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Woman and Covid-19 Pandemic

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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)

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 25 No. 4, November 2020

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 intertwin 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. Datas 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 autority 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

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

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Abstract

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.

Background

The Pandemic has changed the way society implement spatial practice substantially. The induced obligation and assumptions due to the pandemic have urged and also sharpened various forms of new political space. Distance restriction, lockdown and mask-wearing obligation have silently changed the way human build their relations: starting from the most subtle and intimate relations such as family, gender, to more complex social and political relation such as democracy and civic. The complexity in the new political space resulted from the pandemic has been shown paradoxically by various forms and contradicting states' responses: populist regimes respond to pandemic recklessly and loosely; some restrict rules and hid under the physical distance restriction rule to amplify their autocracy. These autocracy regimes abuse the pandemic situation to accumulate their authority. As the consequences, these regimes earn less of public trust and tend to fail in mobilizing their citizens' participation. The United States and Brazil are some of the best examples of this regime. On the other hand, a more open political regime tends to use democracy to build trust and participation in raising solidarity to fight against the pandemic.

Aside from different regimes' types (democracy *vis a vis* autocracy) in pandemic responses, there is also more specific assessment on pandemic policy. Regardless of their category and type of regime, people are more interested to Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern of New Zealand, Germany's Chancellor Angela Markel and Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-Wen who are seen not only as better in their initial responses to the pandemic, but also better in mobilizing their state's resources and power to fight against the pandemic, improving and strengthening their healthcare institutions, expanding social protection policies without losing their grip on democracy (Garikipati and Kambhampati 2020). From here, there is a conclusion that women's democratic leadership has given stronger value in crisis while at the same time maintaining democracy and public integrity. From the experiences of these three leaders, one can conclude that women are proven to be more effective in handling crisis and maintaining care and solidarity.

Nevertheless, the firm roles of Ardern, Merkel and Ing Wen have actually revealed the paradoxical dimension of the pandemic. At the same time on the other side of this world, the pandemic transparently exposes structural vulnerability and inequality in numerous aspects where

women become the major victims. UN noted that the calls made to emergency hotline for domestic violence cases in Argentina increased significantly for around 25 percent during lockdown. Similar increase is also observed in Singapore, Cyprus, and United States (UN Women 2020). In Canada, a survey financed by a non-profit institution supported by the women leaders in the said country, found that a third of Canadian women were thinking of quitting their jobs to focus more on domestic obligations. UNICEF is concern about the possibility of having 24 million of children drop out of school due to the pandemic. From these 24 million, it is estimated that there would be more girls from poor family dropping out of school and are forced to enter marriage relation in such young age (Aljazeera 2020). In Indonesia, Komnas Perempuan's study shows that during pandemic women's burden had doubled (Qibtiyah *et al.* 2020). The author's interview with women from middle class shows that domestic burden that they bear is increasing. The data show that regardless of the prevailing regime, women are in the most vulnerable and disadvantaged position from the pandemic.

For Indonesian context, pandemic is in a spatial politic where state's pressure against civic space increases. The Indonesia's civil liberty index is currently declining as the pressure against civil society increases. Aside from its very slow response, the state has decided to take measures that prioritize security approach in responding to pandemic rather than installing medical authority to lead the pandemic responses as done in other democratic countries (CNN Indonesia 2020). From this perspective, it is obvious that Indonesia is still trapped in the old paradigm that views state's security politic is considered to have more advantages and prompt in responding to the pandemic. The old paradigm known as authoritarian advantage views that countries with autocratic and centralistic regime to be more efficient in handling disaster (Schwartz 2012). The paradigm and assumptions of "authoritarian advantage" are clearly debunked in COVID-19 pandemic responses in democratic countries such as Korea, Taiwan, New Zealand, Germany, Australia, where openness and democracy prove to be far more efficient in building trust and encouraging public's participation in dealing with pandemic.

With more centralized responses of power, it is very pertinent that the pandemic politic in Indonesia experiences challenges in involving civil society even more. On the contrary, pandemic has become new political instrument utilized by various political powers around state to apply wider pressure against the civil society. However, dealing with declined democracy, civil society response is not entirely wiped out. Facing pressures and new restriction during the pandemic, the civil society groups in Indonesia have tried to continue their efforts to maintain civil liberty, organizing their demands, continuing awareness raising education among youth, and organizing several protests through social media platforms (Robet 2020).

This research explores women's unique position during the pandemic: on one hand women are viewed structurally in the most vulnerable position and disadavantaged in the pandemic, but on the other hand women leaders are proven to show much better performance in dealing with pandemic. This paradoxal situation has generated the biggest question on women's empowerment and position during the pandemic: women as leaders or political subject with all of their strength and capability on one hand, and as the most affected subject during the pandemic on the other hand.

Women activists who lead civil society organizations are also important to observe considering that there is a subtle intersection between state-pandemic-gender. Using the particular standpoint, women's involvement in politic during the pandemic is very interesting to explore. Therefore, this research will focus on to what extent the pressure against democracy space is due to democratic declining followed by narrowing social space due to the pandemic that relates closely with women activitsts' political accentuation.

Methodology

This research explores data and information through interviews with 20 women leaders of civil society organizations in Indonesia. They are between 23 to 55 years old and have been working in civil society organizations focusing on various activities, in which one of the activists is quite prominent in several issues and sectors. The data collection is taken using googleform instrument and then explored through in-depth interview directly or through video and audio call recordings. All of the interviews took place from May to October 2020. The composition of informant's profession is shown in the Table 1 below.

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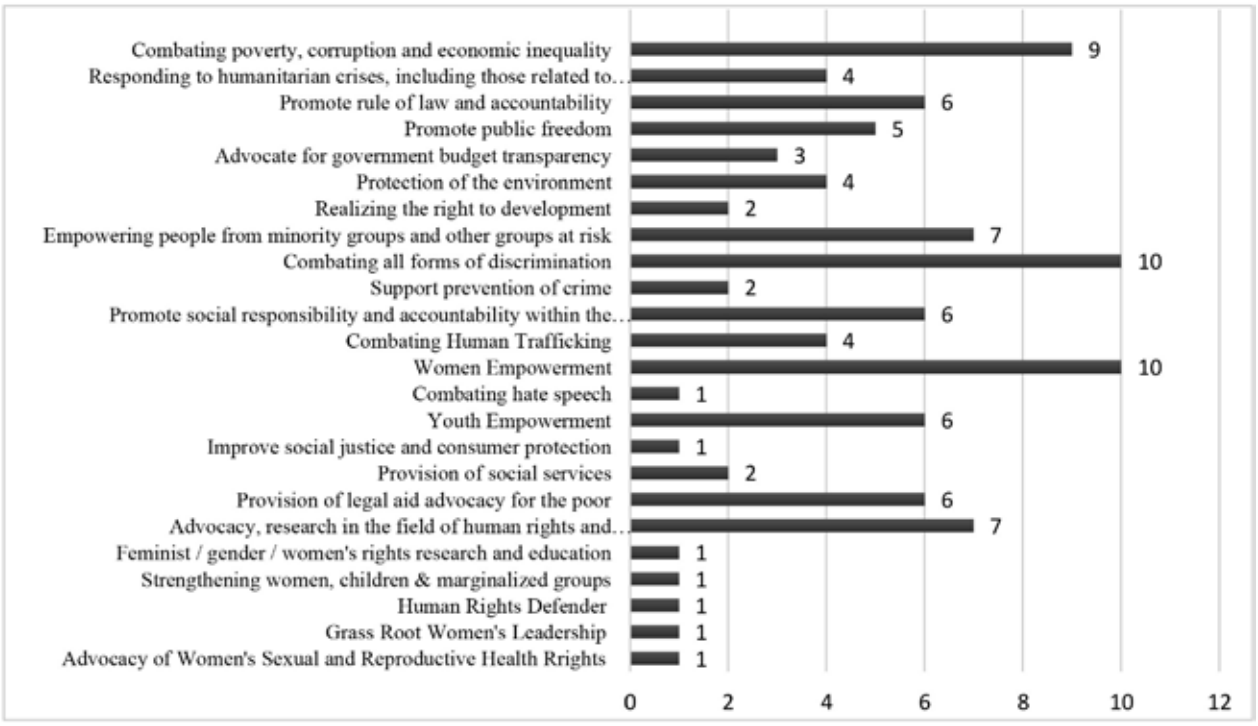

Table 1. Composition of Informants' Work and Advocacy

Source: Survey Data

Why Women Activists?

In the last couple of years, Indonesia's civil society has been experiencing pressure and shrunk in terms of its civic space (Hidayat, Makarim & Nugroho 2020). The pressure in civic space has only been worsened by the pandemic. The pandemic has increased the prevalence of domestification and pressure against women as well as increasing citizens' dependency to the State. At this particular point, women activists' implication and political responses are very important to consider exactly because they articulate three challenges simultaneously, which are: the shrinking civic space, pandemic, and domestification due to pandemic. Through the responses provided by women activists we could explore to what extent the spatial political change happens during the pandemic and how women responded to this change.

Civil Society and the State during the pandemic

There are a lot of literature sources on the definition of civil society ranging from Aristoteles, Hegel's political philosophical scriptures to John Rawls and even social theories literature such as the ones from Antonio Gramsci and Habermas. However, this research uses the definition of civil society as described by Larry Diamond: *as the realm of the organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self supporting, autonomus from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of share rules* (Diamond 1994). Diamond mentioned that there 7 characteristics of civil society which are: *checking and limiting the state's power, disseminating democracies ideas and values, empowering the people, promoting equality and change from clientalism to citizenship, stimulating political participation, recruiting and training political leader, resist authoritarianism* (Larry Diamond in Beittinger-Lee 2009). Meanwhile, civic space is defined by following Buyse's idea that includes civic space as *the practical room for action and manoeuvre for citizens and CSOs* (Buyse 2018). Therefore, civil society and civic space have coherent relations; civil society could only grow by using civic space, and vice versa. Hence, this means maintaining civic space is equal to maintaining civil society.

Prior to the pandemic in the last few years of Joko Widodo's administration, Indonesia is perceived of experiencing a huge set back in its democracy. The experts on Indonesia such as Ed Aspinall, Vedi Hadiz and Marcus Mietzner are concerned about Indonesia falling into "*democratic regression*" symptoms (Aspinall & Warburton 2018). Tom Power who emphasised on the return of control politic and security orientation has candidly mentioned about the return of authoritarianism (authoritarian turn) during Jokowi's administration (Power 2020). Meanwhile, Waburton mentioned about the symptom of Neo Developmentalism to refer to the strengthening of development pragmantism a la New

Order in the development politics (Warburton, 2016). Then finally the researcher on Islamic movement Greg Feally mentioned about how Jokowi's administration applies what is considered as repressive pluralism, considering its strong repression against groups that he refered to as "islamist" in Indonesia (Fealy 2020). Hence, democratic regression in Indonesia has created more systematic and coherent framework for the establishment of authoritarian administration post 1998 reform. The recipe to more authoritarian state is already on the table: ideology and development pragmatism that are sustained by repressive power and repression-guaranteed pluralism.

The pandemic has narrowed down democratic space and expanded the State's autocratic traits. The shrinking democratic space during pandemic is due to two factors: first is increased health risk and vulnerability due to pandemic that contributes to the shrinking civil society space, followed by the strenthening of people's dependence on the State. Secondly is autocratic law and political policies that are directly and intentionally taken by the state during the pandemic: starting from expanded involvement of state's security apparatus to the enactment of various laws that broke through the principles of participations and transparency such as the Law on Mineral and Mining, and the Omnibus Law of Job Creation. Furthermore, the worst situation could also be reflected in the state's response for various protests from the students, workers and civil society on the recently enacted political and economic policies during the pandemic. Rather than responding openly, the government tends to return to old political means and idoms in dealing with the protests.

Some of the civil society groups in Indonesia enjoyed short-lived honeymoon during Jokowi's administration, especially after the 2014 presidential election. This short-lived honeymoon period happened on an expectation basis that Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla's administration would have more democratic view and better human rights policy than that of their contender. At that time, there were a lot of civil society activists recruited as government officials and commissioners in numerous state-owned enterprises. However, with the change in Joko Widodo's policy and leadership orientation which are considered as more accommodative to the political party and oligarchy's interests, the honeymoon ended quite abruptly. The relationship between civil society and the State is completely transformed on the last days of his leadership. His second period in office was marked by the lost policy and narratives on human rights, furthermore he accommodated extensively conservative political powers into his circle of power (Mietzner 2018). The peak of civil society deterioration with the State happened in 2019 as the consequences of Government's policy to revise the Law on Corruption Eradication Comission (CEC/KPK) that would only weaken the KPK's position, and this has extended massively in 2020 as the implicaton of the passing of the Omnibus Law of Job Creation.

Marcus Mietzner in 2012 has identified the signs of democracy stagnation in Indonesia. He concluded that in general the Indonesian people have strong aspiration to democracy. Indonesia also has quite resilient civil society that could manage the deteriorating democracy from falling into graver situation. He also thought that democracy stagnation is mostly due to anti-reform elites who destroy democracy political building blocks post New Order regime. Even worse he also thought that Indonesia's barely work alone in upholding democracy as the consequences of—citing Ed Aspinalls' research finding—donor's shifted policy that move their program from civil society to government's institutions. The donors thought that Indonesia's democracy has already passed the toughest test and they considered collaboration with government's institutions would be more effective and have greater impacts (Mietzner 2012). Eight years later, Mietzner wrote about an article that concluded about Indonesia's democracy's impoverished condition: from stagnation to regression. Furthermore, more importantly, he also found that civil society in Indonesia experienced degradation in capacity as the consequence of political polarization from the presidential election in 2014 and 2019. He also though that the elites took advantage of this polarization for their own self interest. As the result civil society's capacity to maintain democracy is deterioriating even further (Mietzner 2020). Interestingly, in one of his illustrations, Mietzner mentioned specifically that polarization happened among women activists.

Nevertheless, the polarization in civil society finally diminished as the natural selection process took place in the movement *#reformasidikorupsi* (reform is being corrupted) in 2019 and movement to fight against the Omnibus Law on Job Creation in 2020. These two movements serve as demarcation and standard of selection for a lot of activists who are either inside or outside of political party and government circles.

In these two moments, the civil society reformulated again the values that reformists upheld: good governance, political democracy, human rights, civil liberty and inclusivity in development and culture. Their partism to the values of these two movements judged one's

political position whether one is still within civil society or not. The selection process and disconnection from former activists who are now in the administration are symbolically represented in various memes and posters during the protest, which questions "Where are the 1998 activists now?" as well as in social media accounts of organizations such as ICW (Indonesian Corruption Watch) anecdotally questioned the position of former civil society activists in the government bodies. Thus, this movement tranforms any differences and polarization that were tensified after the 2014 and 2019 presidential election and finally generated new generation of civil society in Indonesia.

Among women activists, figures such as Suciwati Munir from Omah Munir in Batu Malang, Asfinawati director of YLBHI (the Indonesia Legal Aid Foundation), Bivitri Susanti from Jentera Law School, Yati Andriyani and Fatia two directors of KontraS (the Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence) in Jakarta, chairwoman of KASB I trade union(Indonesian Trade Union Alliance Congress) Nining Elitos, Anis Hidayah from Migrant Care, Indri Fernida from AJAR, Anita Wahid from Koalisi Perempuan Anti Korupsi (Anti Corruption Women), Nur Hidayati Chief of Walhi (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia), are just few of women activists who are now on the frontline to accentuate and bring boldness in color for the emergence of new generation of civil society in Indoensia.

Democracy and state - civil society's relation in Indonesia is highly determined in the space contestation: space in abstract term that is the freedom to act, and also in term of concrete-material space, such as the street and any location where they may exercise their rights to protest. The pandemic has given the state's new resource and justification to expand and increase state's political authority to their citizen's life, through the implementation of medical oversight, disciplinary act. The state now has the opportunity to push other policies that are far related with the pandemic but would be very influential in ruling people's life in the future. In other words, while the public is being trapped in domestification, the public space is being dominated by the state. This is where the pandemic competes with the state to shrink the civic space.

In the competition over the space, the state has various legal and procedural instruments (laws, social restriction rules, state's apparatus, etc), powerful technology to establish and to break down the targeted social partition (influencer, propaganda). On the other hand, the civil society defends themselves by strengthening their resilient capacity, by improving and expanding their strategic collaboration with students and trade unions.

The experiences of protests in #reformarsidikorupsi in 2019 and #tolakomnibus in 2020 reveal a new unique symptom among the civil society that surpassed even the Reformasi 1998's demonstrations, that is a strong integration between students, civil society organizations, labor movement and the academics world. This extensive and solid coalition has blurred social and political partitions that distinguished laborers from students, that previously was established and maintained by the state during the New Order regime. Furthermore, the students' movement since 2019 exhibits a more inclusive character towards collaboration with various groups of civil society (Interview with Ip, a student of Gajah Mada University, who organized #Gejayanmemanggil).

This shifting has fueled new energy and magnified the power of civil society in Indonesia post polarization that occurred after presidential elections in 2014 and 2019. The strength and the uniqueness of the new relation of civil society with students and labor movements are reflected by Asfinati, the director YLBHI director, who due to her firm impartiality during presidential election (considering that there are a lot of former YLBHI lawyers who are heavily divided in the presidential election polarization) and her perserverance in advocating for democracy and human rights, has earned greater trust.

Civil society's effort has surpassed the spatial challenges in the street protests during the pandemic, and this also has revealed effort to maintain urban space that is free from capital dominated state. This is clearly reflected in the tendency of each protest that is usually initiated or aimed to the places with nostalgic meaning and landmark from the previous protest movements: the Gejayan intersection in Yogyakarta, the Proclamation Park and the Presidential Palace in Jakarta. Through the street rally, the civil society has silently claimed the city as a civic democratic space (Douglas & Daniere, 2009). During the pandemic, the state has taken advantage of the virus' risk for excluding civil society from public space. Nevertheless, the state's exclusion has generated a new social inclusivity among civil society by melting down the orthodoxy of partition that had segregated labors/ NGOs/ students' movement.

Women Activists Versus Shrinking Democracy and the Pandemic's Domestification

Contrary to the various rethorics from the elites that emphasised the notion that Indonesia's democracy is "doing okay", civil society organizations in Indonesia have

experienced even bigger pressure. The pressure and shrinking democratic space are experienced first-hand by women activists through two main aspects, which are: firstly, amplification of numerous laws, regulation, and administrative policies that continuously restrict the civil society's existence and movement. Secondly, the increase repression and stigma from the state against them.

The shrinking democratic space is marked by some important signs, first is the enactment of law and administrative regulation that restrict civil society activities. More than 60% of women activists interviewed said that there are many laws and regulation that restrict the establishment of civil society organization in Indonesia, more than 70% of them mentioned the difficulties that they have been facing in their activities due to administrative procedure such as procedure for obtaining organizational permit, up to various permit for seeking data and information in government institutions. Some of them also complained about the existing restriction and oversights over their network-related works, especially the ones related to donors and international ogranizations. The international civil society organizations face even stricter restriction especially the ones with national legal entity in Indonesia.

Aside from using laws and regulation, civil society's shrinking democratic space are also conducted in various form of violence and stigma. From the interviews with 20 women activists, this research found that about 35% of women activists interviewed have received threats from state's apparatus, 50% of them also said that they were targeted by online attacks perpetrated by anonymous social media accounts in relation to their activism. Around 45 % of the activists interviewed claimed that their organizations were subject to frivolous labelling such as "communist minion, foreign minion". Around 30% of them also said that they had been asked to cancel some of their activities by state's apparatus for various reasons. Furthermore, 20% of them said that their organizations had been attacked by certain violent mass organizations.

Though they have to go through attacks and bans, 50% of the activists said that they would continue their activities and organize events because they firmly believe that it is a right that should not be violated. They could not care less about various pressure and bans against their activisms. Moreover, 85% of the women activists said regardless of the various regulation and procedures, as well as the threats, they would continue to work to build network both national and international network to strengthen their position. The resilient or break-proof attitude as expressed by Marcus Mietzner is clearly confirmed. It is very clear that the survival power of civil society in Indonesia continue to grow and sustain not because of the space that is being given by the state, but instead it happened because of their unlimited resiliency.

Considering the current financial capacity of the Indonesian civil society organizations that are much decreased compare to the past, their resiliences are quite astonishing. As mentioned earlier, Mietzner presented that civil society in Indonesia have been living self-subsistent, due to the political change of the donor agencies that much more collaborating with governmement agencies. Hardship in resource mobilization alao happened due to the policy change of the state towards donor agencies, that require them to be hosted by one of the ministerial offices rather than interact directly with civil society. Government Regulation No. 59 year 2016 on Social Organization, which was issued during Jokowi's administration, for example, requires foreign social organization (including donor agency) to partner with government. Under this scheme, state's control over donor agencies become even stronger. As the consequences, civil society organizations' accesses have gradually shrinking, though most of these civil society organizations are heavily dependant on foreign donor assistant.

Looking at the trend of shrinking financial resources, the civil society's sustainability is mostly supported by their voluntaristic spirit of activism. In other words, there are precarious conditions within civil society that make them unable to create long-term programs due to lack of funding assurance. This means, their critics towards the state's political policies are mostly based on civic attitude, rather than a program-based response.

For women activists, the pandemic adds new challenges. As comparison, in 2019 during the movement for protesting the revision upon the Law of Anti Corruption Commission (UU KPK), various activities of political education could openly be held in the regions. Large scale of activists' meetings could be held freely in campuses, NGOs offices in Semarang, Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Lampung. The only problem at that time was increasingly stronger oversight from state's apparatus and campus bureaucracy. During the pandemic, especially in the first months, similar meetings could no longer be held. Organizing such large protest like #gejayanmemanggil was nearly impossible during the first months of pandemic.

However, the enactment of problematic laws such as the Law on Minerals and Mining (UU Minerba), which was also followed by enactmend of the Omnibus Law

of Job Creation during the pandemic, have blurred people's concerns over the pandemic and have provoked the people to take risk by organizing rally. The open statement using #TolakOmnibus hashtag was first emerged on the commemoration of the Labour Day, on May 1, 2020, from which point then the workers' protests have emerged into large wave in the coming months until now. Large protest, that were even bigger than #reformasidikorupsi protest in 2019 happened in almost all cities in Indonesia, involving laborers, students and civil society organizations (Patrick 2020). The #tolakomnibus hashtags that were initiated by various coalitions of civil society, students and trade unions, were flooding in the social media platforms. Social media accounts owned by activists were flooded with memes, posters that expressed their demands through "air protests" and rally. The activists such as Asfinawati, Bivitri Susanti, Nining Elitos and independent academics who opposed the Omnibus Law of Job Creation presented in various public forums and debates elaborating their views on the substantive vagueness of the Omnibus Law of Job Creation and its bad implications for the future of Indonesia.

The state affirmed restriction and advised to cancel the protests using the excuse of the implementation Large-Scale of Social Restriction (Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar - PSBB) in several cities. The state's apparatuses came to the houses of the trade union leaders, campus bureaucrats "asked" the university lecturers to hold their students from going into rally. There were concerns that the mass rallies would expand the Covid-19 transmission. Nevertheless, the advice was opposed by trade unions, students and civil society organizations, who saw the government to have cheated by deliberating and enacting the Omnibus draft law in the time of the pandemic. The government was accused of have taken advantage of the pandemic situation to reject public participation and silently enacting the law that was being opposed by civil society (Kompas.com, 2020). While the laborers continued to be restricted, the power scheme continue.

These are probably the facts that have pushed the students, trade unions and many civil society organizations to take the high road and continue to protest on the street by taking the risk of the pandemic. A poster in Jakarta wrote a extreme call that: "the Omnibus Law is far more dangerous than Corona". The pandemic clearly poses higher risks to the activists to be involved in direct protest. But for some people, for instance the leader of trade union such as Nining Elitos and Asfinawati, the risk is inevitable when they have to go and lead rally (Nining 2020, Interview, October 20).

Almost all of women activists interviewed said that the pandemic has caused new deficit to the protection of human rights. Most of them also stated that the pandemic along with the existing politics of the law's policies, have grave effects on human rights: growing need on the role of the state, wider dependency to the central government authority, the expansion of power followed by the decreasing societal space for mobility, including aggravated economic crisis among the poor. More than 85% of women activists said that economic policies during the pandemic were incorrect. The government is perceived to have given more incentive to private companies and the state-owned-enterprises rather than to the people who are directly affected.

At the same time, in medical field, most of the women activists viewed how weak the medical authority in handling the pandemic. The medical authority seemed to be driven more by political and economical considerations, and as the consequences many alleged the government of taking advantage the pandemic situation for power consolidation purposes. Therefore, civil society participation and trust on policies concerning the pandemic got lower.

All of the activists interviewed confirmed that the pandemic added new domestic chores and tasks for them. Those who are married with children, the pandemic adds more burden for accompanying their children's education, that is followed by increased new care needs such as food and healthcare. The care work that was originally carried out by the school has mostly shifted to women. Therefore, the pandemic also revealed a new necessity in order to adjust with the shifting interpersonal relation's mode in the families (Bivitri & Anis Hidayah 2020, Interview, October 19). The change in interpersonal relation's modality within the families have pushed the women activists to renegotiate the division of workload between them, their husbands and their children. Trade union leader like Nining, for example, has found increased number of domestic violence cases and conflicts within families due to the high economic pressure experienced by the working-class families. Here, the additional domestic workload has transformed and absorpted the labors concentration over their works issues and organizations.

However, all of the activists interviewed also said that the increased domestic burden do not reduce the intensity of their involevement in various civil society activities. For some, the restriction due to pandemic

has increased their meeting frequency considering that online meeting becomes more feasible and they do not have to interact physically (Asfinawati 2020, Interview, October 19). Furthermore, most of their families' structure have democratic characters. Any change and additional burden to their family due to pandemic could be overcame by applying new division of work in families that are based on equality. In other words, among women activists, the pandemic has indeed added new domestic burden and challenge, but this situation could not domesticate them. The question now is what are the factors that make them able to overcome domestification in the time of the pandemic?

The Pandemic and the Gendered Space

Covid-19 maybe a natural phenomenon, but the virus entered in and spread out and through a heavily politized space. The pandemic politic has begun once it intervened the spatial practice in a society. Spatialization is employed to create partition of space and objects, hence the objects could easily be analysed, observed and controlled. Objects are analysed from various aspects and perspective, hence could be understood cognitively in detail. Therefore, as mentioned by Michel Foucault, spatial production and practice, either in a clinical setting for medical purpose, in a prison or factory and even in a city, is not a neutral practice. Every spatial production essentially employs the practice of knowledge and power (Grbin 2015). Therefore, the daily experiences of our spaciality practices (at home, in school, factory, office, mall, the street) are filled with various operation and representation of the technology of power, within and through the space, aiming to establish and to discipline the ''docile body".

More specifically, the feminist studies have positioned space as an important mark of masculine hegemony. Those studies showed a conventional view that emphasised on "natural difference" between men and women in justifiying gender-based division of work in heterosexual family: the man as a breadwinner, working in public sphere, while the woman is placed as a 'homemaker' performing domestic duties, care work in private sphere. Masculine identity is defined as hegemony where men performed paid work in public space, which enabled them to be the breadwinner, main source of income and head of family. Masculine identity is defined as a hegemony where men undergo paid work in public space that allow them to become breadwinner, main source of sustainability, and head of the family. Maculine hegemony over the domestic space traditionally viewed as a 'feminine space' while the public space is positioned as 'masculine space'. (Rezeanu 2015). Therefore, each space is a "gendered space". As emphasised by Daphne Spain, "gendered space" reproduces gender stratification by reducing women's access to knowledge and valuable social skill, hence it continuously placing women in a subordinate position against men (Spain 1993).

The pandemic has exacerbated "gendered space" condition and continue to reproduce masculine hegemony through the traditional partition: public/masculine space and domestic/feminine space. Institutionally, the pandemic has pushed various institutions to return to and to be more integrated with the family. The pandemic has shut down restaurant, mall, movie theatre, schools, offices and returned all of people's activities into the families. The relationship between family and school is now similar to the pre-industrial period where the locus of education is returned back to the home. In history, the industry had pulled the adults out of their homes, and changed their employment structure from land and soil-oriented work to factory works. School was the logical implication from the emergence of the new needs of the industry and the family, which functions as provider of manpower. It is needed as an intermediary institution, serves as a waiting room for the children while waiting for their parents while there are working, and altoge serves as a place for children to be trained and to be prepared for entering the work's life once they reached adulthood. With the pandemic, the living spaces are no longer divided into partitions of home-school-world of work-society. The family becomes the center of all lives' aspects. This is where domestification happens extensively and adds new burden for women in their struggle of being involved in civil society activities.

This research has found that the women activists have the ability to swiftly adapt to the new domestic demands during the pandemic and maintain their involvement in public sphere. During the pandemic, they could even manage to increase their public involvement's intensity and frequency during the pandemic without being burdened by domestification; either by renegotiating their time and work division with their family or by utilizing technology. Their power and skill of negotiation in public space for their civil society's activism have given them solid ability to develop rational communication within their families. Therefore, they could rearrange their new interpersonal modality during the pandemic without having to experience significant tension within their families.

No women activists in this research verbally expressed themselves as feminists, but from the way they overcome the challenges caused by the extension of domestification due to pandemic, it is obvious that they hold not only solid and firm gender awareness, but the also hold the ability to establish a more equal family relation, that could overcome the intensified threat of masculine hegemony by the pandemic. Therefore, these women activists have surpassed the masculine hegemonic "gendered space" brought upon by the pandemic; maintaining their access and activities to knowledge and public participation, as well as maintaining their leadership in civil society.

This is where the source of women activists' resiliences that have surpassing the domestification could be found. That is their militancy to overcome the pressure and the deteriorating democratic space that have become the investment and extra power to address the pressure from "gendered space" due to the pandemic. In other words, their intense experiences and relation in the "political' world have given them not only the modality for civil society's sustainability in time of deteriorating democracy, but also have given them power to overcome the pandemic's domestification.

Conclusion and Closing

In the past few years Indonesia has been experiencing democracy's deficit. The democracy's deficit in Indonesia is marked by growing characteristics of illiberalism both within the society such as increased intolerance, and also from within the state through its politics of the law's policies. The democracy's deficit is clearly marked by the shrinking civic space in Indonesia: increased pressure and threat against civil liberty, repression against freedom of speech. The pandemic has only presented an increaing pressure as the consequence of the state's new spatial politic. The state has utilized the pandemic to expand their political territory by excluding civil society from many important political processes.

Nevertheless, amidst this limited situation, civil society driven by women leadership have tried to sustain its civic space. The perseverance and change in organizational mode have expanded and become more inclusive, and these have amplified and transformed civil society in Indonesia. They are no longer exist as separated elements from campus and trade union movements. The women activists have led the movement with new inclusivity within the civil society politics in Indonesia. They are proven to have surpassed the barriers that were built by the state's politics of the pandemic.

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