory must possess the requisite skills to disseminate propaganda. This scene is evidenced by Elbi's discourse above.

**Myth:**

Jull is commonly believed to be an environmental activist; therefore, she is well-suited to serve as a community mobilizer and initiator of the Save Sangihe Island movement. Furthermore, she has been Indonesia's representative for an international accolade recognizing women who effect transformative change in society. Meanwhile, Elbi was the orator responsible for delivering demonstration speeches. She realized his duty was to safeguard the island's residents' rights and preserve Sangihe Island. Consequently, the myth derived from this is that women can effect change and become drivers of society when they realize their rights and obligations.

### **Women, Ecology, and Capitalism in Sangihe**

The first plot of the Sangihe Melawan film illustrates how women and nature are inseparable entities. Women in domestic affairs become the support for families whose sources of needs are obtained from nature. In the public sector, Sangihe women help fulfill the family's finances by farming and gardening. Female farmers generally participate in food security activities regarding availability, access, and use. Female farmers strategically meet household food and nutritional needs (Hayati et al. 2015).

The relation between women and ecosystems or nature in this film is depicted by Elbi Pieter (a farmer), a resident of Bowone village, Tabokan Selatan Tengah subdistrict, Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi. As a housewife, Elbi is responsible for preparing food for her family. The food she cooks is obtained from plants in the garden around her house. Elbi also helps her husband in the garden, who works as a copra farmer on his land. Agriculture and all related activities are the main livelihood sources for women in third-world countries (Shiva and Mies 2014).

"My daily activities are not only at home, such as cooking and taking care of the children, but also helping my husband to earn money for the needs of future children and grandchildren. As for the garden, I have a coconut garden, a clove garden, and nutmeg in it. It is our garden, not our parents' heritage. It is excluded from the parent's heritage". Elbi Pieter (04:20-04:56)

From Elbi's statement, it can be seen that the domestication of women has occurred so far and has made women closer to natural resources. Therefore, ecofeminism suggests that women are the most knowledgeable and expert subjects in protecting the planet (Foster 2021). In addition, Elbi represents Sangihe women who also take part in plantation and agricultural activities, which her husband manages. It can be seen from the abundant crops, with an area of 73,700 ha of Sangihe Island with a population of 140,000 people, most of them succeeded in producing the main commodities (2020) 42 quintals of red onion, 1,935 quintals of cucumber, 31 quintals of large chilies, 3,769 quintals of cayenne pepper, 7,346 quintals of tomatoes, 256 quintals of kangkong. The main commodities (2021) were Copra 80,400 tons, cloves 48,400 tons, and nutmeg 5,220 tons. The production of biopharmaceuticals includes Ginger 2650 kg, Galangal 1,196 kg, Aromatic ginger or *Kencur*



69 kg, Turmeric 2,893 kg, Noni 491 kg, *Temulawak* or Javanese ginger 1,127 kg. (Sangihe Melawan 2022)

The harvest from the community's gardening in Sangihe will be the main source of income for the community to continue their life, including educational fees for their descendants.

“There may be nearly 2 or 3 hectares. Compared to the payment [we earn] later, it is not comparable to our [me and my husband] income. In this case, we are making Copra, maybe the income is around one million or more for each crop. So, for one year we can imagine how much we can earn. It should have been enough to save for my offspring, where currently they are all in school”  
Elbi Pieter (10.07-10.40)

According to the FAO, more than 70 percent of economically active women in developing countries work in agriculture, and women farmers make up more than 25 percent of the world's population (Patel 2015). The majority of women's work in the informal sector, such as agriculture and plantations, places women in the most vulnerable position, and they have double responsibilities, including ensuring food quality and helping family income.

Women's position on Sangihe Island is highly vulnerable when the climate and natural conditions in Sangihe are unstable. A higher chance for environmental damage in Sangihe arose when the gold mining company (PT TMS) obtained an operating permit on Sangihe Island. This phenomenon leads to an ecofeminist view saying that there is oppression of women and nature by asserting that this oppression is due to an unhealthy mindset that perpetuates and justifies harm (Crittenden 2000).

This damage is highly likely to occur since the condition of Sangihe Island, which does not meet the standards, has made it a mining area. This condition is also regulated in the *Undang-undang* No. 1 of 2014 concerning managing coastal areas and small islands, which states that an island with an area of less than 2000 km should not have mining. This law is based on the considerations for the management and protection of ecosystems and nature.

“So, any activity carried out on a small island must have a permit from the KKP, because they are authorized to do so. Well, the problem is that Sangihe is only 736 km, the limit of the small island is 2000 and below. So, it is not been a half, even a thousand. So, what does it mean? Sangihe is a very small

island. So, it can't be forced for mining activities" Jull Takaliuang (17.00-17.38).

Despite women and nature as objects of oppression, another aspect that needs to be highlighted is the capitalist system, which is an important factor in the formation of exploitation of nature and women which is known as rape in ecofeminism. The developing capitalist system is supported by globalization and industrialization, which cannot be resisted. The rise of globalization and industrialization has proposed the gender construction of nature as "passive, inert, and worthless" (Klemmer and McNamara 2020).

The construction that nature is passive creates exploitation, which contributes to the emergence of the term Mother Earth, which is sacred. For many environmental activists, the earth's body is considered sacred and identified with a mother god or goddess. Consequently, if nature is identified as the female body, The ecological crisis facing the contemporary world is described as the abuse, rape, or massacre of the holy mother (Gudmarsdottir 2010).

The exploitation of the environment and women is the reason for ecofeminist rejection of oppressive, patriarchal, and capitalist practices, which are in line with anticolonial activism that struggles against oppressive and capitalistic colonial and neocolonialism (Frengs 2020). The profit-oriented capitalist system has ignored the ecological aspects that impact people's lives on Sangihe Island, especially women. as stated by Elbi in this film.

"20 more hectares... what do you want this Sangihe island to be, it must be destroyed. In this mangrove (pointing to the middle of the mangrove) like before, there are scallops, which tastes good, but we need our feet to look for it, Sister. It's easy to find fish, but that's what makes us a little bit... I'm afraid it's also contaminated" Elbi Pieter (20.30- 21.05).

Environmental damage occurs due to industrialization and economic development. Water pollution will raise concerns about food quality. Like Elbi's concern about finding fish, she fears factory waste contamination. Elbi's pessimism is shown as if there is no hope for Sangihe as a small island. In this case, social ecofeminism criticizes global capitalism and patriarchy, where they are used as a system of exploitation of nature and women.

Technology is employed to control, degrade, and destroy the environment that affects women's lives and livelihoods (Foster 2021).

The expansion of neoliberal capitalism around the world has led to mass land grabbing, expansion of agro-industrial boundaries and land degradation, highly polluting and destructive extractive industries, and contamination of our food and fields with toxic pesticides and agriculture (Acha 2017). Finally, women and nature are victims of global capitalism. Ecofeminism understands the relationship between humans and nature, which is indicated by power (Mallory 2013).

Meanwhile, the second part highlights the movement of women to reject mining activities. The Sangihe women's movement was triggered by the mining permit on Sangihe Island that was granted by the government to PT TMS. This company is a subsidiary of Baru Gold Corp., based in Canada, and its initial name was East Asia Minerals. This company focuses on developing the production projects of precious metals in Indonesia, with 70% of the shares held by Baru Gold Corp and the other 30% held by 3 Indonesian companies (Anwar 2021). Thus, Canada is the main actor in gold mining in Sangihe, and its economic development and human resources are better than Indonesia's.

During the globalization era, the key market players are undeniably developed countries and owners of capital worldwide. These capital owners can quickly invest and manage their portfolios (Ferdiansyah, Tin, and Anthonius 2016). As it occurred in Indonesia, it opened the widest possible investment for the global society by removing obstacles that potentially hindered successful investments (Sangihe Melawan, 18.43-18.50).

When 70% of PT TMS shares are owned by a transnational company with high control over the system, a developing country like Indonesia needs more power to fight back. Instead of resisting, the state can also become a tool of the global capitalist system. As a policy maker, the state plays an important role in the development process of the nation's economy, where mining is an excuse to improve the country's economic development. Decisions can be led by pragmatic considerations (Eyal 2000).

Regarding extractive industry development, such as mining, Indonesia allows mining companies to operate. This case can be seen in several laws in Indonesia, such as the Minerba

Law and Cipta Kerja. This film explains that the Sangihe community's resistance to refuse Gold Mining is hindered by the Minerba Law number 03 of 2020. The law states that every mining business is under the central government's authority, including supervision and social responsibility for the mining impacts.

The Minerba Law also reduces the responsibility for environmental damage, and companies are privileged to take environmental countermeasures, such as reclamation or post-mining. The company's renewal guarantee is also facilitated to increase state revenues. In addition, the government also provides security guarantees to companies, where if people interfere with the mining process, they will get sanctions from the government, including criminal acts and fines. In addition to the Minerba law, there is the Cipta Kerja law, which excludes public consultation in protecting and managing the environment. Consequently, in its implementation, it is only approved by the central and local governments (Sangihe Melawan 2022). In this regard, governments and companies ignore the myth that the costs associated with environment-based strategies are significant (Eweje 2006).

In this case, the government supports the key actors of the global economy without involving the community as a prominent actor in the country's development. Large companies regard the government as a capitalist institution (Hildebrandt 2003). Besides, government policy violates the fundamental function of government, which is that the main responsibility of good government, which is limited by the parameters of the resources available to citizens and society, is to ensure the citizens' welfare (Cooley 2009).

The Minerba and Cipta Kerja laws are one of the government's policies that facilitate the operational process of the extractive industry, including PT TMS in Sangihe. A pro-capitalist government system upholds an economic system that prioritizes profit over common needs, competition over cooperation, efficiency, and productivity over pleasure in a well-done job (Masquelier and Dawson 2016).

Development runs only and unavoidably, through industrialization and proliferation of high and capital-intensive technologies, towards the creation of a service-based economy, and globalization is based on neoliberal, capitalist, free market ideologies, which provide the only vehicle for development (Balakrishnan, Duvall, and Primeaux 2003). Since capitalism

has become dominant in industrialization and caused the climate crisis, it will eventually create sustainable problems in poverty alleviation and community welfare programs. Unreasonable resource development inevitably hurts the ecological environment (Wu et al. 2021).

Ecofeminism suggests that pursuing the development of developed countries like the countries of the Northern World is a myth (Vandana and Maria 2005). The development process often carried out in third countries is only a process of domination from developed countries with exploitative elements, both to nature and women. However, developing countries can still afford to catch up by enforcing regulations that support degradative industrialization. The IPCC report (2014) also noted that the increasing CO2 emissions and loss of bio-capacity could hinder economic growth in developing countries (Eregha, Nathaniel, and Vo 2022).

Women will experience poverty and vulnerability due to natural exploitation. Nature as a subject is also damaged and degraded due to excessive exploitation for economic development as an excuse. In this case, the state's role is also limited because it has been a free-market tool that tends to be exploitative. Transnational corporations are becoming more powerful and can effectively threaten countries for highly profitable operating privileges (Acha 2017).

## **Conclusion**

The development of global industry triggers the exploitation of nature and women, especially in Indonesia. With the principles of capitalism and neoliberal systems, the global market negatively impacts developing countries, especially by destroying natural resources as the main support for people's livelihoods. At the same time, the democratic system is one of the ways to allow freedom in making decisions and carrying out resistance. The permit granted by the government to PT TMS, a Canadian company with dominant shareholding, indicates that developed countries control the global market. This regulation is the government's decision to support industrial activities through extractive industries.

On the other hand, democracy empowers resistance and rejection as a freedom of expression for its citizens. The women's movement in Sangihe against the oligarchy and the protection of the environment expresses Sangihe women's disapproval of gold mining. The women's movement is represented by several people with different occupations and affiliations, such as housewives, Save Sangihe Island activists led by women, and other women as representations and accumulations of the ecofeminist movement that is depicted through the media.

The ecofeminism critique concerning the process and orientation of development in Indonesia was successfully conveyed by the Women's Movement in Sangihe. The mining industry has exploited nature and the community, especially women in Sangihe. In this case, ecofeminism utilizes digital media such as YouTube as one of the Movement's media. This movement includes fighting the oligarchy or organizing society and establishing a movement based on ecofeminist ideology.

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