

Woman and Covid-19 Pandemic

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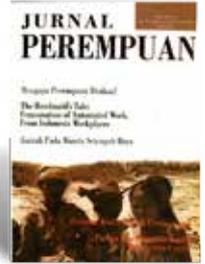
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Editorial: Women and the Covid-19 Pandemic

Gender inequality that persists in the society is considered to have worsened the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on women. UN Women's Rapid Gender Assessment (RGA) in Europe and Central Asia found more than 15 percent of women have lost their jobs, 41 percent of women have experienced wage's cut, and found the increasing hour and workload of women in the family during the Covid-19 pandemic. Not only causing economic and social impacts, the Covid-19 pandemic has also caused increasing women's vulnerability to domestic violence. *Shadow pandemic* is a concept that explains the phenomenon of the increased prevalence of violence against women during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Family as a 'gendered institution' has become an important focus in feminism studies. Feminism views family in a patriarchal society as an embodiment of unequal gender relation, where women's gender role is constructed and placed in subordinate manner. In a patriarchal society, women are being attached to sex-affective production role, who are tasked to provide emotional caring function for her child(ren) and husband, as well fulfilling men's sexual satisfaction. Meanwhile, the works within family such as care work and household work, are often economically undervalued and being considered as unskilled works.

Since March 2020, the government of Indonesia has officially declared Covid-19 pandemic status. One of the policies to prevent the transmission of pandemic is the large-scale social restriction (*Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar - PSBB*). PSBB is a social distancing policy that require restrictions of activities in public spaces such as office, factory, entertainment facility, religious facility, restaurant, school, market, shopping center, and many others. The social distancing has created contraction to economic activities in Indonesia. As the consequence, the Covid-19 pandemic has been shadowed by the lay-offs to the workers, and job loss of many business entrepreneurs and/or informal sectors. The economic impacts of the pandemic do not only happen to the macro economy but also to the household economy.

Analysis on the unequal gender relation within family is important in order to understand the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic towards women. The application of social distancing has made most of activities in public space to be done from homes. Therefore, during the

pandemic, we witness the emergence of various form activities, such as: work from home, long-distance schooling, long-distance religious activities, including online shopping. The concentration of activities at home have increased women's responsibilities within the households. During the pandemic time, for instance, a working mother must be able to manage the load and time allocation between working-from-home and accompanying their children to do online schooling. During the pandemic, a housewife must also ensure the fulfilment of nutritional needs and the increased electricity bills, while family's income is declining.

The intersectional feminism is an important feminism concept in observing the different situation faced by women and marginalized groups during the Covid-19 pandemic. In general, the increasing households' burden in the time of the pandemic would certainly have effect on women. However, women are not homogenous entities. During the Covid-19 pandemic, domestic worker—who are mostly done by women—has become a profession that is vulnerable to exploitation. Although the work load of domestic workers is increased during the pandemic, but in general, the domestic workers do not receive extra wages. On the contrary, during the pandemic, the domestic workers are more vulnerable to lay-offs and stigma as transmitters of Corona virus. Migrant domestic workers also face similar vulnerabilities as the domestic workers, with additional vulnerability of being involuntarily repatriated.

The intersectional feminism could also disclose the multiple layers of marginalization experienced by the marginalized group, such as the LGBT or transgenders. Due to their gender identity, transgenders people usually have limited access to various employment sectors. During the implementation of PSBB, the common types of jobs that are done by transgender people, such as beauty salon, street musician, restaurant, are the ones that are being closed or restricted. In several cases, the transgenders also experience barriers in accessing social assistance, because of not having of identity cards. Meanwhile, due to their gender identity, families who commonly become the sanctuary during the pandemic, reversely has become vulnerable to violence against transgender people. The unequal socio, economic and political relation, have brought worse impacts of the pandemic to the groups who experience

multiple inequalities. These multiple vulnerabilities are experienced by groups such as transgenders, women with disability, domestic workers, fisherwomen, migrant workers, and others, during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Though sit in subordinate positions, women do have agency to survive during the pandemic, including to provide support for their community. Women in Sumba, for instance, have developed education's initiative, providing information, and communication about the Covid-19 pandemic, for their communities. The other women's agency can be seen in the voluntarism done by *Solidaritas Pangan Jogja* (SPJ). SPJ has managed to transform the bias view on care work, such as cooking in the kitchen, into solidarity movement of soup kitchen (public kitchen) for the marginalized groups during the Covid-19 pandemic.

In a restricted social space during the Covid-19 pandemic, women could drive collective actions, not only for survival purpose, but also to create space for public interest. The experience of women's organizations such as Rahima and 'Aisyiyah, have shown women's collective movement in assisting community through aid and educational solidarity movement. Meanwhile, KAPAL Perempuan has tried to develop solidarity's initiative while at the same time keep monitoring over the prevalent gender-based violence that persist during the pandemic, such as child marriage. Aside from overcoming the pressure from the 'gendered space' due to the pandemic, women also maintain their civic

politics in public space. Therefore, despite the decreasing public space during the Covid-19 pandemic, the women activists continue to guard civic politics, such as pushing for the deliberation of the draft bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, draft bill on Domestic Workers, as well as being involved in activism to criticize the draft bill of Omnibus Law on Job Creation.

Jurnal Perempuan 107 on Women and the Covid-19 Pandemic, reconfirms the findings and women's experiences in various countries, that in Indonesia, the Covid-19 pandemic also brings more burden and vulnerability to women. The intertwined inequalities of gender identify, class position, social status, and the Covid-19 pandemic, have caused multiple vulnerability to women and other marginalized groups. Therefore, substantial inclusion of women in the mitigation of the Covid-19 pandemic is required, not only because women are one of the groups that face enormous vulnerabilities, but also because women are the backbone of prevention and recovery processes of the pandemic. The experiences on women's agency have taught that the Covid-19 pandemic could not be overcome by domesticizing the emerged problems. Here, we are being reminded to one argument that was developed during the second wave of feminism, that women's personal experiences could not be detached from the existing political structure in the society. That is 'the personal is political'. Have a great reading!

(Atnike Nova Sigiro)

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Feminist Theoretical Perspective: Intersectionality and Covid-19

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020, pages. 1-10, 2 pictures, 16 references

The author argues for using a new theoretical foundation and criticizes Gender Mainstreaming perspective in issues related to gender. The author proposes an intersectionality approach that can critically see the problem of Covid-19 and its implications to not only gender relations (men and women) but also race, ethnicity, class, LGBTQIA, and other minority groups. The author emphasizes the concept of critical praxis, which uses both critical questions and activism for total social change.

Keywords: Covid-19, Intersectionality, Critical Praxis, Gender Mainstreaming, Male Crisis

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From Loss to Survival: A study on the Sumbanese Women's Experiences during Covid-19 Mitigation

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020, pages. 11-23, 37 references

This article describes the capacity of Sumbanese women to survive and adapt to the Covid-19 pandemic. Pandemic response creates problems due to changes in various aspects of life, such as health access patterns, social interaction and relationships, work patterns and employment status, religious practice, and school education system. To overcome the impact of pandemic response, they change their behavior and lifestyle, such as utilizing strategic partners in Covid-19-related education, participating as community volunteers, switching professions, and building social support among fellow community members. This study used a qualitative approach with data collection techniques through in-depth interviews, online focus group discussions, and online surveys.

Keywords: resilience, social relation, stigmatization, Sumbanese women, Covid-19.

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Indonesian Women's Experiences in Dealing with the Impacts of Pandemic Covid-19

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020, pages. 25-35, 2 tables, 32 references

The Covid-19 pandemic has brought serious impact due to its massive scale, that occur all over the world, at all levels of groups within society. This disaster has a strong social dimension because its vulnerabilities often intersects with the existing social stratification. In various disasters, women often become one of the most vulnerable to be affected,

especially in the context of culture of patriarchy, that intertwine with misogynistic interpretations of religion, and the unfriendly economic and political system towards women. This article aims to identify the forms of the impacts Covid-19 pandemic on women, government's regulations that deal with these impacts, as well as women's efforts both as individual and in groups in dealing those impacts. This research was conducted through literature study over various researches by several institutions, also through observation and interviews with several women groups. The results of this study found that women are one of the most vulnerable and the most affected groups of Covid-19 Pandemic. Although rather delayed, government has included women in the decision-making in handling the situation of women, children and vulnerable groups during the pandemic. Women's experiences both as individual and groups in responding to the impact of pandemic also deserve some appreciation. This research found that during the pandemic, women have shown their resilience, creativity, and put forward women's collaboration.

Keywords: women and pandemic, Covid-19 pandemic, women resilience

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Maintaining Civic Space: Women Activist and Spatial Politics During Pandemic Covid-19 in Indonesia

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020, pages. 37-46, 1 table, 27 references

The Covid19 pandemic has changed society's spatial practices substantially. Large-scale social restrictions, lockdowns, and the obligation to wear masks have changed the way humans relates to each other personally and politically. This article discusses how the pandemic has shaped civic space of women activists and how women activists maintain and create citizenship space amid the pandemic and democratic regression. The data source of the article is collected through online survey of 20 female activists and in-depth online interviews. The results show that civil society organizations in Indonesia are under immense pressure due to pandemic and democratic regression. For civil society organizations, their space is limited by various legal regulations and various violence and stigma aimed at civil society activists. More than that, for women activists the pandemic also provides additional domestic burdens which make the space for women activists increasingly limited. In the midst of these obstacles, our research shows that women and civil society activists do not reduce their intensity in maintaining the civic space.

Key words: pandemic, civic space, spatial politics, democracy.

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The Urgency of Gender Perspectives in the Covid-19 Pandemic's Mitigation

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020, pages. 47-57, 18 references

This paper looks at the urgency of gender perspective in Covid-19 pandemic's mitigation in Indonesia. This is crucial given the lack of gender perspective in measures to handle the pandemic in Indonesia and therefore deepening the existing gender inequality. This situation can be seen in the mitigation of the pandemic's impacts, particularly the specific impact of the pandemic on women within the gender cross-sectoral issues (economy, health, and education), and women's participation in the decision-making processes. Data during the pandemic show that the pandemic has caused serious impacts on women. Therefore, data and gender analysis are needed in order to ensure that measures in handling the pandemic would address the problems that are faced by women and vulnerable groups. This paper will present data from global and national, as well as data from KAPAL Perempuan's field experiences in its collaboration with its local partner organizations in 6 (six) provinces. The paper also draws from documentation from the experiences of other organizations in integrating gender perspective from the past natural disasters' mitigations that ever occurred in Yogyakarta, West Sumatra, Palu, and Lombok.

Keywords: gender and pandemic, women's leadership, pandemic and violence against women, grassroots women

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Women Ulema's Action Responding to Covid-19 Pandemic in their Communities: The Experience of 'Simpul Rahima'

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020, pages. 59-69, 1 table, 1 picture, 19 references

This article raises the experience of female ulema's autonomy and strength in responding to the Covid-19 pandemic in their communities. The female ulema that is represented by Simpul Rahima in this article, refers to the female ulemas who have attended series of Female Ulema School, that are based in community, with gender equality perspective about Islam. Data collection is conducted through focused group discussion (FGD) and online observation. This study reveals that self-autonomy of the female ulema has distinct characteristic from those of male ulema. The female ulema's preach is based on women's real experience. Female ulema also utilize their authority politically to

disseminate a peaceful, full of compassion and just Islamic teaching amidst religious interpretation which often marginalizes the position of women. In related with strength, female ulema utilize majelis taklim to preach a gender-just Islam as well as organize women's collective strength.

Keywords: female ulema, Covid-19 pandemic, women's autonomy

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Portrait of the Impact of the Implementation of Large-Scale Social Distancing during Covid-19 Pandemic towards Women and Marginalized Groups through the Perspective of Intersectional Feminism

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020, pages. 71-84, 1 table, 37 references

Social distancing has been used as one of the methods to prevent the spreading of Corona virus during the Covid-19 pandemic. This method has been applied in many countries. In Indonesia, the social distancing method is implemented based on the Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB), a large-scale social distancing policy. Through PSBB policy, a large number of activities in public domain must be closed and/or be restricted. Meanwhile, many of societal activities, such as schooling and working, must be held through long distance or being conducted at home. The application of social distancing has caused increasing of women's responsibilities on care work and house work in domestic domain. Through intersectional feminism's perspective, this article tries to elaborate the impact of the application of social distancing towards women and marginalized groups. This article found that the existing inequalities namely gender inequality, class inequality, and other forms of social inequality that have been experienced by women and the marginalized groups, have worsened their situations during the application of social distancing policy in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Covid-19 pandemic, intersectional feminism, social distancing, care work

Portrait of the Impact of the Implementation of Large-Scale Social Distancing during Covid-19 Pandemic towards Women and Marginalized Groups through the Perspective of Intersectional Feminism

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Abstract

Social distancing has been used as one of the methods to prevent the spreading of Corona virus during the Covid-19 pandemic. This method has been applied in many countries. In Indonesia, the social distancing method is implemented based on the Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB), a large-scale social distancing policy. Through PSBB policy, a large number of activities in public domain must be closed and/or be restricted. Meanwhile, many of societal activities, such as schooling and working, must be held through long distance or being conducted at home. The application of social distancing has caused increasing of women's responsibilities on care work and house work in domestic domain. Through intersectional feminism's perspective, this article tries to elaborate the impact of the application of social distancing towards women and marginalized groups. This article found that the existing inequalities namely gender inequality, class inequality, and other forms of social inequality that have been experienced by women and the marginalized groups, have worsened their situations during the application of social distancing policy in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Covid-19 pandemic, intersectional feminism, social distancing, care work

Introduction

In March 2020, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia announced a social distancing policy through the Government Regulation No. 21 year 2020 on Large-Scale Social Distancing for Acceleration the Handling of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19). The Large-Scale Social Distancing (PSBB) policy is a policy to restrict certain activities of population in suspected areas infected with Covid-19, to prevent possible transmission of the virus. The restrictions imposed at least to include: dismissal of schools and workplaces; restrictions on religious activities; and/or restrictions of activities in public places or facilities (Article 4, Government Regulation No. 21/2020).

Implementation of PSBB has caused changes of activities and created some problems in the society. Socially, PSBB has moved most of peoples' activities into domestic space or houses. Meanwhile, economically, the closure of various business sectors has caused contraction upon number of business sectors, such as retails and restaurants (Katadata.co.id 2020), beauty salons (bbc.co.id 2020), and many more. In addition, PSBB has also

caused increase of households' cost of consumption, such as electricity, daily basic consumptions, including the increased needs for internet data packages for working and schooling.

The United Nations (UN 2020) mentioned the extensive impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on various sectors, these include health, economy, increasing workloads within households, and also the increasing numbers of gender-based violence. According to the UN, the existing gender inequality has exacerbated the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on women. The World Trade Organization (WTO 2020) mentioned that women in the US and Canada face a greater threat of job loss compare to men. Meanwhile, the Rapid Gender Assessment (RGA) conducted by UN Women (2020) in Europe and Central Asia found more than 15 percent of female respondents lost their jobs, and 41 percent of them experienced wages' cut. The same RGA found increased of women's working hours and workloads in the families during the Covid-19 pandemic. Against this backdrop, therefore gender approach needs to be mainstreamed in the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic.

A gender justice lens is needed to ensure that efforts and policies to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic could answer women's needs. The UN has encouraged every country to ensure that the handling of and the recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic shall include women, both in terms of participation and socio-economic considerations (UN 2020). Substantial space for women in the handling of Covid-19 is needed, not only because women are amongst the most vulnerable groups, but also because women are the backbones of the recovery process within communities (UN 2020).

However, a gender approach alone is insufficient in order to understand the situation faced by women during the Covid-19 pandemic. UN Women (2020) emphasizes the importance of gender data collection and the intersecting inequality experienced by women and girls. This is important in order to avoid the exclusion of women and marginalized groups. UNDP (2020) has also mentioned the importance of integrating the perspective of intersectional feminism in formulating social policies and economic packages in addressing the crises caused by the Covid-19 pandemic.

The application of social distancing, such as PSBB, has brought different consequences to each individual and/or group. In a diverse population, in term of culture, economy, and geography, the intersectional feminism approach could capture the diversity of effectiveness or impacts of PSBB on different populations. The intersectional approach could capture the various contexts because it emphasizes the importance of critical reflection that reveals the complexity of relations and interactions among genders, races, and classes, along with other social factors such as age, disability, religion etc. According to Havinsky (2012), the intersectional approach could capture more clearly the impacts of a certain policy upon a diverse population, who is benefited from the policy, and who is excluded, including those who are disadvantaged by the policy.

Based on the explanation above, this article will analyze the consequences of the application of social distancing policy (PSBB) on women and marginalized groups, using the intersectional feminism's perspective. This article will explain how social distancing's policy has led to socio-economic changes that bring greater burden on women and marginalized groups. Furthermore, this article will also describe the specific vulnerabilities or challenges faced by women and marginalized groups being studied.

Methodology

This research is a qualitative research using data collection's method of structured interview to numbers resource persons from several social categories/groups. This research was not designed to make certain generalization from the social groups that are being analyzed. Instead, it aims to capture the situation and problems faced by women and marginalized groups due to the implementation of social distancing (PSBB) during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

Interviews were conducted to obtain information about several categories of social groups, namely: housewives, domestic workers (including migrant domestic workers), fisherwomen, disabled women, gender minorities, and female laborers. The interviews were not only conducted with members of the groups being analyzed, but also with people who have knowledge about and/or involvement with the social groups being researched, such as activists, doctors, experts, and also leaders of community organizations. The social groups selected for this study do not represent all existing gender-based social groups. The groups were selected based on various Jurnal Perempuan's research that reveal the intersectional dimension that causing multiple vulnerabilities and oppression against women and marginalized groups.

An overview of the resource persons who were interviewed can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Overview of the resource persons

Social group	initials	Residence	Background
Housewife	EM	Makassar – South Sulawesi	Woman, housewife, and female activist.
	YUS	Banda Aceh - Aceh	Housewife, activist in women’s organization
	ROM	Greater Jakarta	Housewife, a leader of women’s household organization.
	RAM	East Sumba – East Nusa Tenggara	Housewife, indigenous woman.
	EU	Southwest Sumba – East Nusa Tenggara	Woman, doctor.
Domestic worker	AM	Greater Jakarta	Woman, domestic worker, a leader of a domestic worker union.
	AI	Greater Jakarta	Woman, housewife, a leader/activist of a domestic workers organization.
Migrant domestic worker	AH	Greater Jakarta	Woman, activist of a migrant workers organization.
	ZA	Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	Woman, activist of migrant workers’ rights.
Woman laborer	JUM	Greater Jakarta	Woman, laborer, a leader of labor union.
Fisherwoman	MAS	Demak District – Central Java	Woman, fisherwoman, housewife, a leader of a fisherwoman organization.
	SU	Greater Jakarta	Woman, housewife, a leader of a fishery and maritime organization.
Woman with disability	MUL	Greater Jakarta	Disabled woman, housewife, activist of disabled people’s/women’s rights.
	HE	Greater Jakarta	Disabled woman, activist of disabled people’s/women’s rights.
Gender minority	AR	Greater Jakarta	Transgender, makeup artist, leader of a transgender organization.
	AG	Greater Jakarta	Woman, leader of a gender minority organization.

Source: research data

Due to the limited mobility during the pandemic, interviews were conducted remotely by telephone. Interviews were conducted in October 2020. The resource persons were selected through the networks of civil society organizations working on women’s issues. To complement the interviews, this study also collected secondary data or information such as online reports, and online media news, regarding the situation of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Intersectional Feminism and layers of oppression against women

Kimberle Crenshaw, a black feminist from the United States of America (USA), popularized the concept of intersectional feminism by exposing feminism and anti-racism’s doctrines towards that neglected the experiences of black women in America. According to Crenshaw (1989), any approach that separates a certain basis of inequality or social position as a stand-alone problem tends to ignore groups that experience multiple oppressions. In the context of the oppression

experienced by black women in America, Crenshaw revealed how the experience of black women could not be understood simply by looking at their identity or position only as women or only as black people. A black woman, according to Crenshaw, for example, had experienced racial discrimination due to her identity as a black person, and being raped because of her gender identity.

Through the intersectional feminism, Crenshaw (1989) tried to explain how the system of oppression that works simultaneously against women, occur structurally, politically and also in term of representation. Structural intersectionality seeks to explain how structures or systems—such as race, class and gender—work simultaneously against women, and cause the oppression of women. Meanwhile, political intersectionality explains how women are not a homogenous social identity. Women of the dominant social groups, for example white women from the upper or middle class, while experiencing gender inequality but they could enjoy certain privileges. On the other hand, women of the subordinate social groups, such as black women from the working class, are more likely to experience multiple forms of oppression based on their gender, class, and also race, altogether. Representation intersectionality seeks to encourage the representation of women who experience double subordinations, such as black women, because the intersecting inequality that they experience tends to exclude their existence.

Intersectional feminism gives focus on women in various social positions and groups. However, what is a social group? Iris Marion Young (1988) explained several ways of looking at social groups. Marxist thoughts see the concept of class as the primary form of group that explains structural relations on the basis of economy or production, interaction and also conflict. Within the same class, for example the working class, various social groups could also be found (for example: “middle class”, “working class”, and “underclass”). Another perspective defines group as a pool of individuals with shared historical feeling, identity, membership, separation, rationality, and expression, which are influenced by the tie that bind an individual to her/ his group (Young 1988). According to Young (1988), a social group could be formed based on similar identity - such as gender, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation; but it can also be formed based on association - such as labor unions, political parties, organizations, etc.

The intersectional feminism’s analysis could capture the complexity of structural problems without

eliminating the various oppressions that are experienced by women (Carastathis 2014). Different from the vulnerability approach, which seeks to find the cause of vulnerability, the intersectional analysis broadens its approach by revealing how the hierarchy of power and the unequal system have shaped the experiences of certain vulnerable groups (Lokot & Avakyan 2020).

Several studies related to the Covid-19 pandemic, using the intersectional feminism, have found multiple challenges faced by women, and also the importance of women’s roles in the current pandemic situation. Lokot and Avakyan (2020) revealed their finding of the high rate of Covid-19 infection among certain minorities. They revealed how in the USA, the African Americans experienced bigger impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic due to the decades of social and health inequalities – including their poor access to health insurance. Furthermore, Lokot and Avakyan (2020) also revealed the problem of access to sexual and reproductive health (SRH) services during the crisis, which tend to overlook disabled women, adolescents, and also gender minorities.

Ai Sumihira (2020), in her study on women in New Zealand, revealed that women of color and Māori women in Aotearoa - New Zealand, have important roles in assisting the Māori community, who have a greater susceptibility to infectious diseases and pandemics than non-Māori people. According to Sumihira, this role of the Māori women has not been widely known. In fact, the Māori themselves have not much being included in the policy-making processes during the Covid-19 pandemic.

In the context of Indonesia, racial-based inequality in applying the concept of intersectional feminism, may not appear as much as the cases in the USA. However, the intersectional feminism approach can also be used to observe the other systems of inequality, such as class, gender, and cultural-based inequalities. This article chooses to describe several categories of gender-based social groups, and several marginalized groups, with a consideration that the selected groups are those groups who experience the intertwined gender inequality with other types of inequality. The groups analyzed in this study are those with subordinate gender identity and socio-economic class, such as housewives, gender minorities such as transwomen (transgender people who identify themselves as women), and/or LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) people; and marginalized groups such as laborers, fisherwomen, domestic workers, migrant workers, and disabled women.

The Impacts of Social Distancing in the Domestic Sphere

Social distancing policy has relocated individual activities from public sphere to domestic sphere, the homes. The concentration of family members' activities at home has brought implications to people's mobility in the house, and the domestic workloads that commonly fall upon the women. Housewives, girls, and domestic workers who are mostly women, are the social groups that usually responsible on domestic work or care work. As the result, the domestic sphere during the Covid-19 pandemic has become more unfriendly towards women and marginalized groups.

Several additional types of activities in the domestic sphere due to the application of PSBB during the pandemic are: online schooling, the use of internet-based technologies, working remotely (working from home), and prevention of viruses or diseases' transmission. Most of the resource persons in this study carried out those activities while still performing their household chores' routines that they had been carrying out before the pandemic occurred.

Housewives have a complex intersectionality, whether based on class, and also other social identities. Although this study examined several categories of social groups, almost all the interviewees also take roles as housewives. Thereby, most of the resource persons have also faced increasing household workloads due to the social distancing.

This research found several impacts of the implementation of PSBB to the domestic sphere. In general, PSBB has caused the increase load of care work—such as parenting, taking care of a sick family member; or the load of housework – such as house cleaning and cooking; which so far become the responsibility of women. The resource persons of this study encountered some burdensome household chores, such as: helping children with long-distance schooling, burden in managing the households' economy due to the increasing cost of household's consumptions, and also stigma and violence against marginalized groups such as transgender people and domestic workers.

Increasing care work in the households

Household work or domestic work is usually done by women, mostly by housewives and domestic workers. Domestic work done by housewives constitutes unpaid care work, while domestic work done by domestic workers constitute paid household work. Sigiro, Primaldhi

& Takwin (2018) conducted a survey to housewives in 34 provinces in Indonesia and found 78 percent of the housewife respondents stated that they worked more than 12 hours per day. The types of household chores that they carried out were: washing, shopping for household needs, cooking, cleaning the house, taking care of children's school needs, gardening, attending community's (RT/RW) activities, and home-repair. When the application of social distancing has relocated various activities from public sphere into the household, then it could be assumed that women's load of care work in the domestic sphere would increase.

All of the resource persons in this study have experienced the increasing load of care work to women during the pandemic. The form of burdens that they have experience are: accompanying children during long distance schooling, increasing frequency of cooking and providing food, and taking care of family members who are sick during the pandemic. Moreover, the housewives must also ensure that the household's expenses such as electricity, internet data package, and medical expenses, would be met; even though the households' cost of consumption are increased and families' income are decreased due to the pandemic.

YUS, a housewife in Banda Aceh, explained the increasing workloads she had at home during the pandemic since the children had full activities at home. Below is her explanation:

“...the workloads have increased which means, before the pandemic the children were at school from morning until noon. In the past I did not cook at noon, but because of the pandemic (I) routinely cook in the morning, at noon, and in the evening because everyone stays at home.” (YUS 2020, Interview, October 2)

YUS also explained that domestic work, such as cooking, was also disrupted, because at the beginning of the outbreak markets were closed. Markets' closure had made it difficult for housewives to buy food ingredients for their families.

During the implementation of PSBB, a large number of offices and companies were closed, and employees or workers have to do their work from home. Therefore, working mothers must perform office tasks while performing household chores at home.

EM is a housewife who also works at LBH Apik in Makassar – South Sulawesi, which makes her a working mother. For EM, doing household chores while completing office assignments turned out to be uneasy,

particularly when she also had to help her children study remotely during PSBB. The following is EM's description:

"Besides having to finish office work, because even though it's called 'working from home', but it is not as easy as I imagined, I am half dead; I have household chores that I must do. Before the pandemic, the household chores could be done casually, and I could choose whether to do them or not, but during the pandemic I feel that I have no other choice. Then, I also have to help my children to study". (EM 2020, Interview, October 6)

While Indonesia is often identified as a maritime country, the fishers' community actually become a marginalized group within the society. Fishers are often identified with poverty and ignorance. However, Dedi Adhuri – an academe in the field of Anthropology, explained that fishers actually own special knowledge and skills such as skills of catching fish, recognizing species of fish, and also knowledge about fish's products processing (Gina 2017).

If fishers' community become a marginalized group, then fisherwomen become the marginalized groups within fishers' community. The marginalization of fisherwomen can be seen from the society's viewpoint that considers fishers only as men's profession. Consequently, fisherwomen tend to be overlooked, both socially and professionally. The work of processing caught fishes that are mostly done by fisherwomen, also tends to be excluded from the work of fishers' profession (Gina 2017). Masnuah, a founder of a fisherwomen organization explained that neglection towards the existence of fisherwomen in the common practice of disregarding women's profession as fishers in the KTP (formal identity card in Indonesia) (Pratiwi 2017).

SU, a woman who lead a non-profit organization working on fishery and marine issues, explained the double burden of managing households and simultaneously earning a living that must be assumed by fisherwomen. During the pandemic, these double burdens get bigger due to the additional responsibilities at home, such as children who study remotely and husbands who cannot go fishing. SU explained:

"Women become frustrated by this situation (the pandemic). Domestic work in some coastal areas remain only as the burden of women. Regardless of the husband go fishing or not, household matters are only considered to be the responsibility of women. Aside from bringing economic impact, this situation (the pandemic) makes fisherwomen to be more vulnerable to domestic violence. They get frustrated, their children must study online, the need for internet data packages becomes higher. Women

are squeezed by this situation." (SU 2020, Interview, October 6)

The heavier double burden of fisherwomen during the pandemic was also acknowledged by MAS, a fisherwoman who also lead a fisherwomen organization. The following is MAS's explanation:

"The household workloads are increased. Because the economy gets more difficult, fisherwomen have to seek loans, indebted. Psychologically, their burden is certainly increased greatly considering there is no income but the expenditure is increased. Women cannot allow their families to starve. Although there are daily needs support the (fisherwomen's) group, it can only last for a few days for fishers' families who eat a lot. Then, women must rack their brains to support their families." (MAS 2020, Interview, October 5)

In the dominant practice within a patriarchal society, women constitute a social group that is responsible for household chores. Feminist theories on gender exploitation mostly concentrate on the patriarchal family structures (Young 1988). Thus, the gender perspective views domestic work as a form of gender relation, and not merely an exchange between time spent for paid work with unpaid household work (Bianchi et al 2000). Furthermore, care work and household work, either paid or unpaid, tends to be underestimated. This is why domestic work professions such as housewives is often considered of having no economic value, while the paid domestic-work profession such as domestic worker, carries high vulnerability and is considered as low wage.

Parenting role for children during long distance schooling

Parenting children is one of the forms of care work. Globally, parenting, including assisting children in school education, mostly become the responsibility of women. A report published by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI 2016) mentioned that in 37 countries (equivalent to 20 percent of the global population) 75 percent of the parenting work are done by women.

One of the derivatives of PSBB policy during the pandemic is the application of long-distance schooling using online method. Most of the interviewees for this study view long-distance schooling as an additional workload for women in the household. Long-distance schooling's activities require parents to accompany their children to study and to access internet. Moreover, long-distance schooling also requires skills and technology to interact remotely using the internet.

The application of long-distance schooling during the pandemic which become additional work burden for mothers in the community was admitted by EM:

"...Then we have to help the children to study too. Automatically, the teaching profession that I have never done before suddenly has to be done. It turns out that these things are also felt by women I met in the community." (EM 2020, Interview, October 6).

Housewives who are also work as laborer and still have to work in factories also have to be responsible for accompanying children to do long-distance schooling. JUM, a woman and a labor activist, explained this:

"Since the start of PSBB, children of the laborers have been schooling online at home. There are many obstacles, some of them do not have mobile phones, some others do not have phone credit, and some are not familiar with technology, which bring psychological impact on both the children and the mothers. There are situations where women laborers have to keep coming to the factory to continue working, and while working they have to frequently call and monitor their children at home to check whether they have done their homework or not. For laborer with more than one child, this is very troublesome." (JUM 2020, Interview, October 3)

When children have to study from home, the women often do not have the skills or capacity to assist children to study. Access to technology, such as the use of the internet, also becomes one of the obstacles faced by women.

ROM is a housewife and activist at the Women-Headed Family Empowerment (PEKKA) organization who lives in Bekasi. According to ROM, accompanying children during long-distance schooling is considered a heavy burden for women as heads of families, because the women heads of families are mostly single parents who have to become breadwinner. ROM described as follows:

"And it is also experienced by PEKKA's members who are socially and economically similar to the lady (the domestic worker) who works at my house. So, now they have to struggle to accompany their children because most of them have to study from home, while these PEKKA mothers still have to earn living because they are also the heads of their families." (ROM 2020, Interview, October 2).

For fisherwomen, access to technology also become a challenge when their children must take long-distance schooling. MAS, s a housewife who works as a fisherwoman in District of Demak - Central Java, who runs a fisherwomen organization, describe as follow:

"Women's space for mobility becomes more limited and their burden get bigger. Because of the pandemic, women have to take care and watch their children studying. The online schooling requires mothers to accompany their children. This is for those who have the skills. Regarding the technology, not all fishers' families have mobile phones, so some of the children continue to attend in-person schools." (MAS 2020, Interview, October 5)

Parenting role that is identical to women's role have constructed women to think much about other parties being cared for. This study found an interesting perspective when interviewing a disabled housewife, who actually was thinking about the situation of disabled children when she was asked about the burden that disabled women had to bear. The *sex-affective production* role mentioned by Ann Ferguson (in Young 1988) explained how women are positioned as providers of emotional care for boys and men, and sexual satisfaction for men. According to Ferguson, both men and women mostly tend to view that the responsibility for caregiving lies on women.

In feminism, women's moral act of caring is known with the term of ethic of care, with some of the thinkers such as Carol Gilligan and Nel Nodding (Tong 2014). MUL, a housewife with disability, have concern towards parents's difficulty in accompanying their disabled children to perform long-distance schooling.

"The new complexity that creates pressure for women as housewives is when they are responsible for guiding or accompanying their [disabled] children in the learning process." (MUL 2020, Interview, October 7)

According to MUL, not all families understand ways assiting children with disability to study. Moreover, each type of disabilities requires particular educational method, which cannot always be conducted online. Therefore, the long-distance schooling using online platform during the Covid-19 pandemic certainly become an additional burden for housewives with disabled children.

Increasing household consumption's costs

The concentration of activities at homes has caused increasing cost of household's consumption, such as the cost of electricity, water, internet, food ingredients, and others. During the pandemic, the state electricity company (Perusahaan Listrik Negara/ PLN) has provided subsidies for 900 VA customers who entitled to subsidy. However, some of the 900 VA customers complained that their electricity costs were still rising. PLN explained that the increase occurred because subsidies only apply

to customers who entitled to subsidy. The increased cost of electricity during the pandemic has risen due to the implementation of work from home (WFH) and home schooling, leading to an increase in the average household electricity consumption by 1 to 3 percent (Kompas.com 2020).

YUS, a resource person who lives in Banda Aceh, also has experienced the increase of electricity costs during the Covid-19 pandemic.

“People who receive subsidy, [electricity] are not affected because the bills are waived. But for us who do not receive subsidies, the increase could be felt, almost double. We used to pay two to three hundred thousand, now it is almost five hundred thousand rupiah. So, social assistance for the poor is available for the poor, electricity is free. But for others, it gets bigger.” (YUS 2020, Interview, October 2)

The households’ daily consumption, such as rice, cooking oil, and food ingredients, have also increased during the implementation of PSBB. The increasing consumption of households’ consumption has also become one of the problems that must be faced by the housewives, while the prices of staple goods have also risen due to disruption of product supplies, markets’ closure, and the limited transportation during the implementation of PSBB.

EM explained the amount of food that has to be cooked during PSBB time that were increased because all of the family members held full activities at home. The following is EM’s description:

“When everyone has to stay at home, whether we want it or not, the economy is what we notice the most. The staple goods, which they usually cooked one liter for one day per house, now during the pandemic it has increased, where they have to cook two liters of rice for one day.” (EM 2020, Interview, October 6).

To improve family’s health immunity, medical cost – particularly for consumption of diseases’ prevention, are also increased. YUS, for example, tried to find the types of vitamins and nutrients that could prevent diseases and affordable for the family. YUS described as follow:

“Each family is different [from one another]. For us, although in limited amount, in one or another way we have to buy vitamins. But sometimes the prices are expensive, whether they have been that expensive or is it because of the rare supplies? Moreover, because everyone is taking traditional treatment, the price of red ginger that was previously sold at twenty thousand [rupiah], is now [sold at] sixty thousand [rupiah].” (YUS 2020, Interview, October 2)

During the pandemic time, some people who have been laid off or lose their jobs choose to return to their hometowns. The Ministry of Manpower has estimated about 2.8 millions business actors in the micro-small-medium enterprises (MSMEs) have suffered from the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic (HealthGrid.id 2020). Meanwhile, the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers’ Agency (BP2MI) has also recorded 32,192 of Indonesian migrant workers who had returned home due to the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic (Kompas.com 2020). The return of the migrants due to the pressures to various business sectors has also added burden to households’ consumption in their hometowns.

Women heads of families or single parents, as the breadwinners of the family, have to bear the increased cost of households’ consumption, including when some of the family’s members return home because of layoff during the pandemic. ROM, an activist of the Women-Headed Family Empowerment (PEKKA), described the situation faced by women heads of families as follows:

“In addition, the family members of PEKKA mothers, whether their younger siblings or children, who had been the backbones of their families or helping their mothers, were laid off so they had to return to their villages. From those who worked in Jakarta, Surabaya, or other big cities, including those who worked as migrant workers, they returned to their villages, and becoming burden to the PEKKA mothers. Beside having to support themselves, now they (the PEKKA mothers) also received additional family members who just returned home. So, it is quite burdensome.” (ROM 2020, Interview, October 2).

RAM is a Sumbanese woman and also a housewife who is also actively giving socialization for the indigenous community in East Sumba, East Nusa Tenggara. According to RAM, the cost of daily food consumption did not much affect the farmers community in her area. According to RAM, the community of farmers in her area still own land plots that can produce food for families’ consumption. However, the income of the indigenous community and farmers during the pandemic have increased, since the farmers could not sell their agricultural products as the market were closed during the implementation of PSBB. Meanwhile, the craftswomen cannot sell their weavings to the market, or they have to sell their weavings at low prices to the middlemen. RAM also felt that the other costs of consumption such as electricity’s cost, and also the needs for internet data for children to attend long-distance schooling have increased the household’s costs. RAM explained:

"The cost of the internet for children to study from homes, and the increase of electricity cost, are very noticeable. I usually paid around 100 thousand (Rupiah) that would be enough for 900 watts of power for a month, but during the pandemic it is used up in less than a month because all of us do our activities at home. The electricity credits were run out quickly, perhaps because I also work from home making booklets for conducting socialization about Covid" (RAM 2020, Interview, October 5).

The application of PSBB has also brought consequences for the fishers' families. Fish markets and fish processing factories are among the types of businesses that are closed during the PSBB. SU, who runs an organization that advocates fishers' rights, explained the impacts of the closure of fish markets and fish processing factories during the implementation of PSBB towards the economic situation of the fishers' families:

"Change in every family due to Covid is inevitable. Almost in all coastal areas, the fishers' families are affected by the lockdown. What they noticed the most were the closed down of markets, the decreased of people's purchasing power, the closed down of many fishery factories. Therefore, the fishers did not know where to sell their catches. For example, in Muara Angke, when they went fishing in March – April, the catches were only enough to cover their cost of fuel. For meals, they could only consume instant food. They barely cover their operational cost. This is what they (the urban coastal fishers) have experienced. Sometime they were grateful if their catches could cover the cost of fuel for next fishing time, otherwise, they would only accumulate debt." (SU 2020, Interview, October 6).

Multiple pressures to the marginalized groups

In addition to the increasing households' workloads, some of the marginalized groups in this research have also faced multiple pressures during the application of social distancing. This research found the emergence of stigma and exploitation towards domestic workers. Furthermore, this research also found occurring social pressure towards gender minorities (LGBT people) in the domestic sphere.

Stigma and exploitation to the domestic workers

In the capitalist society, more and more women enter paid labor. According to David Alexander (in Young 1988), women's paid works generally constitute the gender-based feminine works. The gender-based paid works done by women are generally attached to the stereotype about women's gender role, such as sexual work, care work, nursing others, or any work that emphasizes personal approach. Gender-based paid work that are commonly done by women were built based on the

assumption that women are the natural caregivers and domestic workers (Romero 2000). Romero mentioned that domestic work or paid care work are often named as industrialized housework. One of the paid household jobs is the profession of domestic worker.

Besides of housewives, domestic workers also shoulder the main responsibility of households' works. Different from housewives, domestic workers undertake paid care work. However, the profession of domestic workers in Indonesia is still considered as a lowly profession, with wages below the minimum standard and uncertain working relationships. According to Lita Anggraini, a domestic workers rights' activist, the profession of domestic worker has been encountering class' bias and gender's bias, both in the domestic sphere by their employers, and in the public sphere among the legislators, who consider the profession as a low wage's profession (Pratiwi 2017).

AM, one of the resource persons in this research, who works as a domestic worker, revealed the increasing workload of domestic workers during the pandemic, particularly due to the implementation of PSBB. The implementation of PSBB has caused the increased number of family members and activities' hours in the house. AM who work as a live-out domestic worker explained as follow:

"Usually (before the pandemic) cooking was only done in the afternoon. At the moment (during the pandemic) after arriving in the morning I would immediately be told to cook. Before leaving in the afternoon, then would be told to cook again. Before any holiday, have to prepare food's stock. Then, clean the house all day long, because all of the children would gather, the house would become messy, before leaving (I) have to sweep and mop the floor again." (AM 2020, Interview, October 2)

Although the workload gets bigger due to PSBB, but domestic workers do not get any additional wage, on the grounds that their employers' economic condition has also declining due to the pandemic. AM described this matter as follows:

"Many of my fellow domestic workers complain in the WA (WhatsApp) group, they do more work because everyone works from home. Usually they worked for half of day (afternoon), but now they can only go home in the late afternoon, and do not receive additional wage." (AM 2020, Interview, October 2)

Indonesia women migrant domestic worker have also been experienced changes of households' workloads. AH, a resource person who is also active in migrant workers protection's advocacy, explained as follow:

"Since Covid-19, migrant domestic workers' workloads have been increased, because their employers also stay at home. Consequently, their workloads are increased, the working hours are longer, they do not get days off because of Covid-19 and the high workloads." (AH 2020, Interview, October 1)

During the Covid-19 pandemic, migrant domestic workers have to face vulnerabilities such as wage cuts, layoffs, repatriation, and departure's cancellation. Since March to August 2020, it was recorded that at least 176,000 of Indonesian migrant workers were sent back home (Liputan6 2020).

"Some of my fellow domestic workers did not receive their full salary and some even did not receive salary at all because their employers were affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. This too has effect, so that they cannot send money home, meanwhile they also cannot go home either because the country [where they work] put in place a lockdown or reducing mobility policy." (AH 2020, Interview, October 1)

The Covid-19 pandemic also affects domestic workers' space for mobility. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the live-in domestic workers cannot return to their homes or hometowns because the employers would worry that they would carry the virus after returning from their hometowns. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the domestic workers are also vulnerable to stigma as transmitter of Covid-19. AM recounted the situation as follow:

"...but a member of Sapulidi – a domestic worker union in Jakarta, had worked for an expatriate (foreign citizen). Later she had a fever or an ordinary illness. But her employer has already had some suspicions: '*you caught the virus from the vegetable vendor, when you shopped at the supermarket*'. In fact the illness only lasted a day and she got better. Then, she was told to take a rapid test and the result was non-reactive. A few days later, the employer's family took swab test. It turned out that her lady employer was positive without symptoms." (AM 2020, Interview, October 2)

Pressures against Gender Minorities at the Domestic Sphere

In a society that only accepts heterosexuality as the only sexual orientation, and only acknowledge the binary gender identity of men and women, then the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) people are considered as deviant condition. This view is made based on various grounds such as morality, religion, and also political view. LGBT people experience many acts of intolerance, discrimination, harassment, and threats because of their sexual orientation. Therefore, LGBT

people are categorized as minorities based on their sexual orientation and gender identity (Subhrajit 2014).

Not only vulnerable to violence, the LGBT people also suffer from discrimination and were excluded from other fields, including from employment, education, and also were excluded by their own families. Chatterjee Subhrajit (2014) mentioned there are at least 76 countries that enforce discriminatory laws that criminalize gender minorities with the form of penalties such as imprisonment and persecution, these include five countries among others that impose death penalty.

Indonesia is a culturally diverse society, including attitudes towards gender and sexual diversity. These diverse cultures also appear in families' attitudes towards their family members who have minority gender identity. A report by UNDP and USAID (2014) on the situation of gender minorities in Indonesia mentioned that families are the biggest barriers for LGBT people to be able to fully express their existence. Although it may not be easy at first, some families could accept the existence of LGBT person as family member. While some other families keep negative attitude, and event act violently.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, jobs that many transwomen or transgender people do, have suffered quite a blow. Chairperson of Sanggar Seroja, Rikky Muhammad Fajar, told *bbc.com* (2020) that the pandemic has caused income loss up to 70 percent of their income to the transgender people. The loss of income has made transgender people unable to pay house rent, and then choose to live in shelter or return home to their families.

The transgender people who live in shelters or share rental housing with other transgender people would face high risk of Corona virus' transmission. Meanwhile, the transgender people who choose to return to their families are vulnerable to domestic violence. AG, one of the resource persons who is an activist on gender minorities' rights, revealed as follow:

"Parents usually still accept their LBT (lesbian, bisexual, transgender) children who came back home during the pandemic. It is just that they usually become the objects of anger. They would be blamed for many reasons such as, '*you cannot get a proper job because you are a lesbian, and you become an embarrassment to the neighbors*'. Something like that. Covid has forced LBT people to return home and to face SOGIE-based violence again (*Sexual Orientation Gender Identity and Expression*)." (AG 2020, Interview, October 10)

AG explained that usually gender minorities groups (LGBT) would choose to leave their homes to avoid domestic violence due to their gender identity. However,

the loss of income because of the pandemic has forced some of them to return home. According to AG, gender minorities group would suffer domestic violence when they returned home for two reasons: first, because of their gender identity, and second, because they are considered as additional burden to the family's economy that has been heavier during the pandemic.

These narrative experiences of the gender minorities groups should be taken as a call to the society and to policy makers to be sensitive to the voice of the excluded people. When their experiences are not articulated and recognized, then they would be more vulnerable to experiencing injustice and exclusion. It should be understood that the social category as LGBT has been causing multiple marginalization towards this group.

"An LBT fellow in Makassar has told me, perhaps because of our gender expression, the head of the neighborhood unit (RT) had refused to give social assistance... The other problem was when an LBT person has complete residential administration, but the local government refused to give social assistance because of her/his gender expression, as happened in Makassar and Jakarta. Sometimes nepotism also occurred at the neighborhood unit (RT), when social assistance were only given to their own groups, religious differences could become a reason for refusing to distribute social assistance" (AG 2020, Interview, October 10)

The quotes above show that LBT people suffer from subordination within their own families and the society. Using the intersectional perspective, it is shown that different social identities bring effect to how inequality operates in the society. This approach is important to reflect how certain groups' identities (minorities) experiencing vulnerabilities and sit at disadvantage position. By taking consideration to power relations, we could understand that certain groups of people have to encounter resistance from their surroundings environment (Ferree 2015). The application of intersectional approach is important to foster urgency to recognize diversity in all of socio-cultural aspects.

Conclusion

The implementation of social distancing has shifted a large number of activities of the society from the public sphere into homes or the domestic sphere. Research on women and marginalized groups in this article shows the negative consequences of this concentration of activities to the domestic sphere for the women and marginalized groups that were being researched.

This research found that the interviewed women and marginalized groups have experienced the increasing

responsibility of women in caregiving and domestic work during the Covid-19 pandemic. The implementation of PSBB has made all of family's activities to be concentrated at home all day long, and it has put pressure to business sectors that has shook families' economy. The combination of gender inequality, the marginal position of the social groups, the change patterns of families' activities during the application of PSBB, and the pressure on families' economy, which overall show the intersectionality that have caused additional burden to women, particularly in term of care work and household work, in the domestic sphere.

First, due to the biased gender roles attached on women as the responsible person in care work and housework, then the workload of women in the domestic sphere during the implementation of PSBB has become greater than before the pandemic. Some of the additional workloads arising from the implementation of PSBB to include: household work - such as cooking and managing the house, have gotten bigger since most of the family members' activities are carried out at home.

Furthermore, PSBB has also increased the burden in parenting role - which is considered as the responsibility of women, due to the implementation of long-distance schooling using online method. The burden of parenting works to assist children during long-distance schooling have not only causing burden in term of working time for women. Women also have to face problem of poor access to technology, both due to economic constraint and also skill to use technology.

In addition to households' workloads, women must also face families' economic vulnerability during the pandemic. Since PSBB was implemented, many workers have been laid off and received salary cut. Domestic workers, both migrants and non-migrants, have also been facing risk of layoffs and salary cut. Meanwhile, the economic crisis has also been experienced by the informal economy sector, as experienced by traditional women weavers, transwomen in beauty salons, and so on.

Housewives and domestic workers' workload during the implementation of PSBB have gotten bigger. During the Covid-19 pandemic, domestic workers are vulnerable to exploitation due to additional workloads without compensation of additional salary. In addition to work exploitation, domestic workers are also vulnerable to negative stigma as transmitters of Covid-19 virus.

The implementation of PSSB has carried negative consequences towards women and the marginalized

groups, who have been experiencing various social inequalities. Migrant and non-migrant domestic workers are among the marginalized groups who have been experiencing vulnerabilities due to their social position. Both domestic workers and migrant domestic workers, are some of the marginalized groups who experience specific vulnerabilities due to their marginalized social position. Marginalization against women domestic workers' could also reflect the subordination towards care work and household work as gender-based work that are lowly valued.

During the implementation of PSBB, the marginalized groups tend to suffer multi-marginalization. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the economic sectors that are commonly done by the transgender people have suffered from crises, due to the economic marginalization that has been experienced by transgender people, have been worsening. This situation is further exacerbated when transgender people return home and suffer from domestic violence because of their gender identity, and at the same time because they are considered adding economic burden to families' economy, which has been squeezed by the pandemic.

Social distancing through the implementation of PSBB policy has brought consequences to the entire society. However, the intersectional feminism perspective in this study reveals that marginalized groups have faced greater challenges as a result of the policies to prevent transmission of Covid-19. Under the construction of a patriarchal society, the existing formulation of public policies tend to overlook the intersecting of the existing inequality of gender, class, and social.

This article offers at least two necessary steps that need to be taken in responding to women and marginalized groups' needs over the agenda to address the Covid-19 pandemic. First, every formulated policy must consider the intersecting inequalities that exist in the society, which cause multiple subordination of women and the marginalized groups. Second, the strategic agenda to deconstruct feminization of domestic works, such as care work and household work that perpetuate gender inequality in society, need to be continued. Therefore, every effort or policy in the situation of disaster should be able to consider the negative impacts that might be disregarded in the policy formulation, and constantly to ensure inclusive benefit.

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Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

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