

Crisis within Crisis: A Trend of Domestic Violence and Divorce during the Covid-19 Outbreak in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The high rates of domestic violence and violence against women due to the exponential growth of coronavirus case expose alarming and worisome humanitarian crisis due to the exponential growth of corona virus (Covid-19). As the country with the highest coronavirus case in Southeast Asia, the prevalence of domestic violence in Indonesia is very important to be revealed. This paper aims to provide a factual depiction and analysis of gender regarding trend in domestic violence and its impacts which can be seen in the form of divorce rate. The findings of this study confirm that during the covid-19 cases of violence against women have dramatically increased. Covid-19 has become a trigger to the emergence of domestic violence. Compared to developed countries, the violence and divorce rates in developing countries, such as Indonesia are more severe and have a longer impact on women. Not only do women after divorce, being the head of family, have to bear psychological burdens, but also are face with the needs to make the ends meet for their family while it is not easy for accessing job. Therefore, this study is expected to have implications for the creation of public policies in favor to vulnerable groups of the domestic violence victims.

KEYWORDS

Covid-19; Family Violence; Divorce; Gender Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The Corona Virus (Covid-19) pandemic has given rise to a new crisis that hit various aspects of global life. This pandemic is not only related to health problems hitching many mortalities (Sohrabi et al. 2020; Worldometer 2020), but also has caused and intensified other problems such as economic pressures (Martin et al. 2020; Evans 2020; Pantano et al. 2020; Wilson 2020; Qian and Fan 2020; Kristal and Yaish 2020), psychological trauma (Abdullah 2020), and various types of domestic violence. During the pandemic, domestic violence appears to occur more frequently (WHO 2020; Marques et al. 2020; Telles et al. 2020). The symptoms of domestic violence are as threatening as the presence of corona virus itself.

Governments worldwide have imposed lockdowns to contain the corona virus but the restrictions have increased the risk of domestic violence. Since the Indonesian government issued a policy to respond the emergency of Covid-19 pandemic such as social and physical distancing, work from home and stay at home, these policies have brought about other problems, especially for those who experience economic and psychological pressure in the household. The most vulnerable groups affected by this situation are children and women (WHO 2020; National Commission on Violence against Women 2020; UN Women 2020).

There are increasing cases of domestic violence in many countries like in India (Shalu 2020), China (Fernandes 2020), Palestine (UN Women 2020), France (EURACTIV 2020), Latin America such as Argentina, Canada, Brazil, Chile, Columbia (Statisca.com 2020; Marques et al. 2020), Italy, Spain, Germany, United States and United Kingdom (Telles et al. 2020; Viveiros and Bonomi 2020). These situations clearly have shown that domestic violence during the covid-19 outbreak has sharply increased and it is very threatening the humanity.

Domestic violence is a problem of humanitarian crisis. The various studies mentioned above show the alarming concerns and all at once emphasizing the importance of more serious research of women and households in pandemic situation in various regions or countries, especially in developing countries. This is then expected to have implications for awareness and impartial policies against vulnerable groups of domestic violence victims.

Indonesia as a developing country was declared as the country in Southeast Asia with the most affected by Covid-19 (Aida 2020). This fact is definitely very disturbing especially for the implication towards women not only to their health aspect but also to the symptoms of domestic violence and its impact, that is divorce. The rates of Violence against women, family violence to other members of a family, and divorce cases show an extremely distressing during the spreading of Corona Outbreak in Indonesia. Compared

to developed countries, violence and divorce cases are more severe for women in developing country such as Indonesia because, not only do they have to carry psychological burdens, but they are also faced with having to fulfill their own and children's needs as these women become heads of households after divorce while accessing jobs is not easy.

METHOD

This study employs a gender analysis approach related to pandemic conditions and their impact on women both in cases of violence and divorce during the enforced of breaking covid-19 pandemic chain policy. The data collection was carried out and based on various data revealed by national commission on violence against women (Komnas Perempuan), World Health Organization (WHO), journal reports, news and social media from January to July 2020. These data concretely reveal various facts of violence experienced by women in the household. And, the cases of divorce that occurred during the covid-19 outbreak. Based on the type of data used, this study used a qualitative approach. Data analysis used the approach of Miles and Huberman (1992). There are several stages offered by Miles and Huberman in analyzing data namely data reduction, data display, drawing conclusions and verification.

The data analysis was also made up with the approach offered by Babbie (2019) in conducting qualitative data analysis namely coding, memoing, and concept mapping. These phases can be illustrated as follows. First, *coding* is a process by which researcher classify or categorize data, and linking it to various retrieval systems. Second, *memoing* is a simultaneous memoing or recording the data obtained from various data sources as mentioned above. Third, *concept mapping* is an attempt to link the concepts with the data obtained, then it was analyzed and concluded on the facts about the trend of domestic violence and divorce during the covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia as a form of crisis within crisis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gender Analysis Approach

Observing that throughout history, every pandemic affecting women twice as much as men affected by the impact (Wenham et al. 2020), it is necessary to have a gender analysis approach in effort to respond and try to reduce the burden of suffering among women psychologically, socially and economically in the midst of epidemic. The purpose of gender analysis is to identify various gender issues that cause various inequalities and discrimination against women

(Effendi 2003; Fakhri 1997; Goldberg 2010). Gender perspective seeks empirical evidence, understands and strives to change the reality of gender injustice.

The gender relations are not only seen as social relations between women and men alone. The gender relations are seen as a unified understanding of women's subordination and cultural practices that defend it; how to determine the choice of sexual objects, the division of labor sexually, and the formation of characters that are constructed in masculine and feminine categories both socially and culturally. In humanitarian crises, gender continues to be an important determinant as it relates to influencing health (Hawkes and Buse 2013), socio-economic and political realities, as well as psychosocial consequences. While humanitarian crises deteriorate the health, social, and economic status of populations collectively, women and children are especially vulnerable (Ní Aoláin 2011).

Recognizing the extent to which disease outbreaks affects women and men differently is a fundamental step to understanding the primary and secondary effects of the pandemic. It is important that gender norms, roles, and relations influence women's and differential vulnerability (Wenham et al. 2020). The covid-19 outbreak exacerbates an existing gender inequalities and disproportionately impact on women. Gender analysis utilises primary and secondary data to develop a better understanding of how the this covid pandemic are differently affecting women and men.

The pandemic crisis and measures that are taken addressing it, have exacerbated inequalities and widened a gender gap. Women became impacted disproportionately due to multiple forms of discrimination and inequality predated the coronavirus pandemic. At such this critical juncture, gender analysis try to identify the most significant effects of covid-19 pandemic on gender equality in order to inform a gender-sensitive national response, planning, recovery and even investment. However progress towards closing gender gaps must be accelerated. And, the commitments to develop better must be based on a clear understanding about factors limiting progress before and after the pandemic outbreak. The rollbacks in term of gender equality and right of women, girls, and children engendered by covid-19 crisis should be framed and be formulated through the analysis of pre pandemic context.

Domestic Violence: A Brief Concept

Violence can be sociologically defined as acts of attacking, damaging, injuring, and destructing both physically and psychologically. In general, violence is derived on a conflict behavior which arises by an unequal relation, which then produces goal

incompatibility, hostility and conflict behavior. These three aspects in line with point of view emphasized by Bartos and Wehr (2002) conflict as a situation in which actors use conflict behavior against each other to attain incompatible goals and or to express their hostility.

In the context of family or domestic sphere, violence usually occurs as a result of unequal power relation between husband, wife, and children. This power relations in the continuation will trigger one of the family members be an object of relation. And, based-gender violence analysis is a tool of analysis to critically understand this condition. The term of gender-based violence is used to describe the various forms of violence based on social differences, especially gender differences in women and men in the forms of physical, sexual, psychological neglect, threats, coercion and other forms of actions that deprive freedom both in private and in public.

This has encompassed the various definitions regarding domestic violence. Domestic violence is at least defined as, a pattern of assertive and/or coercive behavior, including physical, sexual, and psychological attacks or threats of actions that influence another person, as well as economic coercion, that adults or adolescents use against their intimate partners (Schechter and Edelson 1999). While Indonesian Law Number 23 Year 2004 ((Indonesian Constitution 2004)) defines the domestic violence as any act against a person especially women, effecting in misery, physical, sexual, psychological suffering, neglect of household including threats to commit acts, coercion and deprivation of liberty by against law within the household scope.

There are four basic concepts regarding violence against women and domestic violence based on the definition above. First, physical violence is any action that can effect in physical injury or even cause death. Second, psychological violence that is every action and speech that effect the emergence of fear, loss of self-confidence, loss of ability to act, and the emergence of feelings of helplessness in women. Third, sexual violence that is any act that leads to sexual harassment, coercion of sexual relations without the will of the victim, sexual intercourse in unnatural ways; disliking the victim, and restricting a person from his/her sexual needs. Fourth, economic violence that is the acts of neglecting family members (especially wives), restricting women from working to earn money, and allowing family members to work to be exploited. Women and children become the center of attention in domestic violence cases because as usual they are actors who tend to be the victim from all kinds of violence from whether it's the head of

household or the other closest relatives, especially male.

The presence of covid-19 pandemic needs to be worried because at this period the relationship of family members is getting more intense and at the same time is getting strain because various problems in outside of home are centered inside. The house can switch off its function which is no longer a space to release the fatigue all outside problems as usual but rather to become a space where the fatigue accumulates. Fears and anxieties about illness, the future of life, family resilience, and even violence have become an essential part faced many families during covid-19 pandemic crisis.

Covid-19, Anxiety, and Domestic Violence

Amid pandemic situation that cause panic for most people, another frightening and alarming humanitarian emergency situation emerge that same. Covid-19 outbreak has resulted a symptom of the domestic violence emergence. Acts of domestic violence increased sharply during the enactment of policies addressing the breaking spread chain of Covid-19. This is triggered by the conditions in which families are faced with the demands of family needs that must be fulfilled. In the meantime, they are threatened by the termination of employment (LIPI 2020), causing uncertainty, a sense of boredom, and increasingly reduced in income for those working in informal sectors. This condition has had an impact on the psychological aspect, causing anxiety, and a sense of uncertainty.

The psychological shocks like this can be experienced by everyone in the world, including family such as parents, women, and children. However, it attracts attention when it compares the significant differences between men, women, and children. Women actually have a greater impact from anxiety to victims of violence and divorce that produces an increasing double burden in her future life.

Women experience more vulnerable impacts in these conditions. Women, especially in the context of family life, during the enactment of work from home and stay at home policies, practically face multi-layered workloads. Based on the data revealed by the National Commission on Violence against Women (2020), 96% of the community reported that since the outbreak of Covid-19, the burden of domestic work increased and women worked twice as much as men. For women who work in informal sector, their income since Covid-19 has changed and has drastically decreased eventhough from the quantity, according to the Central Statistics Agency (2020), women workers in informal sector amounted to 61% of the total

workforce in Indonesia and the creative economy informal sector is the sector that absorbed the most female workers, amounted to 53.86%.

The conditions of increased workload, inadequate nutritional intake, decreased income, increased spending, increases intensifies stress levels and engender the psychological stresses that affect the quality of harmony and the quality of welfare relationships in the household of couple with a number of children. The number of children also has implications for increased spending. National Commission on Violence against Women (2020) said 70% of the total respondents with more than 3 children surveyed stated that household expenditure had significantly increased. Only 1% reported with increasing income during the outbreak. This expenditure burden is exacerbated by the additional cost of internet quota during distance learning and working from home.

Thus, this situation causes 1 in 3 people to experience pressure and most of those with more than 5 children experience the stress symptoms significantly during Covid-19. The checkup carried out by the Association of Mental Medicine Specialists strengthens the data regarding these psychological symptoms. Of the 1.522 people sampled in the study (76.1% of whom were women), 64.3% experienced psychological anxiety. The main symptoms of anxiety are excessive worrying, feeling agitated, irritability, nervousness, restlessness, or being tense; feelings of danger, panic, or dread, rapid heart rate, and have difficulty being able to relax (PDSKJI 2020; Siagian 2020). This psychological anxiety triggers the occurrence of domestic violence in all its forms and becomes the background behind a decision to divorce.

However, the emergence of covid-19 has created an environment where many of mental health are exacerbated. One of mental health problem is anxiety. The anxiety itself is multifaced phenomena and is experienced by many people in life (Özdin & Özdin, 2020) and can be classified as high or low (Taylor, 2019). It consist of distressing emotions, physiological arousal and associated bodily sensations, thoughts and images of danger, avoidance and other defensive behaviors. Each people experience in different psychological distress during the pandemic. Some in a low level of anxiety and some in high. It is important to exhibit the same awareness and responsibility for both of them especially in pandemic outbreak.

What the most important is, the anxiety and other health problems levels were higher in women as showed by Özdin & Özdin (2020) that the psychiatric impact during the COVID-19 pandemic may be greater on women. In history of psychiatric disease (Bobevski et al., 2016) the anxiety problem is higher in women

and individuals. Some studies have also revealed that anxiety or depressive disorder is more frequent in women (Alexander et al., 2007).

Abdullah (2020) explained the anxiety phenomena in four types during the pandemic diseases in Indonesia, they are individual trauma, hysteria, manifestation of its psychological trauma that is in kind of individual violence, and collective violence that occurs in response to panic in the community. Individual trauma, cited to Abdullah works, is manifestation through social withdrawal. Suspected coronavirus patients and recently unemployed persons isolate themselves from their peers and social groups. Under this condition, when these people have broken off their relationships with other, many of them suffer from mental illness, take sleeping pills or drugs.

While hysteria, Abdullah stated that during medical examination to diagnose the diseases, some show uncontrolled behavior. These suspected people are scream, injure themselves, attack medical staff, destroy hospital property, and or try to flee out the window. Some act so extremely that they collapse or faint afterward. Then many Indonesians have refused medical examinations because they fear being quarantined. Psychological trauma has manifested itself as individual violence that is exacerbated by, one of them, high unemployment even tough when men or women lose their jobs they must ensure the needs of their families. This situation, engendered what it's called as collective violence that occurs in response to panic in the community. Community often join together denying access to outsiders for fear of the pandemic diseases. They refuse allowing migrant workers to return to their homes. Persons who have been diagnosed with the virus suffer considerable discrimination, and some communities have even refused to bury the victims of covid.

Female gender has been identified as the most potent predictor of traumatic stress disorder symptoms in and after pandemic crisis (Liu et al. 2020). Anxiety disorder can be three fold higher levels againts women than men during the spread of covid pandemic and the policy taken in dealing with crisis. And, the higher levels of anxiety, depression and health anxiety in women according to study Ozdin and Ozdin (2020) is not an unexpected finding.

The quality of life changes radically during the intensity of togetherness at home without any certainties. At the level of relation between family members, a longer time in contact with aggressor become one of the main factor. The factor can lead to aggravation of violence. The increased stress of aggressor due to fear of covid diseases, uncertainty in the future, impossibility of social contact, and threat of

reduced income. Then, overload on woman with housework and care for children and others family affairs can also reduce their ability avoiding conflict and in addition to leaving her more vulnerable to psychological and sexual violence.

The social sphere suffers from the erosion of social support and structural issues related to gender inequality (Marquezz, et al. 2020). The fear and anxiety, however, also simultaneously affects to children. As well the issues addressed in discussing violence against women, other repercussions to deal with the pandemic can have on increased risk of violence against children and adolescents.

Beside the perspective of parents, children themselves can become irritated due to the constraints on mobility and the fact they miss their social group that can lead to aggressive behaviors and disobedience to their parents. The increasing tensions in this condition can favor episodes of violence against them. As a whole, this can generate feelings of fear and anxiety. Such feelings can be even more pronounced in children especially when they don't really understand what is happening. There are risks of loss or separation of parents due to social isolation period which can leave them unattended by the head of household. Ofcourse, the family in unfavorable socio-economic conditions or living in broken home are vulnerable.

Domestic violence does not describe a single violent event, but rather a complex system of abuse including physical, psychological and sexual violence. Despite the neutral definition of domestic violence, it mostly involves gender-specific violence based on inequality between the sexes (Flury, et al. 2010). This is can be understood as explained by Hagemann (2002) in the term of gender violence. The gender violence defines as all forms of injury engendered against both physical and emotional integrity associated with gender and power, and the kinds of physical or other power forms exploitation. As usual, the violence between women and men is different. Men tend to affected by violence carried out in public places, whereas women tend to experience a violence within close social relationship.

It is very clear that increases in domestic violence incidents due to covid-19 will also contribute to social crises. In terms of social crisis, victims before covid pandemic had access to support from relatives, family, and sheltered homes such as protective orders. During the lockdown policy, such options became no longer readily available. The violence intensity and suffering experienced is likely to increase since the victims cannot leave their home.

Furthermore, the domestic violence affect significantly to children. The pandemic is not only

challenging parents to get support from their family and community but also losing of childcare. It is considerable loss to the victims as it creates more anxiety, stress and responsibility. This is coupled with the increased violence or squabbling among parents and negative interactions due to work from home. Stay at home since lockdown may affect to children mentality, maternal-child relationships, preschool-age children functioning, and even young people's relationships that refers to connections with social peers, family member, external family members, neighbors, and *etc.*

Under the lockdown condition, inability to contact with social peers, the victims tend to experience a losing connections and social circles that can prevent and help them to survive from violence (Rogers et al. 2019). This is particularly tough challenging of community with lack of socio-economy especially women in general and women from low class strata in society both structural and cultural reasons. This will also seem in post-pandemic era a few year later as stated by Sharma and Borah (2020) that the challenges for such communities may grow even further, and we may see a world with social imbalances accelerating across multiple streams. This study emphasizes, this psychological burden became the basis of domestic violence occurred and increased.

Trend of Domestic Violence during Pandemic

Individual anxiety basically does not occur in a vacuum chamber, but always involves the social aspects in which anxiety arises. Pandemic indeed threatens the health however psychological anxiety in the form of anxiety, worry, and so on is not entirely due to the fear of pandemic; it is also triggered by socio-economic aspects and weak norm values.

Psychological problems as explained above are the effects that drive domestic violence. The harmony of household relations is disturbed when the family members spend a lot of time together at home under the pressure of psycho-socio-economic problems. Subsequently, this has an impact on the emergence of household tensions, causing and exacerbating conflict situations into violent actions. The potential for violence to occur is greater for families with prior domestic conflict before the Covid-19 pandemic because the social restrictions cause greater access to the perpetrators while the victim's space is increasingly limited.

In 2019 as many as 14.719 cases were reported to service agencies. Domestic violence is the largest type of case from the report that consists of 11.105 cases. This case includes violence against wife as many as 6.555 cases and violence against girls as many as 2.341 cases. The tendency of perpetrators of violence is

carried out by those closest to them such as husband, father, stepfather or fosterfather and uncle (CATAHU 2020; National Commission on Violence against Women 2020). In 2020, during the Covid-19 pandemic, complaint of violence, rape, sexual harassment, and online pornography had itself affirmations. From March-April period, there were 275 cases of violence against women and 368 cases of violence against children (Rizky 2020; Abdullah 2020).

Meanwhile, based on the six service institutions reporting violence against women, there are variations in the data as can be seen on table 1. The data above shows that there is increasing trend of domestic violence trend and the potential for violence still overshadows households especially against women. Women are more likely to experience all kinds of violence than men. Variants of data on domestic violence trends above are influenced by the availability of victims' access to report so that there is variation in one another.

Table 1: Violence against Women and Girls Data Collection during Covid-19 Pandemic, Based on 6 (Six) Service Agencies in Indonesia

Institutions	Number and Types of Violence
LBH APIK	59 Rape, Sexual Abuse, Domestic Violence Reports during Covid 19 reported in March 2020
Indonesia Police Report	20.845 Criminal Cases Reported in February-March 2020. 19,72 % escalation
Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia	2 nd March - 26th April 2020, Sexual Abuse Towards Women reached about 173 Cases with 174 Victims; 66% of them are Victims of Domestic Violence & 6% are Victims of human Trafficking. Total data until June 2020, from January 1 to June 3 were 1.478 cases of violence against women and 908 cases of domestic violence.
LPSK	46 people (13 women & 16 Children) reported 20 Sexual Abuse Cases in March-April 2020. 3 People (1 woman & 2 Children) reported Domestic Violence Cases in March - April 2020.
The Head of the Women Empowerment and Child	18 Domestic Violence Cases (14 are women & 4 men Victims), 4 Sexual Abuse Cases reported in March 2020

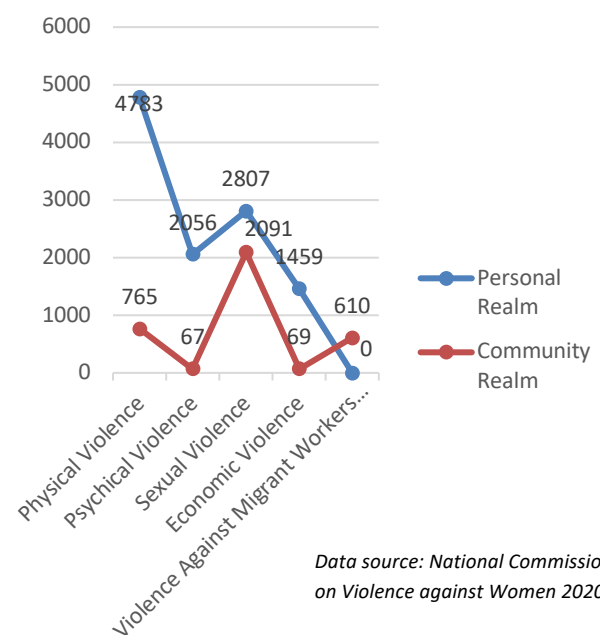
Protection
Yogyakarta

Data Source: Iskandar (2020), and modified by the author by referring to the latest data

During the pandemic, when the service institutions relied more on online services, all communities or victims in Indonesia could access and submit reports of experienced domestic violence. Even more ironic, the awareness of the Indonesian people related to risk management of violence is still relatively low. This is measured from National Commission on Violence against Women data (2020), as many as 1.573 out of 2.285 people, who are reluctant to keep contact with domestic violence complaints services. Silence behavior over acts of violence, or just telling neighbors seems to be preferred even by those with higher education.

Based on areas with the most affected by Covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia, namely Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Banten, East Java, Central Java and West Java (Covid.go.id. 2020) the tendency to experience the household tension and domestic violence are more likely experienced by those aged 31-40 year old. This tension is dominantly experienced by those with income of under 5 million (National Commission on Violence against Women 2020). And, the number of children victims also accounts for 8% to 9% of frequent acts of violence. Household groups with increased expenditure and decreased income tend to experience all kinds of violence namely physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence.

Graph 1. The Forms of Violence against Women



Data source: National Commission on Violence against Women 2020

Based on the data presented above, it is clear to say that home is not always become a safe place to live: women and children. The people who living in

situations of domestic and familial violence, home is often become a threaten space in which psychological, physical, and sexual abuse occurs. Home can be a space where power relation is distorted and subverted by those who experience abuse that often with out scrutiny from anyone.

In the situation of covid pandemic crisis, the insistence to stay at home and social distancing has a wide implications for women and children that already live with someone abusive or controlling. The restrictions of movement shut off avenues to escape and help-seeking in order to avoid the violence. Restriction is also likely playing in the hands of people through tactics in control, surveillance and coercion. This is partly because what goes in within homes, within family take place out of other people view. Lockdown therefore can grant someone who abuse a wider freedom to do their act without any scrutinies or consequences.

Social-cultural norms which suggest the sanctity of family life at home can also encourage the victim – *women and children*- difficult to speak out about, let leave alone, and therefore the violence is conditioned as a result of shame and embarrassment feelings. During the pandemic, it is important to think about representation of home and family critically and to make it people to talk and to take a possible action countering violence in domestic realm. Whether family member especially women and children feel safe consistently at home.

Certain social from the data above also suggests that classes have a degree of influence on the occurrence of violence. People in the lower middle class are experiencing crisis after crisis, falling to bigger social problems. Although it has been shown that various variables such as economic problems, psychological anxiety, stress, become the causes of violence against women, there is actually a wider social structure system that become the basis or root of violence, namely inequality in social structure and power relations legitimized by the cultural value system. Covid-19 outbreak has become a time bomb that is at the moment exploding. This explosion gives rise to the emergence of inequality in the form of violence against women and violence in domestic or family scope. This means, economic aspects and psychological anxiety are triggering factors, not the causes of violence in the midst of covid-19 outbreak.

Domestic violence often occurs through the use of power by force to create power relations in the family, where women are taught and conditioned to accept a low status. Thus, the basis of domestic violence is more due to the unequal power relations between men and women. Women are placed subordinate under the men. Violence against women seems to show that

women are better off living at the mercy of men and that women are nothing more than property that can be treated at will, including violent against them.

Often the cases of domestic violence and violence against women are associated with private matters that are unethical to be revealed to public. Violence is seen as a personal responsibility, where women are interpreted as people who are responsible for improving conditions that are actually determined by cultural norms and must responsible to find the ways that can be accepted from unwanted suffering they are facing.

The impact of covid-19 crisis go far beyond the policy taken to prevent its impact transmission. Although, social distancing become the one way to protect against contamination, it at the same time exposes a new crisis that is dysfunctional family emergences to the emotional, economic, and physical consequences domestic violence.

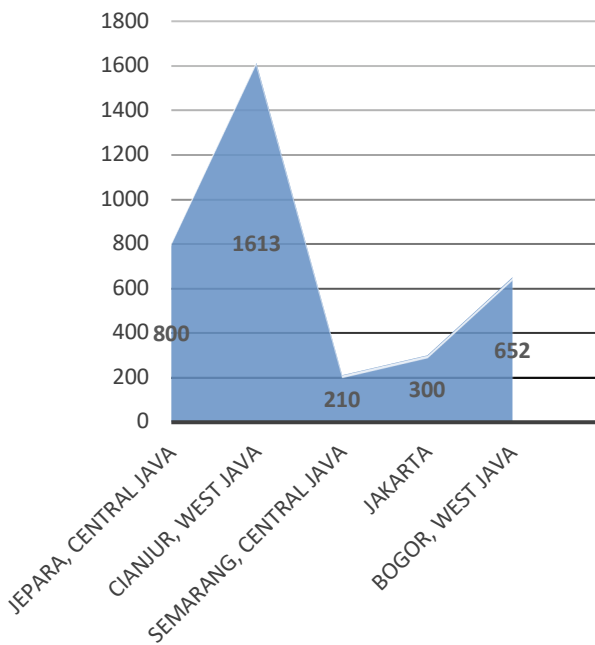
Main factors which increase a women in under vulnerability in occurrence domestic violence can be mapped to be some factors that are individual, relational, community social dimensions that act synergistically, health, economic, and social crisis. In the covid-19 outbreak this aspect necessary to be understood and other things that is greatly able to increase violence against women's risk. And, the main key to understanding domestic violence in this covid-19 outbreak situation from a gender perspective is to provide an understanding where the root of violence lies in the unequal power relations between men and women that has been established in society.

Covid-19 Outbreak and the Trend of Divorce

During the outbreak, there have been increasing trend of divorce rates in various regions in Indonesia with economic vilence as the main reason. The regions described in this paper are those recorded as the most affected by the coronavirus (covid.go.id. 2020; National Commission on Violence against Women 2020), they are Central Java, West Java, and Jakarta (See ilustration data in graph 2).

Basen on the graph ilustrated, in Jakarta there were 300 claims to the Religious Courts for the period January-June 2020, 80% of which were divorce claims (Malik 2020). While in Semarang, Central Java, there were 210 divorce cases in March, 226 in April, 98 in May, and 291 in June. The average age of those who are divorced is in the age range of 20-40 years old (Semarang City Religious Court 2020). In Jepara, Central Java, from January to early June 2020 there were 800 cases of divorce lawsuits.

Graph 2. Divorce Trend during the January-June 2020 Period in Some of the Largest Cities Affected by Covid-19 in Indonesia



Then in Cianjur, West Java, there is report that the number of registrants in one day reached 50 people. From January to June 2020 period, 1.613 divorce cases were registered. The registration of divorce lawsuits has increased since the face-to-face service was opened (Ichsyah 2020). While in the city of Bogor, in June period, there were 90 divorce cases reports. In January, there were 182 divorce claims and 66 divorce cases. In February, there were 116 cases of divorce and 35 divorces. In March, there were 102 cases of divorce and 18 cases of judicial divorce while in April and May, the number of divorce reports decreased, namely 11 divorce suit and 7 divorce cases. In May, there were as many as 22 cases of divorce suit, and 3 cases of divorce (Sumardiyan 2020). There is a decreased trend in the period of April-May period online reporting reasons, as many people are still not literate about technology.

During the outbreak, economic problem has been the main reason for the divorce brought to the religious court. This economic condition then triggers various disputes, quarrels, and other violence in the household. Most divorce claimants are women. This indicates that now women have had the awareness and courage to speak up, reporting domestic violence experienced primarily in relation to economic violence. Divorce seems to be preferred by household partners to get out of the shadow of suffering of violence that they cannot resist. Although divorce is a practical solution, on the other hand divorce will present a number of new problems, especially for women. They will be faced with heavier double burdens. They are like getting out of one trap and getting into another trap as if to break through the never shattered glass-ceiling. Women face a very

unique impact because of the gender roles embedded in them.

Marriage is an inner bond relation between a man and a woman as husband and wife. This bond relation in Indonesia isn't actually only relation between husband and wife but also involve extended family relation both women and man family. That's why marriage is a sacred relation that involves the sanctity of God or religion. In the fact, this ideal marriage purposes have the distance with reality. Not all married couples are able to maintain the family relationship.

As long as pandemic, the most divorce cases are couple of young and productive ages and this if we see in the previous year is consistent in its pattern. The base factor is the ongoing strife, quarrels and then subsequent cause is economic problems. The family's economy is trigger insecurity in divorce. This condition causes dissatisfaction in the fulfillment of life needs and adversely affects in family life.

The coronavirus diseases presented many family facing unprecedented challenges. Beyond the lethal impact of the pandemic itself, many families experienced job-loss especially women, immense stress as a result of workload at home: parenting kids, homeschooling, serving husband and so on. Some of these factors might deepen an already cracked relationship. But, it feels as though in there is something deeper and even more philosophical that happening in divorces cases as long as the pandemic and deal with it.

The coronavirus pandemic however created existential maelstrom that exacerbated issues family: violence and divorce. Alongside that remarkable stress many families in long term marriages found themselves at a crossroads. It is kind of a profound reflection's forced moment. The family is re-examining their lives.

The coronavirus crisis hit family hard. And, at the same time it also demonstrated how important family still is. In a the crisis, family member alike need in which they feel safe. However in separated families, co-parenting might be stressful although in normal times. During the pandemic, many of families discover previously stable arrangement in family may not again withstand the stresses that created by fears and anxiety to illness and mandates to isolation or quarantine in long duration.

The crisis proved perilous for many families. A case of coronavirus outbreak threatens both individual who is positively diagnosed as covid's exposed and family member with whom he or she live. If husband or wife lose their jobs due to the pandemic their families will face eviction. This can be amplifying the conflict and even creating the new ones.

The majority of divorce start out either in mode of conflicted or parallel. Conflicted parenting tends to the situation where family frequently argues one each other, often about the problem of money or parenting. Parallel parenting mode is a mode in which parents or family do not communicate much each other and the children or wife live in disconnected spheres.

The divorce or separation sociologically means paying at least in two places to live on. It also means that family member couldn't longer anymore pool the earnings of them into one pot under the family role which is always important to subsist. In the pandemic era, added in fear and anxiety to enter a new space will expose to coronavirus. Under this condition, breaking up the family, divorce, separation and leaving home will unsafe during the crisis of pandemic covid.

This study emphasizes that economy issue is one of causes and consequences in which domestic violence arises during covid-19 outbreak. This can be explained as follows. The relation between domestic violence and economic distress is rooted from psychological aspect: anxiety, trauma, and frantic. Establishing the causal link between economic causes, violence and economic consequences move simultaneously is important. Some other issues may actually be responsible under the dynamic of this crisis. Nevertheless, under the number of domestic violence cases in many countries especially Indonesia, this study confirms that economy aspect (economic turbulence) that arises during pandemic crisis is the significant contributor to domestic violence cases. The pandemic, however, increase the rate severity domestic violence and abuse.

Women who live alone or women as heads of households will have a greater risk of social disadvantage because the gender roles constructed are more discriminatory towards women. Divorce conditions tend to make women vulnerable to poverty.

Conceptually (See Muliono, 2016), there are at least three main reasons why the poverty is female-faced: when they are in the family's private sphere (domestic realm), the value of labor division base on sexuality, and globalization (a wider social system). Faced with men, women are in weak positions and relationships. Women's access to financial resources in the family is very unfavorable. This fact is influenced by a paternalistic social-cultural system. The impact of this system is the produce of gender-biased legal products that tend to be more detrimental to women. The system of values, norms and some stereotypes, on the basis of political, cultural, and religious legitimacy, attached to women is one of the factors influencing the position and relationship of women to men in social structures and household.

The system of values or norms is a consensus and constructed by the community itself, which is hereditary by every citizen. The birth of social construct on women status and role is the result of community's view about biological differences between men and women. The worldview which produces oppression, exploitation and subordination of women in social relations, is contextually closely related to the current state of that socio-culture.

Nature of men and women biologically and genetically different is a reality as the nature of God that cannot be changed. However what later sparked the debate was when these natural differences then led to a diverse understanding of each person and community group. This difference of understanding is further known as the gender concept, namely some attributes that are attached to men and women who are socially and culturally constructed (Fakih, 1997). For example, female stereotypes known as gentle, motherly, emotional or more patient. While men are considered strong, rational, powerful and so forth. These stereotypes can be interchangeable and may be differ in different societies, depending on the culture and value system built up.

Chen (2005) mentions, "although in the current era of globalization the data of gender gap in many countries, especially on education aspect, has decreased, women's representation on the parliamentary level has increased, and women have increased in quantity in entering the labor market. However, the high level of education still remains ambiguous or crippling goals in all almost countries. Women are still at a small fraction of the wage system in many areas despite occupying more than one occupation in the informal economy.

Women as a social group are likely less power in adaptation to the existing socio-economic tensions. Due to limited opportunities or structural inequality, many of women are more dominant occupy jobs in the informal sector. Some become street vendors and others as scavengers, or even beggars. Limited opportunities and structural inequalities to women are not only triggered by the global system but are also hampered by socio-cultural systems at the local level.

Cultural understanding of women's issues, their status and role in social life are often biased constructed. Men domination in public space, then utter a cultural, legal and political product which is institutionalized through social institutions, ultimately create a kind of false awareness to women to obey them. For this condition Marx (in Schmitt 1987) commented that the material situation determines in general to social, political and intellectual processes. It means that the existence, social position of women determines awareness of their social role. Women

voluntarily accept their subordinate positions and even tend to forget them. Oppression is not considered as a problem. In that way, oppression is considered as not an oppression, even it considered as a nature. This condition which by Gramsci called as hegemony.

The oppression that is regarded as nature is essentially very encourage women in conditions that are very vulnerable to the social economy. Based on data disclosed by BPS, up to 2011, there were 5.90% of Indonesian women experiencing socio-economic vulnerability in urban areas and 12.03% in rural areas (BPS, 2012). It means that the problem of poverty is still very vulnerable against women. In a condition of poverty, the burden of suffering faced by women will tend to be greater than men both socially and psychologically. The proportion of increasing women living in this level of poverty is in other words termed with feminization of poverty.

Poor women, in fact, more suffer than men because in most societies women become as objects of social values that restrict them in improving their economic conditions or enjoying the equal access to public services. The discriminatory treatment toward women is also marked by the neglect of basic rights of girls who are cut off due to marriage before the age of 15-18 years old. This will (see BkkBn, 2015) potentially increase the maternal mortality rate (359/100,000 births), infant mortality rate (32/1000 births), childbirth malnutrition (4.5 million/year) which causes "lost generation" for the nation in the future. Or, impoverish girls and demean them because they have a potential to become child prostitution, slaves, or drug dealers in human trafficking.

This reality actually shows that men dominate and control women. For Foreman (1997), women in this condition are in an alienated position, because all their life activities are only completeness for others. Before marriage, women are more regulated by their parents and when they get married, their parents leave it to their husbands. The woman then belongs to her husband, takes care of her husband, his household, and when she becomes a mother, she also becomes a servant of her child. Women become alienated, according to Foreman, because their lives are always intended for the benefit of others, become part of others, and it also means that they lose their dignity.

What it is understood, experienced or become a woman's moral awareness about her social status and role, in fact a socially constructed system from values, norms and social ethics. This construction then becomes an ideology in the process of interaction, and is transformed from generation to generation through existing social institutions, for example family institution. So that since childhood, children have been burdened with normative rules, which are appropriate

for men and which are appropriate for women. These normative rules slowly shape the attitude, the character of the individual in playing his social role. This shows that patriarchal ideology will extend its hegemony towards women. The position of women is increasingly permanent as *kanca wingking*, male friends on the back line, and who is burdened with the obligation in taking care of the household. Therefore, their rights as social beings are shackled.

The product of socio-cultural system becomes the determinant, forming a working distinction between domestic and public realm that constructs the work appropriateness for women and men. Men are considered natural and should exist in the social world, business, industry and also in family life. Meanwhile, women are only increasingly confined in the "golden cage" of family because what is appropriate for them is domestic space. Women are more suitable to be servants of men in the household so that they are excluded from all participation in the production and social fields. Oppression which is considered as nature basically really pushes women in conditions that are very vulnerable to socio-economic conditions.

Some divorce cases, for instance, have very different impacts on men and women. Men may abdicate responsibilities while at the same time in fact women tend to find themselves at an increasing in burden that they must to self-sufficient and also meet the needs of their own children. Women are increasingly entangled in various responsibilities, care and raise for their children and work to support their household even though in many cases the wages they earned when they work does not balance compared to men.

In divorce cases, the effects arising between men and women are different. Men can give up responsibility while women are increasingly entangled in dual responsibilities, caring for and raising children while struggling to support the family even though in many cases the wages earned when working is unbalanced.

Women's struggle in overcoming the poverty becomes difficult because they have to go through two shackles. First, they fight the paternalistic social constructions. Second, they against poverty that it is already falling in them. This is where social institutions such as social norms, customs, rights and laws as well as economic institutions, such as markets, have contrastedly shaped the roles and relationships between men and women. These institutions influence the type of resources that women have access to, the type of activities they may or may not undertake, and in what forms they can participate in the economy and other public activities. The institution embodies

incentive that can either encourage or constrain. Even when formal and informal institutions do not explicitly distinguish between men and women, they are generally shaped (either explicitly or implicitly) by social norms relating to the appropriate roles for each gender.

Social institutions like this are usually not easy to change because they operate all the time in shaping gender relations early on and in bequeathing them on one generation to the next. A person makes many of the most basic decisions in his life in household realm such as determining where to work, tasks and productive resources are allocated between men and women, how much freedom is given to them, whether there are differences in hope and expectation between them. All this creates, reinforces gender inequalities. But, households do not make decisions alone. They make decisions within the context of the community and in ways that reflect the effects of incentives enforced by institutions and the wider environment.

The symptom of covid-19 causing the government like other countries in the world impose some restrictions, work from home and physical distancing. This is trigger the increasing of domestic violence. And, this is ironically consistent with the understanding of domestic violence goes up when families spend more time together. There is direct relationship as identified in sociology and gender literature (Booth, 2017; Sharma & Borah, 2020) when families spend more time together, the violence may occur as dynamic that can be attributed to human psychology. Based on this analysis covid pandemic can be seen as an indirect cause of domestic violence and abuse.

The policy taken by government to restrict certain place of daily social activity has led to loss of jobs, layoffs, loss or decrease income. Under the low income as many sociological scholars suggested is vulnerable to increase the domestic violence and abuse to family member both women and children. Even the family doesn't have a history of conflict which lead to abuse or violence. The situation where economic distress arises during covid outbreak due to financial strain and also lack of social support from government can trigger the violence. This is consistent with the literature (Sharma & Borah, 2020) that high-stress levels among couples increase the rate of violence 3.5 times more than among those with low-stress levels.

Beside it, domestic violence and divorce can be driven by a shift of responsibilities during the covid-19 outbreak. Recent research (Sharma & Borah, 2020) has suggested that lockdown policy raised by rare events like natural disasters and pandemics put families in close contact for prolonged periods. This reduces the safe time available and increases the

chances of domestic violence occurring. In other words, by the changing of responsibility in family it will change a quality of togetherness and when the victim is with abusive partner, there is an open opportunity to harass them by the abuser. The violence may occur as spending interaction in togetherness expose some various behaviors that may be not compatible one each other in household.

This study shows that women and livelihoods are more vulnerable to the pandemic covid outbreak in the midst of most people also affected negatively. The inequality is conspicuous. The repercussions of pandemic crisis go far beyond prevent disease transmission and reduce its impact. The social distancing policy in protecting against contamination in fact exposes the dysfunctional families that can be seen in violence and divorce. The violence such as physical, psychological and economic consequences domestic abuse and violence which culminate with divorce. This will ofcourse affect to their descendants too.

Women who earn, save, and hold less secure jobs are likely to be employed in the informal sector. In informal sector job, they will have less access to social protections and usually they are also the majority of single-parent households. Their capacity to absorb economic sources is therefore less than that of men.

Under this condition, the crisis of covid is clearly aggravating economic inequalities faced by women. The recent study reveals that the covid-19 pandemic will have disproportionate effect on women and their employment opportunities. This is likely to outlast the epidemic era. Based on UN data report (2021) it is estimated 740 million women around the world work in the informal economy sector. In developing economies such as Indonesia makes up 70% of women's employment. And, this kinds of informal job are the first to disappear in times of uncertain economic condition. In fact shows that the sectors most affected by the pandemic crisis are those women workers.

A lesson during the pandemic in the past, Ebola virus pademic, in Liberia up to 85% market traders are women. As long as the crisis they suffered higher levels of unemployment and loss of livelihood than men. The effect on insecurity economy and livelihoods of women lasted much longer. What then can be recommended is, the government must actively present and involve. The government must create economic and social policies that place economic lives of women at the heart of the pandemic response and its recovery plans and extend the basic protections in informal workers.

Women have fundamental health needs but at the same time they tend to have less access in quality

health services such as maternal and reproductive health care, insurance for routine and catastrophic health costs especially in rural and or marginalized communities. Some of the reasons above can be critically accepted why divorce become a choice even it hard to be done. The pandemic covid-19 crisis has made visible a fact that not only in health care activities but also economic activities and maintenance of daily family lives are built on unpaid labor and the invisible of women. Women works on average three times more unpaid care-work than men. Furthermore all household chores must to be handled at home. At the same time almost more than 87% children are at home instead of school. Women is taking a full-time childcare, homeschooling, household tasks generally get assigned to a household's women.

This unpaid labor burden, however, makes women less time for paid work or career advancement, which then trigger the existing economic and social inequalities. The pandemic crisis made this problem become more visible and be a bigger challenge for women. Crowded homes, substance abuse, limited access to services are exacerbating the condition of domestic violence. Many of women in the pandemic crisis are trapped in their own homes with the abusers. Covid-19 pandemic crisis quarantining has become a way in which domestic violence arises.

Poor women or women in middle or lower class will be more likely to suffer in and after divorce cases. The negative influence of domestic violence and divorce is not only on nuclear family relations but also on family members within, impacting in the devastation of family and children relationships which can later then be a source of other social problems. The presence of covid-19 becomes a form of crisis in crises especially for women in developing country such as Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia as a developing country experienced the most affected by Covid-19 in Southeast Asia. This is definitely very disturbing especially for the implication towards women not only to their health aspect but also to the symptoms of domestic violence and its impact, that is divorce. Therefore this condition is called as crisis within crisis during the covid-19 outbreak.

This study employs a gender analysis approach related to pandemic conditions and their impact on women both in cases of violence and divorce during the enforced of breaking covid-19 pandemic chain policy. The impact of covid-19 crisis go far beyond the policy taken to prevent its impact transmission.

Although, social distancing become the one way to protect against contamination, it at the same time exposes a new crisis that is dysfunctional family emergences to the emotional, economic, and physical consequences domestic violence.

The trend of domestic violence and its impact on the decision to end family relations is a form of crisis happening during the Covid-19 outbreak crisis. This crisis is caused by the intertwined and prevalence of inequalities of social structures, value systems, and unequal power relations in the reality of Indonesian society. This violence is triggered by psychological anxiety as the government makes efforts to flatten the curve of corona virus cases and the weak public awareness towards domestic violence's risk management.

Covid-19 along with its effects such as the economic crisis, psychological anxiety, and uncertainty are the main triggering factors. Work from home or social distancing policies affect in lost and reduced family income which directly impacts to anxiety and triggers domestic violence, violence against women, and divorce. Subsequently, the situation as a whole can produce feelings of fear. The risks of loss or separation of parents, due to the isolation or quarantine, which can leave the child unattended by an adult, or depending on the child's age, by the head of the family are among the many problems caused by the outbreak. Families, especially women, in unfavorable social economic conditions or living in overcrowded areas are particularly vulnerable to this situation.

The main factors which increase a women in under vulnerability in occurrence domestic violence can be mapped as individual, relational, community social dimensions that act synergistically, health, economic, and social crisis. In the covid-19 outbreak these aspects very necessary to be understood and other things that is greatly able to increase violence against women's risk. And, the main key to understanding domestic violence in this covid-19 outbreak situation from a gender perspective is to provide an understanding where the root of violence lies in the unequal power relations between men and women that has been established in society.

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