

Woman and Covid-19 Pandemic

Editorial

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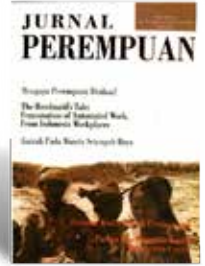
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Gadis Arivia

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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)

Abstracts Sheet

Gadis Arivia

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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

Feminist Theoretical Perspective: Intersectionality and Covid-19

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Abstract:

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.

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

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic began in the city of Wuhan, China, detected in December 2019. In mid-January 2020, the corona virus quickly spread throughout the world and in a short amount of time millions of people were infected and nearly one million people have died globally. In most countries, lockdown and social distancing rules are in place to stop the spread of the virus. The Covid-19 has not only causing health crisis but also economic and social crisis.

The Covid-19 pandemic does not bring similar impact to everyone or groups. Pandemics have a greater impact on vulnerable groups such as women and girls. Studies of the impact of past epidemics such as Ebola and Sars, provide a complete picture of how women and girls are more marginalized not only in access to health and economy, but also experience gender-based violence. Therefore, many world organizations have paid attention to the problem of the effects of pandemics and epidemics on women and girls (WHO 2007). However, even though the discourses put forward by world agencies have paid attention to gender aspects, their analysis is not in-depth and does not reveal the problems of discrimination, oppression and marginalization which are intertwined with race, ethnicity, poverty, masculinity in leadership, transphobia, and so on.

The analysis that is often used by world agencies and governments is Gender Mainstreaming, especially in developing countries such as Indonesia. I think this

is where the problem lies, why whenever a crisis occurs, the socio-gender diagnosis is often missed? I think there is a theoretical crisis that inadequate and thus unable to see the problem clearly, and unable to translate gender issues with feminism' based policies.

In my opinion, it is time to abandon the Gender Mainstreaming analysis. I choose the footing of feminism, because only with the lens of feminism, we can critically see the problems of injustice, exploitation, discrimination and violence against women and other marginalized groups. This article intends to provide a theoretical basis that explains problems of the Covid-19 using the intersectionality approach. This approach critically observes at the problems of injustice, exploitation, discrimination and violence against women that are intertwined with other problems such as race, ethnicity, class and masculinity of state policies. Intersectionality theory uses feminist praxis approach. This means, to build understanding about otherness and to understand it by underlining the issue of power, authority, ethics, and reflection in social research.

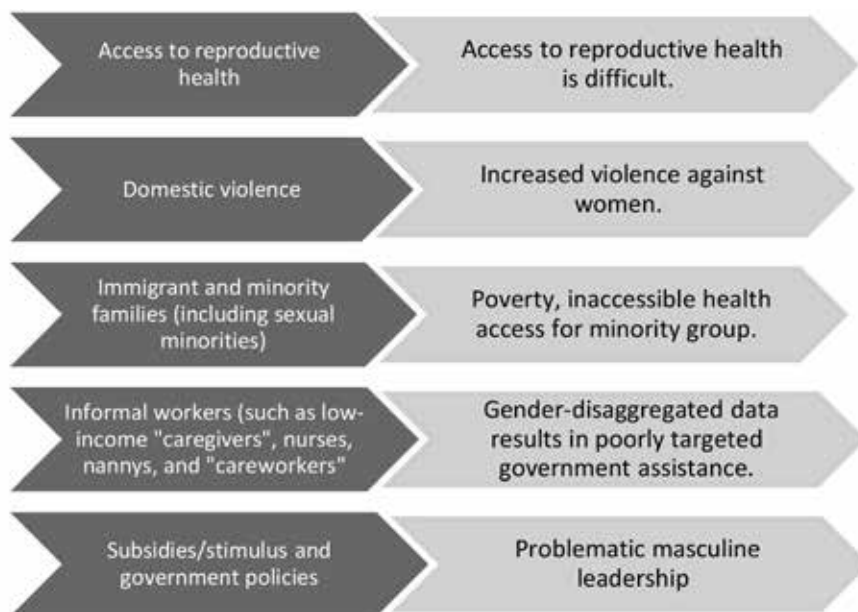
Discussion on Gender in Crisis Situations

In every situation of crisis, the most vulnerable groups are the marginalized groups such as women and girls. In the state of crisis, inequality, disparity, exploitation, discrimination and violence are always present. For example, LBH (Legal Aid Institute) Apik recorded 59 cases of domestic violence, rape and sexual violence

from March 16 to March 30. Out of the 59 cases, 17 of them were domestic violence (Oktavianti, 2020). Other countries, such as India, also reported an increase in domestic violence in the first week of the lockdown, and similarly, France saw one third of increase within the first week of the lockdown. This is not surprising as learning from the case of the Ebola epidemic in West Africa, Guinea recorded a sharp increase of violence against women by 4.5 percent. An increase of sexual violence has

also occurred in Liberia. Access to reproductive health was also a problem as reproductive service clinics have been desolated due to fear of the Ebola virus and this is detrimental to women (Caspani 2015).

Some of the things I have summarized at this time are problems that have gender effects during pandemic (disparity, inequality, and discrimination) as shown in Picture 1 below:



Source: formulated by the writer

Picture 1. Gender Impact of Pandemics on Women

According to de Paz et al. (2020) in the note of the World Bank, there are five things that are important to be given attention. First, women’s health problems are not only limited to access to reproductive health, but also on the vulnerability of women, who mostly take role as caregivers in the family. This means that women care more for sick families and are thus more exposed to diseases. Also keep in mind that the order of our world of labour is still largely disaggregated by gender. For example, nurses are mostly women and security and logistics workers are mostly men. In this case, the availability of personal protective equipment (PPE) becomes important and it is the government’s responsibility to ensure that PPE is available for the people (read: women workers) during a pandemic crisis.

Second, gender norms in education issues need to be considered. Is internet access for children affordable for children classified as poor? How internet quota at home is being arranged, considering all teaching is now being done online. Do housewives have the same access as

their husbands, in fact women should get more because the responsibility to educate children is still largely the responsibility of the mother?

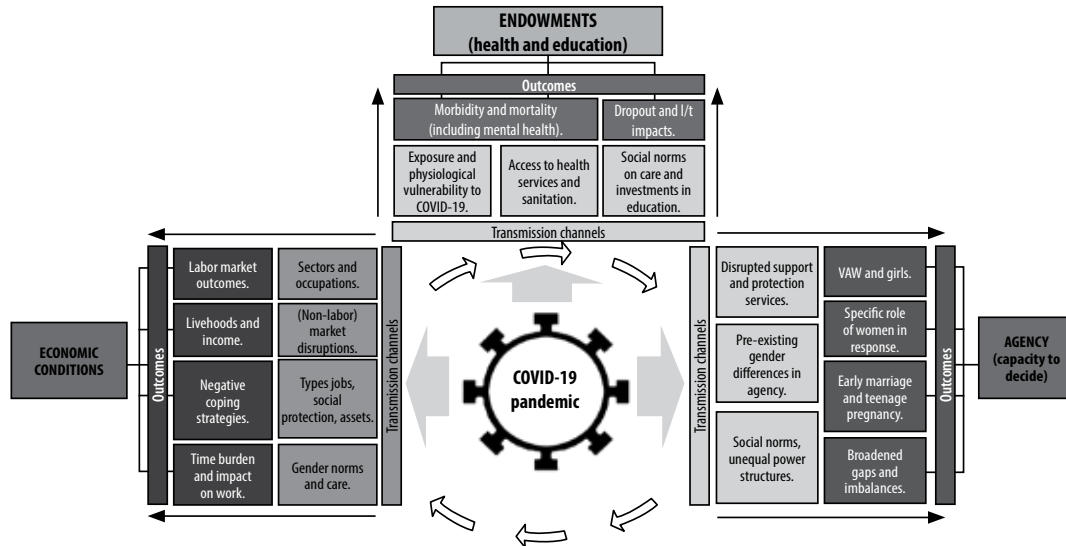
Third, gender implications within the economic conditions. Globally, women will experience greater burden due to their multiple responsibilities. Working women have to ensure not their works can be done properly (as men do) but also have burden to ensure that children’s homework would be done and also to monitor proceeding children’s online education. Apart from the responsibility of supervising children, the duty of taking care the children and the elderly, these are the burdens that mostly are being borne by women. For women who are classified as poor, informal jobs such as domestic work, small businesses and home industries, which are mostly done by women become very vulnerable.

Fourth, the “cash transfer” policy implemented by the government for vulnerable groups, including women, is an important program in the time of pandemic. The question is whether this program will reach women or

will it be given to men who are considered to be the head of the family?

Fifth, what is interesting from the elaboration of this World Bank working paper is that it underlines women agency. Two things were raised regarding the gender

implications for agencies. Quarantine policies could isolate women who experience domestic violence and could limit access to seek help, as well as the need for informal help mechanisms (networks) for health and including women’s mental health.



Picture 2. Implications of Covid-19 According to the World Bank

Source: World Bank 2020 Policy Note

Picture 2 above shows the framework used by the World Bank which emphasizes three things in its analysis, those are: economic access (including access to jobs and assets) which includes a broader view of economic conditions such as health and education including women’s agency and voice (capacity to make decisions independently).

The framework put forward by the World Bank and several other major world agencies is a framework that is generally adopted and followed by most governments (especially those governments who have large debts to the World Bank). In my opinion, this framework is still attached to the concept of Gender Mainstreaming that has been applied for more than two decades. There have been many studies showing the failure of Gender Mainstreaming. As proof, during the pandemic this kind of framework fails to disclose the power relationship that dwelling strongly in the patriarchal culture. The other thing that I take as a note is that the Gender Mainstreaming approach is unable to see the complexity of the problem, or to use the lens upon the intertwined systems. The analysis presented is still focused on gender issues, limited to the relationship between men and women, and does not include elements of race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and so on.

The failure of the Gender Mainstreaming Concept

The theory used in analyzing gender issues often departs from Gender Mainstreaming analysis which is based on gender and development theories. Critics of using this approach only focuses on gender issues and then only use the “gender stamp”. For example, the “gender stamp” approach is staple food assistance. This assistance is temporary and reactive, without being based on data related to feminist thinking. The government’s response, which does not use gender-disaggregated data, the result is temporary, and is not well targeted and does not produce meaningful changes. That is why, every time there is a crisis, Indonesia returns to “business as usual” (distributing staple food) without linking the existence of an oppressive system that needs to be dismantled. In the end, the Gender Mainstreaming approach was only limited to a “gender stamp”, which in the Covid-19 pandemic felt inadequate.

The origins of Gender Mainstreaming were adopted as a strategy to promote gender equality at the Fourth World Conference of Women in 1995. This concept aspires to mainstream gender in all critical areas such as poverty, human rights, economy, violence against women and armed conflict. The Gender Mainstreaming principle then used the language of women empowerment and

gender equality. In 1997, the concrete definition of Gender Mainstreaming was:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. (Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1997).

Gender mainstreaming is considered as an effective remedy for gender inequality by various institutions and world agencies. Various institutions assess that the instrument of Gender Mainstreaming has achieved the desired results. For example, as many as 40 international organizations claim that they have succeeded in advancing women's reproductive health: reducing maternal mortality, increasing knowledge on contraception, the ability to negotiate safe sexual relations, increasing HIV / AIDS knowledge, and so on. Population Reference Bureau and USAID (2011) consider these successes as significant. They noted positive results that were also seen at the community and political level. The SIDA organization noted that in 2010, and it even made a claim to have been able to raise the issue of power relations by mentioning a number of projects in Ethiopia which were funded by SIDA in collaboration with the Amhara Rural Development Program and Kenyan government. Although SIDA admits that the issue of power relations has experienced little progress in the family, but the economic status of women has improved. Several projects involving feminist groups undertaken by AWID with funds of 70 million pounds are claimed to be succeed in lifting inequality and building solid feminist movements. Research conducted by Htun and Weldon (2012) noted that collaboration with feminist groups was only successful on the issue of gender violence and stuck in initiating feminist-based policies. The UNDP (United Nations Development Program) report noted that collaboration with feminist groups has been more successful in increasing the global movement (Pittman 2014).

The main criticism of the Gender Mainstreaming approach is from feminists who see the poor perspective of feminism in the Gender Mainstreaming discourse. Feminists consider that the Gender Mainstreaming approach is not transformative and tends to be bureaucratic and technocratic. Moreover, LGBTQIA

discourse is often excluded from Gender Mainstreaming. Another sharp criticism is the tendency to use technocratic and concentrated gender experts from developed countries and not using varied discourses according to Mukhopadhyay (2013) in the UNDP Report (Pittman 2014). Therefore, the strategy used in addition to the bureaucratic also uses a "police" approach, ranging from the training provided to an arrogant organizational culture in working with local organizations. For example, instruments for measuring local organizations ranging from reporting to on-the-ground implementation are exaggerating and burdensome, in contrast, instruments for assessing donor organizations do not exist. Local organizations are rarely asked to appraise donor organizations or provide evaluations of the leadership of these organizations. The most recent strategy used by international organizations is to place local people (often taking resources from local organizations) in their organizational structure, to supervise local organizations that run partnership programs. However, this strategy also did not work as the culture of power relations continued.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is used as a framework in seeing situations openly because of the limitations of the concept. For example, when existing data do not fit into a feminist framework, it is difficult to understand what is happening in society and thus fail to identify problems. According to Crenshaw in Schnall (2020) if we fail to identify the problem then we will fail to find a solution.

Kimberlé Crenshaw is a feminist who defines the theory of intersectionality. She criticizes the understanding of inequality from the lens of material differences owned, for example, only about women who earn less than men, or women's poverty that is measured only in economic terms. Whereas the feminization of poverty is not only a problem of poor women (due to low income) but also due to mixed problems such as the burden of raising and caring for children, minimal access to health and education, racial discrimination, biased laws, and so on, all of which affect women.

Intersectionality basically investigates how the intersecting power relations influence social relations within a pluralistic society and also in everyday experiences. As an analytical tool, the intersectionality perspective views the interconnected and the interplaying categories of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, state, disability, and age. Intersectionality is a

way to understand and to explain the complexities of the world, society and human experience (Hill Collins & Bilge 2020).

The intersectionality approach can be applied in everyday life as well as an analytical tool. For example, in everyday life, the tool of intersectionality was used in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s to see inequality in matters of work, education and health, because of the intertwined problems between gender, racism and class. One of the criticisms of black women feminists in the United States is to question white female feminists who do not see dimensions outside the power relations between men and women. Black women experienced not only gender discrimination but also race and class. Gender issues need to dismantle all the intertwined systems.

As an analysis tool, the intersectionality approach can also be used in different societies and countries. For example, in India, the intersectionality approach not only raises the issue of gender inequality but also the caste system that subordinates women. In Indonesia there is also a caste system that is detrimental to women which cannot be separated from gender analysis as in Balinese society. It can also be applied in Papuan society who experience racism. So, in analyzing Papuan and Balinese women, an intersectionality theory is needed to be able to see the complexities of the lives of Papuan and Balinese women. Intersectionality is also useful in seeing the problems of women in the Islamic world who experience marginalization, gender aspects that are intertwined with religious discrimination due to diverse life choices.

Another thing that is interesting in the intersectionality approach is the abandonment of the class concept with blinkers. The intersectionality approach does not see class problems in isolation but sees issues of inequality that transcend class. Feminist, Zillah Eisenstein (2014) in Hill Collins & Bilge (2020) argues that class and capitalism are fundamentally intersectional.

When civil rights activists speak about race they are told that they need to think about class as well. When anti-racist feminists focus on the problems of gendered racism they are also told to include class. So...when formulating class

inequality, one should have race and gender in view as well. Capital is intersectional. It always intersects with the bodies that produce the labor. Therefore, the accumulation of wealth is embedded in the racialized and engendered structures that enhance it. (Hill Collins & Bilge 2020).

Talking about capitalism is inseparable from social inequality, sexism and other systems of power. Without using an intersectionality framework that goes beyond class-based explanations, other related problems such as race, gender, sexuality, age, disability, citizenship will not be revealed, all of which are intertwined and result in inequality, marginalization and domination.

This is where, in my opinion, the intersectional lens provides a complete picture in promoting a fair and inclusive economy. Analysis that uses Gender Mainstreaming is only concerned with gender relations and will not be able to see thoroughly the problems faced by women, which are intertwined with other social problems. Women experience multiple oppression. Crénshaw provides an analogy such as a red light at a crossroads in order to concrete the theory of intersectionality:

Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in an intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination...But it is not always easy to reconstruct an accident: sometimes the skid marks and the injuries simply indicate that they occurred simultaneously, frustrating efforts to determine which driver caused them. (Crenshaw 1989).

In the example above, Crénshaw argues that black women are discriminated against on the grounds of not only racism or sexism but both. In my opinion, it is this layered oppression that is often overlooked and not seen in the Gender Mainstreaming analysis. Then if this is the case, what should be considered when using an intersectionality analysis related to women's issues and Covid-19? The following table shows some of the things that can be highlighted:

Table 1. The Intersectionality Dimension of the Issue of Gender Justice in the Covid-19 Pandemic

Gender equity issue	Formulation of Intersectionality Theory	Issue
Health equity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Using multiple analysis blades. Not only focusing on gender-disaggregated data but capturing the diverse experiences of women based on geography, disability, race / ethnicity, sexuality, socio-economic status, different classes. - Questioning the hegemony in the biomedical paradigm that sees gender issues not based on social constructs but biological facts and this paradigm is very dominant in shaping the structure of practice and research on health. - The need for feminist activism networks in shaping equitable women’s health policies and not just technocrats and bureaucrats. - Outlines the social, cultural, economic and political forces that influence each other in shaping women’s health policies. - Using a reproductive justice framework that includes reproductive health and rights. Reproductive justice framework guarantees physical, spiritual, political, economic well-being. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Effects of quarantine on women, LGBTQIA and other marginalized groups. - The effect of Covid-19 on the elderly using a gender perspective and examining the intersections of geography, economic income, and so on. - Access to health from a gender perspective and its intersections. How many women have health insurance? - Contraceptive services during quarantine and use of contraceptives in diversity of gender, age and disability. - Pregnancy and birth during a pandemic and service disparities between poor and wealthy families. - The right to choose whether or not to have children during a pandemic.
Violence against women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Examining the dimensions of race, ethnicity, class, sexual minorities and gender. - Experiences of oppression against women that are compound, not singular. - The politicization of domestic violence that ignores intersectional issues, for example the unavailability of services for sexual minorities or unequal services for anti-sexual violence throughout the country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The numbers of violence against women has been recorded to have increased during the pandemic, especially during the lockdown period. - To monitor the increase in child marriages and trafficking. - To monitor the increases in violence against LGBTQIA and challenge policies based on gender binaries.
Work and gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promoting a feminist perspective economy that underlines the injustice of the economic system that is detrimental to women and other minority groups. - Focusing on “care work” economic development. - Discriminatory practices in the workplace are not only based on gender but also based on age, LGBTQIA, race and ethnicity, religion and so on. - Dismantling discrimination in the workplace structurally. Hypermasculinity: women’s bad experiences in dealing with job competition with men and selective exit: competition and bad conditions has made women resign from the working world or accept lower level jobs. Sticky floor practice: women who work at lower levels experience income gaps. Mommy tax: women who are pregnant and raising children will inevitably slow down the pace of their careers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In various reports during quarantine, women work with lower income than men because of low work productivity, minimal work options. Data that describes similar conditions in poor areas is needed. - More women bear the burden of domestic work during the quarantine period. It is necessary to look at the conditions among sexual minorities and all other minorities. - Financial data shows that the income of migrant workers is bad during a pandemic, what problems do migrant workers face during their isolation in their country? Service? Violence? - The majority of essential workers (nurturing, caring for and working in the informal sector are women), what are their security conditions at work? Is the company responsible for their safety?

Gender equity issue	Formulation of Interseccional Theory	Issue
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Issues of gendering work and discriminating against Careworkers: Nurturing and nursing workers in the domestic and public sphere are dominated by women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sex workers are increasingly marginalized and are more vulnerable. How do sex workers of all gender identities survive during a pandemic
Social security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Structured domination matrix at various levels. Oppression can take the form of: (1) Personal experience, (2) Level of cultural groups or communities, gender identity, race and ethnicity (3) Institutions. - Oppression carried out by institutions that occupy positions of power. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Food distribution and “cash transfers” need to be examined from the perspective of gender and other minority groups. Who has the authority? Who makes the decisions? - What is the food supply system and PPE for women farmers, fisherwomen and market traders? - Do institutions participate in dominating practices during a pandemic? Issue policies that are not focused on the pandemic for the sake of power? - The authorities do not carry out the function of protecting the community.
Internet and digital media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observing the biases of digital structures that amplify masculinity. - Study of feminism in technology and observe the intersectionality in technology. - Examining algorithms such as Google in its contribution to persecution of minority groups. For example, designs that are discriminatory or gender insensitive. - Ensures digital space is safe for women and minority groups to carry out social movements and voice justice digitally. - Ensures women and other minority groups have access to major social media outlets. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How are the digital experiences of women and men different? Including other minority groups? - How is access to information during a pandemic differ by gender, sexual minority, class and age? - The contribution of paid “buzzer” on the internet in disinformation or politicizing the pandemic in the interests of power.
State leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arguing the inability of male leadership (masculine). - Demystify the myth that men are more capable of being leaders than women. - Fostering the leadership of women and LGBTQIA circles. - Policies based on analysis of feminism. - Women’s leadership style focuses on “coaching” and not “commanding”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women’s leadership (although only in 21 countries) has shown that they are more able to handle Covid-19, such as in Denmark, Taiwan, Finland, Germany, Iceland, New Zealand, which are more successful in leading. - The effectiveness of women’s leadership during a pandemic and emphasizing a feminine leadership style that is superior to masculine leadership. - Covid-19 policies produced in countries led by women are more inclusive. Women’s leadership style emphasizes on caring (ethics of care).

Another thing that needs to be uncovered is the masculinity problem faced by men during the Covid-19 pandemic. According to data compiled by developed countries, more men have died from the Corona virus than women. This is not due to biological factors but sociological factors, wrong lifestyle. According to experts, men smoke more, consume excessive alcohol and pay less attention to health. According to Tony Porter in Schnall (2020), men in times of crisis are embarrassed to show their weaknesses and always want to appear superior and do not want to ask their partner's opinion. Men experience not only poor physical health but also fragile mental health. This is due to the problem of masculinity and a patriarchal culture that strengthens the existence of men. This is one explanation why in times of crisis, men tend to engage in physical and verbal abuse. On the other hand, men are unable to deal with financial stress, which makes them more irritable and aggressive. The identity of financial success is inherent in men, their dignity is measured through "money". Because of that, they are ashamed of doing household chores, caring for children, which are underestimated, and are the domain of women. This characteristic of the "man box" is very dangerous not only for men themselves, but also for their families and society at large.

The use of an intersectionality lens shows that humans are shaped by the interaction of various social or "location" factors including gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, sexuality, geography, disability, immigration status and religion. For example, when Covid-19 hit the United States, the initial analysis used ignored the intersectionality approach until it became evident that Covid-19 in the United States have attacked the less fortunate and marginalized many times more than the white population. Poor areas that are densely populated (access to health, inadequate education) experience a significant death rate and a large number of Corona virus infections. This is because the government has neglected to use an intersectional lens and does not link the Covid-19 problem with issues of inequality, discrimination, racism and exploitation. Moreover, the capitalist economic system of the United States proven to be a failure.

Likewise, in Indonesia, an economic system that is pro-business centered (as evidenced by the recent passage of the Omnibus Law), neglects protection of workers. The pro-business system brings more suffering to the general population and attaches importance to the elite. It is proven that during the pandemic, women, the majority of whom occupy the care work sector, has experienced

a major crisis. This is because the government has marginalized women for too long and ignored their contribution to the economic sector. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the world depends on careworkers and caregivers, the majority of whom were women and girls. In the field of careworkers, the majority of women who work in the nursing field are at the forefront of facing the Covid-19 pandemic in hospitals.

Women mostly become essential workers, work in markets, care for children and small businesses such as food. Women are dominant in caregivers' jobs, they bear household burdens, cook, care for children, serve their husbands, look after sick parents, and so on. Careworkers and caregivers do not have the luxury of staying at home like CEOs, lawyers, directors, and so on, who on average have caregivers and even careworkers at home. Those belonging to the upper class benefit from an economic system that is profit-oriented and not oriented to the welfare of the small people. The gap between rich and poor is clearly visible in this time of crisis. Those who are wealthy, have positions (or work in an established place) are able to obtain Covid-19 examination services quickly and guaranteed. Meanwhile, those who are classified as careworkers and caregivers do not have easy access to Covid-19 testing facilities, are prone to pandemic information (disinformation), and do not have adequate internet access to keep up with education, which is mostly done online.

Praxis

Intersectionality is used in the form of critical praxis in the sense of showing how humans live as individuals or part of a group in their daily lives (Hill Collins & Bilge2020). That is, the intersectional approach departs from the experience of a pluralistic society and seeks to dismantle and criticize as well as reject the domination of structures based on power relations. However, dissecting power relations in society is seen in the context of social change (not just a topic discussed in the classroom). Thus, the intersectionality approach forces academics to participate in social movements against policies that harm the less fortunate. The intersectionality approach does not dichotomize "intellectual/academic work" and "activism" but combines them and demands that both be applied in all fields including in running governance. Critical thinking is not only a domain on campus but can also be applied on the "street". Combining intellectual/academic intersection and activism brings synergy and produces new knowledge or more comprehensive practice.

Intersectionality uses critical questions in a variety of social phenomena. Critical questions posed by individuals or institutions are not only the domain of the campus but the domain of the community space that cares about change. Even the campus cannot limit its activities only to “thinking space” but also as “space for action” which needs to be applied in every social movement. Student activism shown in the “Black Lives Matter” movement in the United States and the rejection of “Omnibus Law”, for example, are examples of a practical intersectional approach. Violence committed by the authorities against students in the “Omnibus Law” protests is inseparable or intertwined with gender and class.

Sociologist, Bonnie Thornton Dill (2001), conducted research on the concept of intersectionality in the United States universities. He interviewed 70 lecturers from 17 faculties who are responsible for this theory and found that their thinking evades academic dichotomy and activism.

What I take from these interviews is that work “at the intersections” is an analytical strategy, an approach to understanding human life and behavior rooted in the experiences and struggles of disenfranchised people. It is also an important tool linking theory with practice that can aid in the empowerment of communities and individuals (Hill Collins & Bilge 2020).

The interviews show that both academics, researchers as well as activists use an intersectionality approach for the purpose of social change by emphasizing the interconnection between theory and practice. It is clear to me that the intersectional approach forces us to carry out activism in various fields so that there are fundamental social changes. Campuses, governments, organizations and institutions that reject critical praxis will not bring significant changes and tend to be in the status quo that oppresses the lower class.

Closing: Feminist Agenda

The Covid-19 pandemic shows that our economic and social system is very fragile. It is proven that every time there is a crisis, the state is unable to guarantee public safety, economic and social welfare. In chaotic conditions, women and girls fall into vulnerable groups along with other marginalized groups including LGBTQIA groups. Therefore, crisis management can not only be reactive (because it only attaches a temporary “band aid”), but it is necessary and urgent to make changes totally. Several agendas that can be fought for:

First, Feminist power. Women leaders have proven to be more reliable in handling crises. Their leadership promotes an ethic of caring. For example, Jacinda Ardern from New Zealand, Erna Solberg from Norway, Katrin Jakobsdottir from Iceland, Angela Merkel from Germany, Tsai Ing-wen from Taiwan, Sliveria Jacobs from Sint Maarten. They use an authentic leadership approach, are transparent to society (including Covid-19 data) and act concretely. Women leaders understand the intersectionality approach and have included an intersectionality approach in their policies. They have revised the total economic system that is centered on the owners of capital and instead focus on careworkers and caregivers who are the mainstay groups for preventing the economic crisis.

Second, macroeconomic policies that focus on care work. Ministers who make policies that link gender and economy, and use an intersectional lens are needed.

Third, policies that rely on feminist perspectives. Minister Audun Lysbakken (a male gender minister who is in charge of empowerment of women and children in Norway), underlined the importance of pro-gender policies as they are related to men’s interests. It is necessary to invest in women who are the largest population (51%), so as to produce a productive economy.

Fourth, an education system based on gender justice and gender diversity. In the situation of the Covid-19 pandemic, almost all teaching has been transferred online. The majority of workers in basic education are women. The intersectionality lens captures the educational gap that hit the lower classes in times of crisis.

In conclusion, I would like to underline the need for a complete replacement of the economic system. The Covid-19 pandemic, forces us to conduct a total evaluation of the existing economic, social and cultural system. Changes in the economy need to be done immediately. One of the fundamentals is the need for a feminist economic lens that includes work without wages (domestic work) and non-market as part of economic discourse. So far, domestic work including care work is a social issue and not an economic issue. Feminist economics also highlights patriarchal cultural factors that lead to unequal distribution of property, income, knowledge and bodies. But I also argue that John Rawls’ analysis of inequality of distribution is inadequate. I prefer Iris Marion Young’s (1990) analysis which focuses on the analysis of oppression rather than distribution inequality. Young underlined the five faces of oppression, namely, violence, exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness

and imperialism. According to her, these five faces of oppression not only show structural oppression but also focus on the problems of marginalized groups. Here, the existing economic system cannot clearly interpret the needs of marginalized groups as they do not include them in the economic framework. It is time for economic and social issues not to be separated but considered as intersections and interconnections capable of answering the issue of justice.

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

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.

The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labor rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalization, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

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JP appears annually and the contents of each issue include: editorials, peer-reviewed papers by leading writers; reviews, short stories, and poetry. A key feature of the journal is appreciation of the value of literature, fiction, and the visual narrative (works of art, such as paintings and drawings) in the study of women's issues

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