

BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI Q3

Judul Artikel : The Social Resilience of Women in Coastal Villages of East Java during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Penulis : 1. Emy Susanti; 2 Tri Soesantari; 3. Sutinah; and 4. Henny Rosalinda

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Social Resilience and the Important Roles of Women in Coastal Villages of East Java to Survive during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

During COVID-19 pandemic, the living conditions of rural women in coastal areas of East Java became increasingly difficult. The aim of this study is to reveal the important roles of women and their social resilience capacity to survive during COVID-19 pandemic. This research was conducted in poor coastal villages in the province of East Java, namely: 1) Surabaya City with multicultural characteristics; 2) Situbondo Regency with Javanese–Madurese mixed cultural characteristics and 3) Tuban Regency with Javanese cultural characteristics. The subjects of this study were married women under 45 years old (productive age) who have children and live in the locations of the study. Data collection was conducted for 2 months using a structured interview technique (questionnaire) with 185 respondents and applying an in-depth interview technique with as many as 18 informants, including women and local leaders. The results of this study indicate the ‘coping’ and ‘adaptive’ capacities of women to survive during COVID-19 pandemic. Although women’s work in these coastal villages was categorized as unskilled work with small income, women were still working to overcome the direct threat, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, through directly available resources (such as skills, time, family and neighborhood ties). However, this study shows only a little ‘transformative’ type of capacities whereby women have access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. This study shows a strong patriarchal culture influencing the lives of poor coastal rural women. This study reveals that the role of women is very important in maintaining family health, actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and meeting income shortages for family life needs. In the coastal villages of East Java, women’s role is the key to fostering social resilience that provides a way to survive during COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Coastal Village, Covid-19 Pandemic, Patriarchy, Social Resilience, Women

Introduction

As an archipelago nation, Indonesia is the second highest marine fish producing country in the world. From a total population of over 250 million, over six million people are involved in fisheries and aquaculture in Indonesia, with approximately 95% of fishery production coming from small-scale fishers (FAO, 2016). There is considerable diversity in small-scale fishing (SSF) activities in Indonesia, which varies depending on the species targeted, gear used, seasonality of the catch and the nature of markets (domestic or export). Many people, including women, men, youths and children, are involved in distinct aspects of pre-production, production, post-harvest processing. Other people are involved in the trade of fish and other marine resources. Different fisheries-based livelihood strategies have been adopted by social groups in the coastal villages communities. The strategies are influenced by preferences and cultural heritage, including the availability of alternative livelihood options, access to productive resources and geography. Previous studies in Indonesia show that the only source of income to support most households or to contribute to most households' income comes from the activities of fishing and seafood processing activities (Stacey et al, 2019).

There are about 42% or more of the people, including women and children, engaged in fisheries in Indonesia applying traditional technology (Ariadno and Amelina, 2016). Similar to the situation in other countries, in Indonesia women are under-represented in fisheries development and policy, governance, and marine and habitat management programmes (Alami and Raharjo, 2017). The life of women in East Java coastal villages is generally classified as poor. Many women work in seafood processing, which often has a negative impact on health and social environment. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the living conditions for rural women in coastal areas became increasingly difficult. We need to get a deep understanding of their social resilience capacities as well as how women and their

families in coastal villages survived during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Social resilience is about social entities and their ability to tolerate, absorb, cope with and adapt to various types of environmental and social threats. Social resilience includes various types of assets, in the form of economic capital, physical capital, natural capital, human capital, etc. Assets are widely recognized as products of social relationships, social capital and social networks and are recognized as playing a key role in building and maintaining social resilience. Broadly, social resilience also includes the rules and norms structured by social practices that fundamentally determine their structure and distribution. It reflects power relations (which may be unequal) in society, and is a major determinant of social resilience. Furthermore, an important aspect of social resilience is the power to determine what is considered a threat or disaster and what is not.

This study of coastal village women is not merely looking at social resilience capacities in intra-household relationships, since that is not sufficient to understand the strategies of social resilience for the long-term. This study also looks at the social resilience capacities of women in the community with the assumption these capacities will influence their ability to survive. Whether within or beyond the family, whether with women or men, these wider relationships are part of the patriarchal structure (Walby, 1989). A system of patriarchy is a key concept that reveals the capacities of social resilience among poor families of coastal villages, particularly in the roles of women in their family and community. The aim of this study is to reveal the capacities of social resilience and the role of women in maintaining their family life and to show how gender relations take place during COVID-19 pandemic.

Research Method

This research used a gender perspective whereby the research was carried out with active participation of the research subjects—women—and focussed on gender relations. This research was conducted at coastal villages in the province of East Java and was determined based on specific cultures, namely: 1) Surabaya City with multicultural characteristics; 2) Situbondo Regency with Javanese–Madurese mixed cultural characteristics; and 3) Tuban Regency with Javanese cultural characteristics. The subjects of this study were married women under 45 years old (productive age) who had children and lived at coastal villages in the locations of the study. The data was collected using a structured interview technique (questionnaire) directed to women as respondents that had been chosen purposely. For 2 months, 185 respondents were interviewed using the questionnaire (64 respondents at Surabaya City; 60 respondents at Tuban Regency and 61 respondents at Situbondo Regency). This study also applied in-depth interview techniques with women and local leaders. Data analysis was conducted using SPSS and transcription.

Results and Discussion

The concept of social resilience, in addition to focusing on individuals, also focuses on households and communities by looking at the way they face threats. This includes their capacity to respond, which then develops in the learning and adaptation stages, acknowledging the important role that power, politics and participation play in times of uncertainty and shock. Social Resilience includes the timely capacity of individuals and groups—families and communities—to respond to disruption and disaster, including their capacities to be more productive during times of stability and to adapt, reorganize and grow (Van Breda, 2018)

According to Keck and Sakdapolrak, there are three types of capacities included within the notion of social resilience (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013). These three types of capacities are: 1) Coping capacities, or “re-active” and “absorptive” capacities, that determine how people cope with and overcome immediate threats by the means of directly available resources; 2) Adaptive capacities, or “pro-active” or “preventive” capacities, that people employ to learn from past experiences, anticipate future risks and adjust their livelihoods accordingly; 3) Transformative capacities include people’s ability to access assets and assistance from the wider socio-political arena and to craft institutions that improve their individual welfare and foster societal robustness toward future crises.

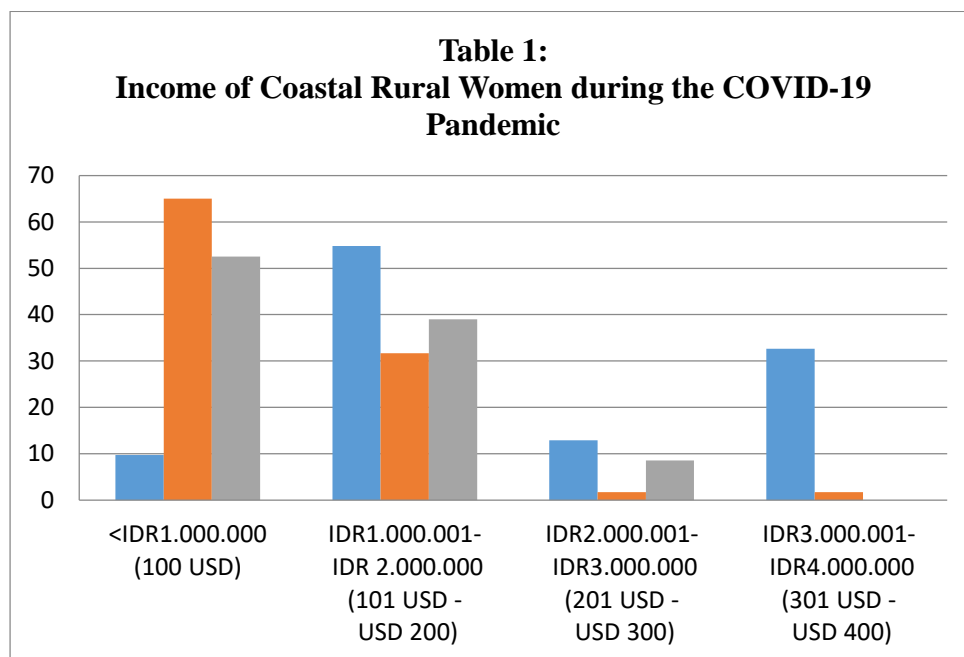
The concept of patriarchy is important for understanding women's lives, since the system of patriarchy presents obstacles to their advancement and development. Despite variations in levels of domination in different countries and areas, the broad principles remain the same: Men are in control. Although the nature of this control may differ, it is necessary to understand how the system of

patriarchy keeps women dominated and subordinate. It is also important to unravel how patriarchy works against women's development in order to work towards their development in a systematic way. Patriarchy creates obstacles that prevent women from moving forward by their own merit in society. Patriarchal society gives absolute priority to men and, to some extent, limits women's human rights also. Patriarchy refers to male domination in public and private spheres. Patriarchal institutions and social relations are responsible for the inferior, or secondary, status of women. Thus, feminists use the term patriarchy to describe the power relationship between men and women as they look for the root causes of women's subordination (Walby, 1989 and Walby, 2013). This study looks at how women and social networks play a key role in building the social resilience necessary to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Women's Work, Family and the Capacities of Social Resilience

Women in coastal villages in this study were busy every day with processing marine products on the one hand and managing households on the other hand. However, this study shows their coping capacities to create social resilience, namely through "reactive" and "absorbent" steps described above. Women in these coastal villages cope with the direct threat, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, by using directly available resources. These women, who have young children, take steps that can be called reactive and absorbent. This study shows that these poor coastal village women live with limitations in incomes that fall below the national average wage.

The incomes of women in the coastal villages were low: women received less than IDR 2 M (equivalent to USD 200) per month. This income was under the national wages standard, which is about IDR 3.8 M (equivalent to USD 350). The income of women in Tuban Regency was lower than in Surabaya City. Previous studies in Pacific countries and in other area of Indonesia also indicate the lower income of women living in coastal villages (Alami, et al, 2017; Kleiber, et. Al, 2018).

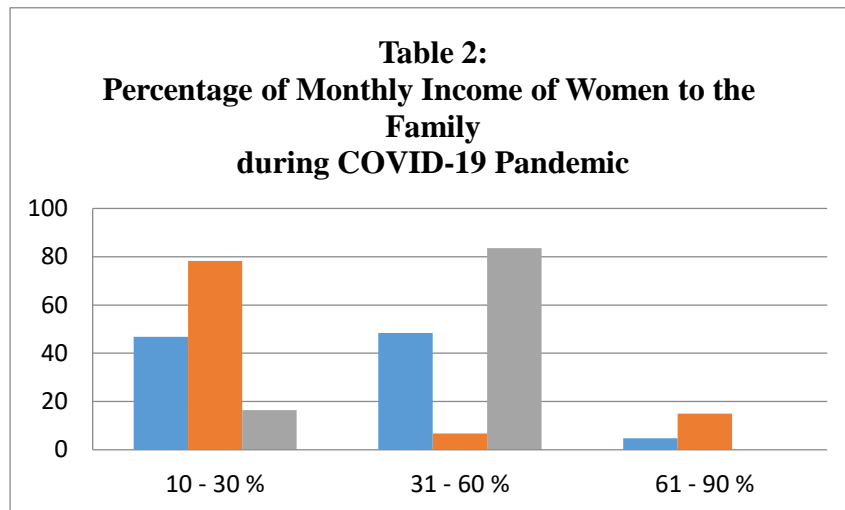


Source: primary data

Although the women's income was low, they contributed a significant amount of income to their families. The majority of women produced up to 60% of their families' income. The majority of women in Surabaya contribute up to 60% to their families' income and the women in Tuban contribute up to 30% to their families' income. Women contributed a significant amount to their families during the COVID-19 pandemic. As stated by a local leader;

“Here in this village, during the COVID-19 pandemic the activities of husbands who work as fishermen decreased because some were sick and didn't go to sea to look for fish. To cover our daily food needs, we only depend on the income of my wife who process and sell seafood.” (Mr. Mahmud, 51 years old, Chair of Neighborhood Community, Situbondo Regency).

As stated by one of the local leaders, women in coastal villages make a big contribution to family finances that allows them to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results of this study indicate that about half of women in coastal villages produce more than half of their family income. In Situbondo Regency, half of women produced 83.6% and in Tuban Regency, women produced 48.4% of their family's income. Other studies in Indonesia and the Philippines also show that women's work at seafood processing in coastal village produces a significant amount of their families' income (Pomeroy, et al, 2017; Loneragan, et al, 2018).

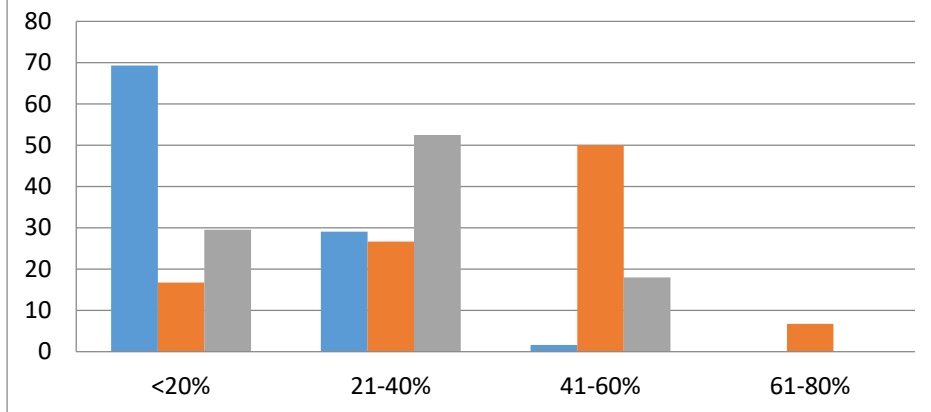


Source: primary data

The types of work performed by coastal rural women included seafood processing, packing and sales. Only about 5% of women worked in management or finance. The Seafood production during Covid-19 pandemic was decreased. The percentage of decreased production during the pandemic was considerable. Production in Surabaya decreased up to 40% and in Tuban it decreased up to 60%. This study found that the majority of women in coastal villages work in processing, namely cooking, seafood. Cooking is a specific skill most women possess that requires no special training. Women have been working for decades in this kind of job. In Surabaya, some women work in sales at the stores or work in packing. Similar studies in Philippines and Zambia found that women in coastal villages work in seafood processing (Pomeroy, et al, 2017; Rajaratnam, et al, 2016).

From these facts, we should make note that although women's work in coastal villages is categorized as unskilled, women are still taking "reactive" steps to overcome the direct threat of the COVID-19 pandemic by using their directly available resources (i.e. Their skills, time and limited incomes). Previous studies in Africa also show that women rely on their relatives to survive during disaster periods (Kawarazuka, et al, 2019 and Kawarazuka, et al, 2017).

**Table 3:
The Percentage of Decreased Production during
COVID-19 Pandemic**



Source: primary data

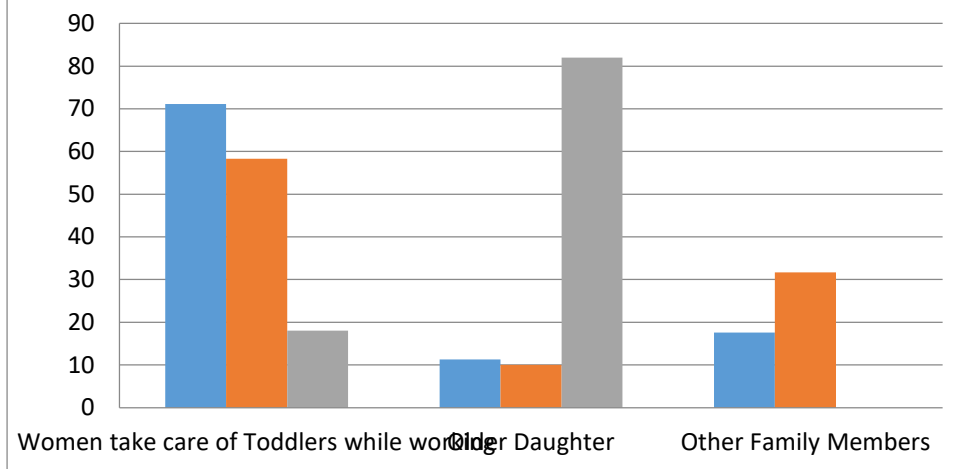
During the Covid-19 pandemic, the seafood production has decreased. Women still work in the seafood processing although the production decreased significantly. This study reveals that there was a disguised unemployment among women in the coastal villages of East Java. This fact also shows the social resilience capacity of women who take the step of continuing to work in order to "absorb" and overcome the direct threat by using directly available resources (i.e. skills, time and family ties). A study in Nigeria found that social resilience capacity of women during disaster is increased by depending on their relatives (Akinsemolu and Olukoya, 2020).

Social Resilience, Women's Role and Patriarchy

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women continued to work in seafood processing. This study shows the women's adaptive capacities, or the "pro-active" or "preventive" measures they take. In these coastal villages, women learned from past experiences, anticipated future risks and adjusted their livelihoods. This study also reveals their transformative capacities to access assets and assistance from government and the wider socio-political system. These capabilities allow them to craft institutions that improve their individual welfare and foster societal robustness toward future crises.

The majority of women with toddlers must take care of their children while working. These women are experiencing extra burdens during the "new normal." The women are working with their children in dangerous situations. Many children are around their mothers as they cook seafood in large skillets and pots over big fires. Other children accompany their mothers as they sell seafood products on the side of busy roads. The results of this study shows that many women bear multiple burdens and receive little or no protection at work.

**Table 4:
Who takes care of Toddlers while Working during
COVID-19 Pandemic**



Source: primary data

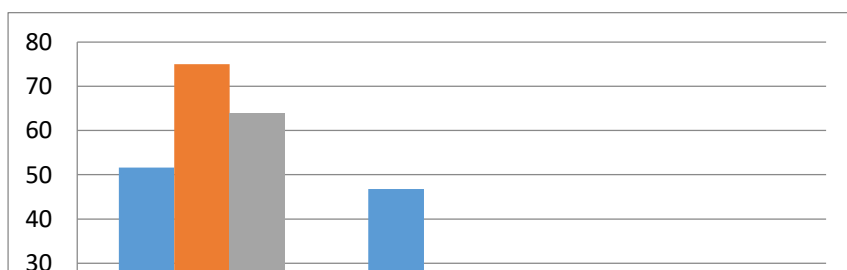
Although the production of seafood has been reduced during the COVID-19 Pandemic, many women continue working even when they are pregnant. Most of the pregnant women at coastal villages said that their working hours were reduced by 50%. This was confirmed by one participant in the study (Mrs. Ano, 29 years old, Surabaya City).

Furthermore, this study shows that during the COVID-19 pandemic, because of the ‘study from home’ policy, the children in the coastal villages, like the children in other areas, stay at home almost all day. Therefore, the majority of coastal women in East Java villages have difficulty combining work and household tasks. Most women stated that they ‘sometimes’ and even ‘often’ or ‘very often’ have difficulty combining work and household tasks. There was no significant difference between women's situations in Surabaya City, Situbondo Regency and Tuban Regency. Despite these difficulties, the women were still working processing seafood at home. Although during the COVID-19 pandemic the husbands were also at home, domestic duties remained a burden primarily for the women.

This study reveals the adaptive capacities of coastal women to take pro-active or preventive measures by learning from past experiences, anticipating future risks and adjusting their livelihoods accordingly. These capabilities improve their individual welfare and foster social resilience toward future crises. This study shows that these women were living and working within a patriarchal culture and that their social resilience in this situation demonstrated adaptative capacities in response to patriarchy. A previous study indicates similar results insofar as women's social relationships are part of the patriarchal structure, whether with women or men, and whether within or outside of the family (Meinzen-Dick et al, 2014; Wencélius et al, 2016). Patriarchal culture and structure are key concepts that require capacities of social resilience among poor families, and particularly women, in coastal villages.

Women play a very important role in maintaining family health and in actively seeking information and assistance to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic and to meet income shortages for family needs. During the COVID-19 pandemic, women played a significant role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors and local leaders.

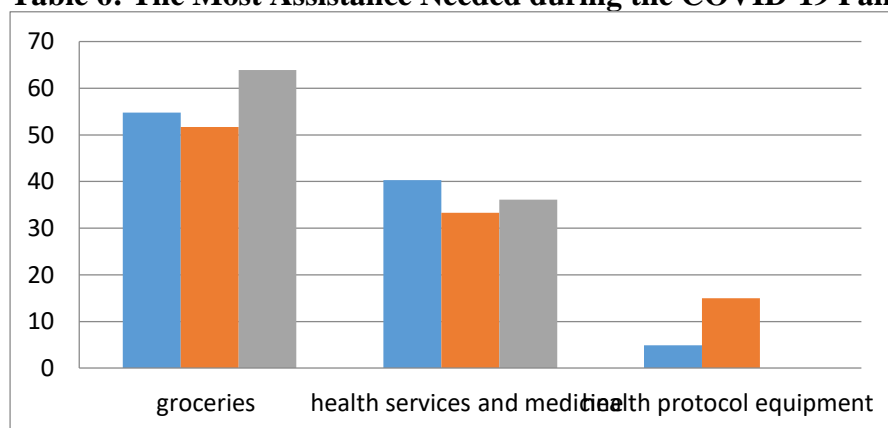
Table 5: The Party Who were ready to help Coastal Rural Women during COVID-19 Pandemic



Source: primary data

The parties who often helped coastal rural women during the COVID-19 pandemic were the owners of the businesses where they worked and their extended families. Some women got loans at high interest rates from moneylenders. No specific assistance was received from local government and others. This study reveals that women at coastal village of East Java played important roles in ensuring their families' and their own survival and that their social resilience was community based. This study confirms previous studies in coastal villages in other parts of Indonesia that examined fisherwomen's roles in fishery resource management and creating strong social networks (Alami and Raharjo, 2017; Loneragan et al, 2018). This study indicates, along with a prior study, that women were 'bargaining with patriarchy'(Ali, 2014). For the sake of their daily and long-term survival, women were creatively negotiating for better options and outcomes for themselves and their families. A study of a poor community in Guatemala also shows that patriarchy is negotiable and that women create opportunities to negotiate within and beyond their intra-household relationships (Beck, 2017).

Table 6: The Most Assistance Needed during the COVID-19 Pandemic



Source: primary data

For coastal rural women, the most important type of assistance needed during the Covid-19 pandemic was groceries. The need for health services and medicine was another important form of assistance needed. This study shows only a little evidence of 'transformative' capacities whereby women access assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. Women only got assistance from their family and through neighborhood ties in the community. This situation is similar to that described in a study in Zambia before COVID-19 pandemic, which showed that in general the 'transformative' capacities of women were low (Rajaratnam et. al, 2016). There was no specific assistance for women in coastal rural areas, since the work of fishing is considered to be men's work (Steenbergen et al, 2017).

During the Covid-19 pandemic, the role of women was very important in maintaining family health and in actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19. This study reveals that coastal rural women of East Java have the capacities of 'coping' and 'adapting' to develop social resilience. We can see this in the description of one woman's life on the rural coast of Surabaya City:

"Mrs. Badi is a fish cracker producer and trader who sells at the Kenjeran Beach Amusement Park. Since the Amusement Park was temporarily closed due to COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Badi selling fish crackers in front of her sister's house. Mrs. Badi was born in 1970, has two

daughters and four grandchildren. Mrs. Badi runs a fish cracker business which is an inheritance from her family. The inheritance of the fish business had been passed down from their parent. Since the 5th grade of Primary School, Mrs. Badi has been taught how to process fish by her parents. According to her, this is done because the fish business will be passed on to her. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Badi collaborated with several supermarkets in Surabaya. Mrs Badi also sell fish crackers to several shops in the Amusement park. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Badi's income had greatly decreased, this was due to the lack of buyers who came directly to her shop. During the COVID-19 pandemic she only worked with her husband, in contrast to before the COVID-19 pandemic who had 5 employees to run her business. In household matters, Mrs. Badi was assisted by her eldest daughter so that she can ease Mrs. Badi domestic work.” (Mrs Badi, 45 years old, married, owner of seafood products small store in Surabaya City)

What we could learn from this description is that there are important links between traditional family ties, women's multiple burdens, unequal gender relations, patriarchy inheritance (i.e. 'unskilled' work) and survival strategies.

The results of this study indicate that the issue of gender inequality surrounding the lives of coastal rural women shows a strong patriarchal culture. In the three coastal villages of Surabaya, Tuban and Situbondo men work as fishermen to find and harvest seafood while women work in marine product processing (while taking care of their household and participating in the social life of their neighbors). This study shows the capacities of women to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic by using 'coping' and 'adaptive' capacities. Although women's work in coastal villages was categorized as unskilled work with small income, women are still working to overcome the direct threat, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, by using their directly available resources (i.e. skills, time, family and neighborhood ties). However, this study shows few 'transformative' types of capacities, because women only had limited access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. This study reveals that the role of women is very important in maintaining family health, actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and in meeting income shortages for family needs. In the coastal villages of East Java, women's role is the key to social resilience that provides a way to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Conclusion

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women played an important role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors and local leaders. In a strong patriarchal culture, women in coastal villages are the key to social resilience that provides a way to survive in the “new normal.” Women also participated in the social life of their neighbors, helped each other to get information about the COVID-19 pandemic and learned how to protect their families. Coastal rural women have three important capacities for building social resilience: namely the capacities to cope, adapt and transform. The results of this study reveal that the issue of gender inequality surrounding the lives of coastal rural women at East Java shows a strong patriarchal culture. In the different cultures of the three coastal villages of Tuban, Surabaya and Situbondo, men work as fishermen while women work in marine product processing (while taking care of the household and participating in the social life of their neighbors and bearing multiple burdens). During the Covid-19 pandemic, the role of women was very important in maintaining family health, actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and meeting income shortages for family needs. In the “new normal,” women played a role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors and local leaders. In a strong patriarchal culture, the role of women in coastal villages was a key to building social resilience that provides a way to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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Social Resilience and the Important Roles of Women in Coastal Villages of East Java to Survive during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

During COVID-19 pandemic, the living conditions of rural women in coastal areas of East Java became increasingly difficult. The aim of this study is to reveal the important roles of women and their social resilience to survive during COVID-19 pandemic. This research was conducted in poor coastal villages in the province of East Java, namely: 1) Surabaya City with multicultural characteristics; 2) Situbondo Regency with Javanese–Madurese mixed cultural characteristics and 3) Tuban Regency with Javanese cultural characteristics. The subjects of this study were married women who have children and live in the locations of the study. Data collection was conducted for 2 months (June-July 2021) (June-July 2021) using a structured interview technique (questionnaire) with 185 respondents and applying an in-depth interview technique with as many as 18 informants, including women and local leaders. The results of this study indicate the ‘coping’ and ‘adaptive’ capacities of women to survive during COVID-19 pandemic. Although women’s work in these coastal villages was categorized as unskilled work with small income, women were still working to overcome the direct threat, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, through directly available resources (such as skills, time, family and neighborhood ties). However, this study shows only a little ‘transformative’ type of capacities whereby women have access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. This study shows a strong patriarchal culture influencing the lives of poor coastal rural women. This study reveals that the role of women is very important in maintaining family health and meeting income shortages for family life needs during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Women’s Role, Coastal Village, COVID-19 Pandemic, Patriarchy, Social Resilience

Introduction

As an archipelago nation, Indonesia is the second highest marine fish producing country in the world. From a total population of over 250 million, over six million people are involved in fisheries and aquaculture in Indonesia, with approximately 95% of fishery production coming from small-scale fishers (FAO, [2016](#)). There is considerable diversity in small-scale fishing (SSF) activities in Indonesia, which varies depending on the species targeted, gear used, seasonality of the catch and the nature of markets (domestic or export). Many people, including women, men, youths and children, are involved in distinct aspects of pre-production, production, post-harvest processing. Other people are involved in the trade of fish and other marine resources. Different fisheries-based livelihood strategies have been adopted by social groups in the coastal village communities. The strategies are influenced by preferences and cultural heritage, including the availability of alternative livelihood options, access to productive resources and geography. Previous studies in Indonesia show that the only source of income to support most households or to contribute to most households' income comes from the activities of fishing and seafood processing activities ([Stacey et. al, 2019](#)).

There are about 42% or more of the people, including women and children, engaged in fisheries in Indonesia applying traditional technology (Ariadno and Amelina, [2016](#)). Similar to the

situation in other countries, in Indonesia women are under-represented in fisheries development and policy, governance, and marine and habitat management program (Alami and Raharjo, [2017](#)). The life of women in East Java coastal villages is generally classified as poor. Many women work in seafood processing, which often has a negative impact on health and social environment. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the living conditions for rural women in coastal areas became increasingly difficult. We need to get a deep understanding of their social resilience as well as how women and their families in coastal villages survived during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Social resilience is about social entities and their ability to tolerate, absorb, cope with and adapt to various types of environmental and social threats. Social resilience includes various types of assets, in the form of economic capital, physical capital, natural capital, human capital, etc. (Ungar, 2008). Assets are widely recognized as products of social relationships, social capital and social networks and are recognized as playing a key role in building and maintaining social resilience. Broadly, social resilience also includes the rules and norms structured by social practices that fundamentally determine their structure and distribution. It reflects power relations in society, and is a major determinant of social resilience (Cinner & Barnes, 2019). Furthermore, an important aspect of social resilience is the power to determine what is considered a threat or disaster and what is not.

This study of coastal village women is not merely looking at social resilience capacities in intra-household relationships, since that is not sufficient to understand the strategies of social resilience for the long-term. This study also looks at the social resilience capacities of women in the community with the assumption that these capacities will influence their ability to survive. It should be noted whether within or beyond the family, whether with women or men, these wider relationships are part of the patriarchal structure (Walby, 1989). A system of patriarchy is a key concept that reveals the capacities or lack of capacity of social resilience among poor families of coastal villages, particularly the roles of women in their family and community. The interconnection between patriarchy and social resilience is needed to be explored. The aim of this study is to reveal the capacities of social resilience and the role of women in maintaining their family life and to show how gender relations take place during COVID-19 pandemic.

Research Method

This research used a gender perspective whereby the research was carried out with active participation of the research subjects—women—and focused on gender relations. This research was conducted at coastal villages in the province of East Java and was determined based on specific cultural characteristics, namely: 1) Surabaya City with multicultural characteristic; 2) Situbondo Regency with Javanese–Madurese mixed cultural characteristic; and 3) Tuban Regency with Javanese cultural characteristic. The subjects of this study were married women who had children and lived at coastal villages in the locations of the study. The data was collected by research team assisted by our students using a structured interview technique (questionnaire) – offline - directed to women as respondents that had been chosen purposely. During 2 months (June-July 2021), 185 respondents were interviewed using the questionnaire (64 respondents at Surabaya City; 60 respondents at Tuban Regency and 61 respondents at Situbondo Regency). This study also applied in-depth interview technique with as many as 18 informants - women and local leaders. The data processing was using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) technique for data from questionnaire and transcription technique for data from in-depth interviews. The process of data analysis was using inductive technique, from empirical data to theoretical analysis and conclusion.

Results and Discussion

The concept of social resilience, in addition to focusing on individuals, also focuses on households and communities by looking at the way they face threats. This includes their capacity to respond, which then develops in the learning and adaptation stages, acknowledging the important role that power, politics and participation play in times of uncertainty and shock. Social Resilience includes the timely capacity of individuals and groups—families and communities—to respond to disruption and disaster, including their capacities to be more productive during times of stability and to adapt, reorganize and grow (Van Breda, 2018).

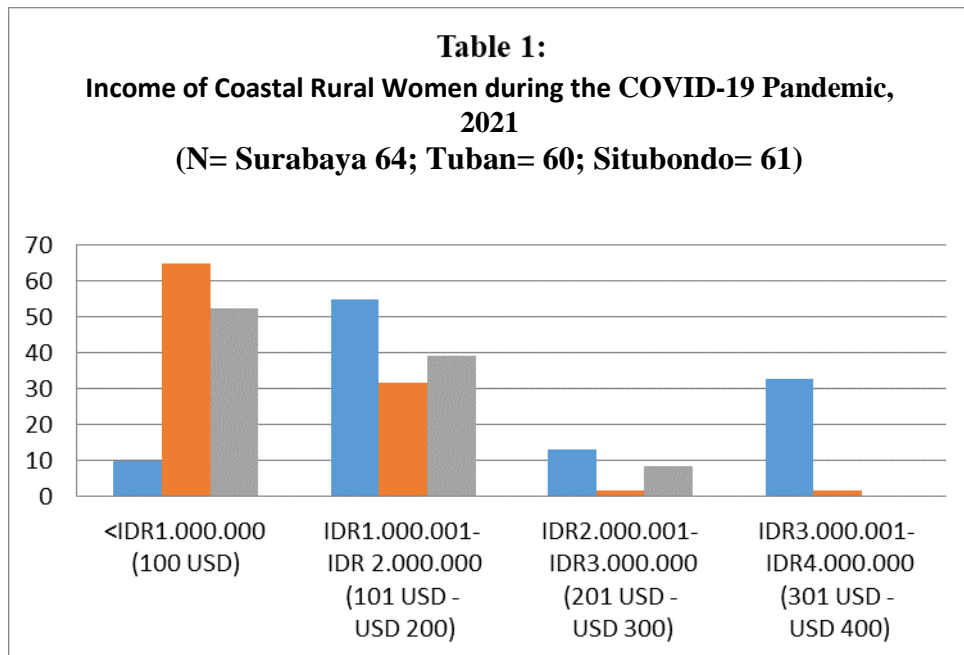
According to Keck and Sakdapolrak, there are three types of capacities included within the notion of social resilience (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013). These three types of capacities are: 1) Coping capacities, or “re-active” and “absorptive” capacities, that determine how people cope with and overcome immediate threats by the means of directly available resources; 2) Adaptive capacities, or “pro-active” or “preventive” capacities, that people employ to learn from past experiences, anticipate future risks and adjust their livelihoods accordingly; 3) Transformative capacities include people’s ability to access assets and assistance from the wider socio-political arena and to craft institutions that improve their individual welfare and foster societal robustness toward future crises.

The concept of patriarchy is important for understanding women's lives, since the system of patriarchy presents obstacles to their advancement and development. Despite variations in levels of domination in different countries and areas, the broad principles remain the same: Men are in control. Although the nature of this control may differ, it is necessary to understand how the system of patriarchy keeps women dominated and subordinate. It is also important to unravel how patriarchy works against women's development in order to work towards their development in a systematic way. Patriarchy creates obstacles that prevent women from moving forward by their own merit in society. Patriarchal society gives absolute priority to men and, to some extent, limits women’s human rights also. Patriarchy refers to male domination in public and private spheres. In general, Patriarchal institutions and social relations are responsible for the inferior, or secondary, status of women. Thus, feminists use the term patriarchy to describe the power relationship between men and women as they look for the root causes of women’s subordination (Walby, 1989 and Walby, 2013). The results of this study reveals that women were able to cope with patriarchal system and play a key role in building the social resilience necessary to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Women’s Work, Family and the Capacities of Social Resilience

This study shows their coping capacities to create social resilience, namely through "reactive" and "absorbent" steps described above. Women in coastal villages in this study were busy every day with processing marine products on the one hand and managing households on the other hand. However, Women in these coastal villages cope with the direct threat, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, by using directly available resources. This study shows that these poor coastal village women live with limitations in incomes that fall below the national average wage (see table 1).

The incomes of women in the coastal villages were low: women received less than IDR 2 M (equivalent to USD 200) per month. This income was under the national wage standard, which is about IDR 3.8 M (equivalent to USD 350). The income of women in Tuban Regency was lower than in Surabaya City. Previous studies in Pacific countries and in other area of Indonesia also indicates the lower income of women living in coastal villages (Alami, et al, 2017; Kleiber, et. Al, 2018).

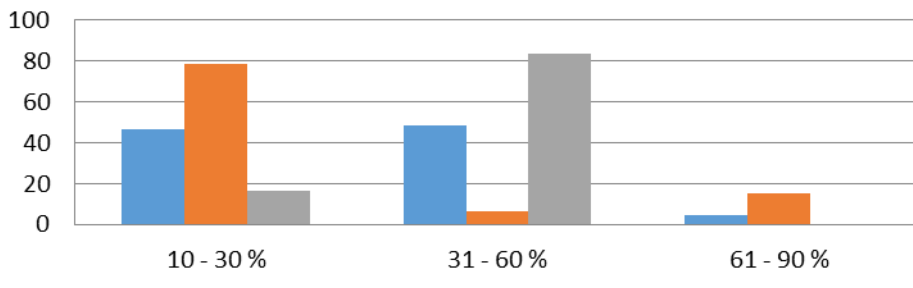


Although the women's income was low, they contributed a significant amount of income to their families. The majority of women produced up to 60% of their families' income. The majority of women in Surabaya contribute up to 60% to their families' income and the women in Tuban contribute up to 30% to their families' income. Women contributed a significant amount to their families during the COVID-19 pandemic. As stated by a local leader;

Here in this village, during the COVID-19 pandemic the activities of husbands who work as fishermen decreased because some were sick and didn't go to sea to look for fish. To cover our daily food needs, we only depend on the income of my wife who process and sell seafood (Mr. Mhd, 51 years old, Chair of Neighborhood Community, Situbondo Regency, July, 2021).

As stated by one of the local leaders, women in coastal villages make a significant contribution to family finances that allows them to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic. During COVID-19 pandemic, women continue to work and earn income, meanwhile their husbands don't work or work part time with small income. The results of this study indicate that about half of women in coastal villages produce more than half of their family income. In Situbondo Regency, half of women produced 83.6% and in Tuban Regency, women produced 48.4% of their family's income. Other studies in Indonesia and the Philippines also show that women's work at seafood processing in coastal village produces a significant amount of their families' income (Pomeroy, et al, 2017; Loneragan, et al, 2018).

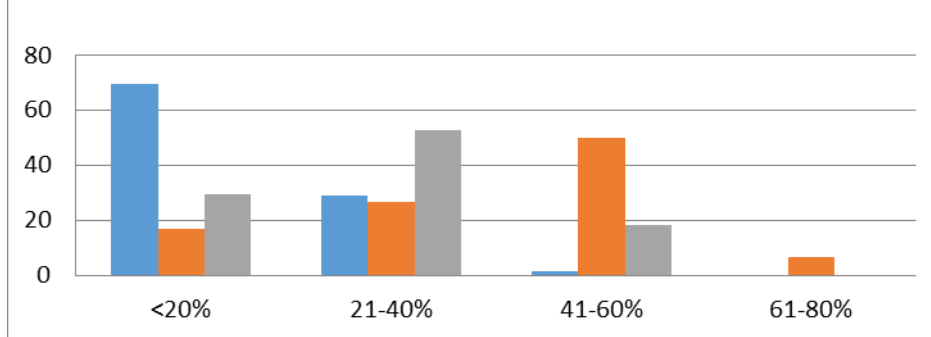
Table 2:
Percentage of Monthly Income of Women to the Family
during the COVID-19 Pandemic, 2021
(N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)



The types of work performed by coastal rural women included seafood processing, packing and sales. Only about 5% of women worked in management or finance. Seafood production during COVID-19 pandemic was decreased. The percentage of decreased production during the pandemic was considerable. Production in Surabaya decreased up to 40% and in Tuban it decreased up to 60%. This study found that the majority of women in coastal villages work in processing, namely cooking seafood. Cooking is a specific skill most women possess that requires no special training. This norm comes out from the traditional gender division of labor in which the training is performed through traditional gender roles. Women have been working for decades in this kind of job. In Surabaya, some women work in sales at the stores or work in packing. Similar studies in Philippines and Zambia found that women in coastal villages work in seafood processing (Pomeroy, et al, 2017; Rajaratnam, et al, 2016).

From these facts, we could take note that although women's work in coastal villages is categorized as unskilled, women are still taking steps to overcome the direct threat of the COVID-19 pandemic by using their directly available resources ("reactive" step of social resilience). Women in this study have no alternatives to get income for their families because of their limitation of skill and time. This study shows that although the production of seafood processing has been decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic, women in the coastal villages have been survive since women rely on their relatives as stated by a woman, mother of three year old son. She said "I still have to work because my husband doesn't work during the COVID-19 pandemic, my relatives help a lot with food delivery, but I don't want to depend on relatives only to survive" (Mrs Eka, 32 year old in Tuban Regency, July, 2021). Previous studies in Africa also show that women rely on their relatives to survive during disaster periods (Kawarazuka, et al, 2019 and Kawarazuka, et al, 2017).

Table 3:
The Percentage of Decreased Production during the COVID-19 Pandemic, 2021
(N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)



During the COVID-19 pandemic, the seafood production has decreased. Women still work in the seafood processing although the production decreased significantly. This study reveals that there was a disguised unemployment among women in the coastal villages of East Java. This fact also shows the social resilience capacity of women who take the step of continuing to work in order to "absorb" and overcome the direct threat by using directly available resources (i.e. skills, time and family ties). A study in Nigeria found that social resilience capacity of women during disaster is increased by depending on their relatives (Akinsemolu and Olukoya, 2020).

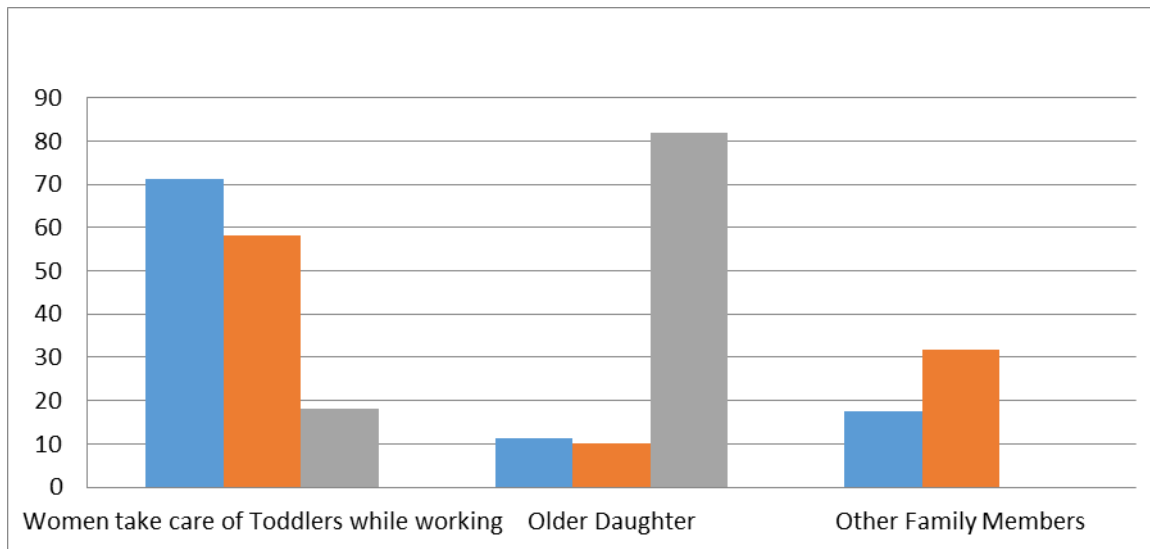
Social Resilience, Women's Role and Patriarchy

The system of patriarchy presents obstacles to the advancement and development of women's lives. The broad principles in the concept of Patriarchy are the same in different countries and areas: Men are in control (Walby, 1989). Although the situation may differ, it is necessary to understand how the system of patriarchy keeps women dominated and subordinate. Patriarchy creates obstacles that prevent women from moving forward by their own merit in society. Patriarchal society gives absolute priority to men and, to some extent, limits women's human rights also. Patriarchy refers to male domination in public and private spheres. Patriarchal institutions and social relations are responsible for the secondary status of women. Feminists use the term patriarchy to describe the power relationship between men and women as they look for the root causes of women's subordination (Walby, 2013). This study uses the concept of patriarchy to explore and understanding women's lives in poor community during the difficult time of COVID-19 pandemic.

This study looks at the important roles of women in building the social resilience necessary to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results of this study show how women women continued to work in seafood processing during the COVID-19 pandemic to survive. This study shows the adaptive capacities of women to take the "pro-active" or "preventive" measures. In these poor coastal villages, women learned from past experiences, anticipated future risks and adjusted their livelihoods. However, the results of this study reveal there were no 'transformative' capacities of women to access assets and assistance from government and the wider socio-political system.

The majority of women with toddlers must take care of their children while working. These women are experiencing extra burdens during the "new normal." The women are working with their children in dangerous situations. Many children are around their mothers as they cook seafood in large skillets and pots over big fires. Other children accompany their mothers as they sell seafood products on the side of busy roads. The results of this study shows that many women bear multiple burdens and receive little or no protection at work.

Table 4:
Who takes care of Toddlers while Working during COVID-19 Pandemic, 2021
(N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)



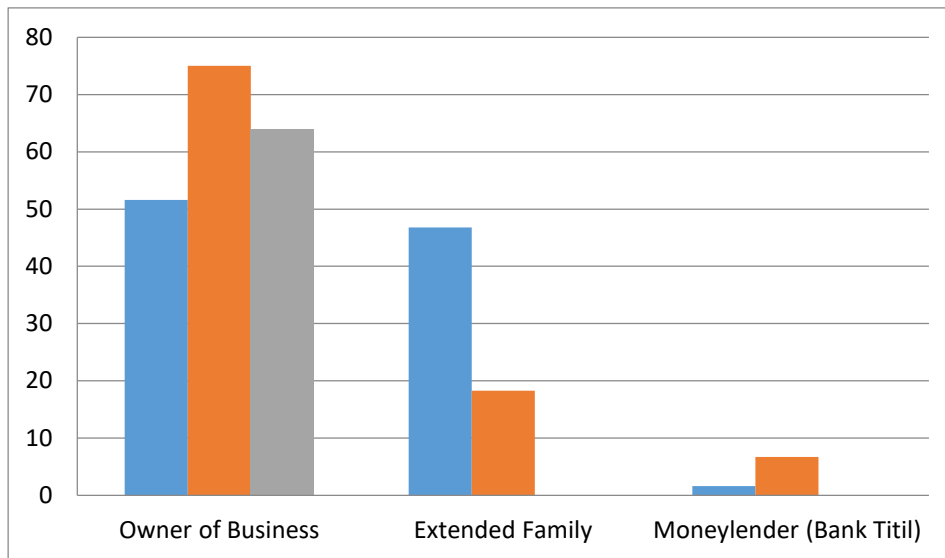
Although the production of seafood has been reduced during the COVID-19 Pandemic, many women continue working. Women arrange in such a way that the task of raising children could be overcome. Women take care of their children while working, their children play around the place where the mother works processing seafood. There was a little difference of who take care of the children while women working, in Surabaya City and Tuban Regency majority of women take care the children by themselves. Meanwhile, in Situbondo Regency, Majority of women were assisted by their older daughter to take care the children while working.

Furthermore, this study shows that during the COVID-19 pandemic, because of the 'study from home' policy, the children in the coastal villages, like the children in other areas, stay at home almost all day. Therefore, the majority of coastal women in East Java villages have difficulty combining work and household tasks. Most women stated that they 'sometimes' and even 'often' or 'very often' have difficulty combining work and household tasks. There was no significant difference between women's situations in Surabaya City, Situbondo Regency and Tuban Regency. Despite these difficulties, the women were still working processing seafood at home. Although during the COVID-19 pandemic the husbands were also at home, domestic duties remained a burden primarily for the women. There is strong interconnections of resilience and vulnerability as explained by Christophe Béné, Rachel Godfrey Wood, Andrew Newsham, and Mark Davies (2012). It's important, however, to acknowledge the agency and efforts that women have during the pandemic. It is equally important to recognize that the pandemic also creates greater vulnerability for these women.

This study reveals the adaptive capacities of coastal women to take pro-active or preventive measures by learning from past experiences, anticipating future risks and adjusting their livelihoods accordingly. These capabilities improve their individual welfare and foster social resilience toward future crises. This study shows that these women were living and working within a patriarchal culture and that their social resilience in this situation demonstrated adaptive capacities in response to patriarchy. A previous study indicates similar results insofar as women's social relationships are part of the patriarchal structure, whether with women or men, and whether within or outside of the family (Meinzen-Dick et al, 2014; Wencélius et al, 2016). Patriarchal culture and structure are key concepts that require capacities of social resilience among poor families, and particularly women, in coastal villages.

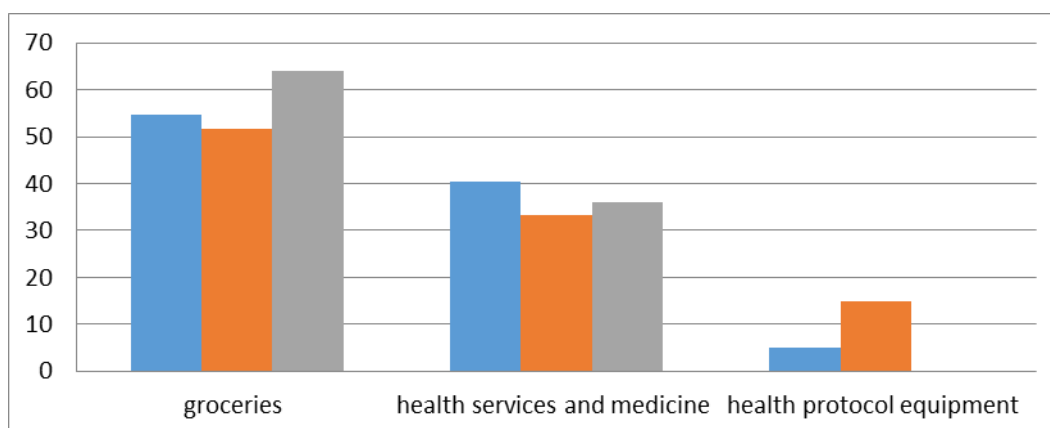
Women play a very important role in maintaining family health and in actively seeking information and assistance to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic and to meet income shortages for family needs. During the COVID-19 pandemic, women played a significant role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors and local leaders.

Table 5:
The Parties Who were ready to help Coastal Rural Women during COVID-19 Pandemic, 2021
 (N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)



The parties who often helped coastal rural women during the COVID-19 pandemic were the owners of the businesses where they worked and their extended families. Some women got loans at high interest rates from moneylenders. No specific assistance was received from local government and others. This study, however, found that women in coastal villages in Surabaya City, Tuban and Situbondo Regency created their social networks among their neighbourhood (including the owner of business) and their extended families in which this social networks they more rely on (see table 5). This study confirms previous studies in coastal villages in other parts of Indonesia that examined fisherwomen's roles in fishery resource management and creating strong social networks (Alami and Raharjo, 2017; Loneragan et al, 2018). This study indicates, along with a prior study, that women were 'bargaining with patriarchy' (Ali, 2014). For the sake of their daily and long-term survival, women were creatively negotiating for better options and outcomes for themselves and their families. A study of a poor community in Guatemala also shows that patriarchy is negotiable and that women create opportunities to negotiate within and beyond their intra-household relationships (Beck, 2017). This study reveals that women at coastal village of East Java played important roles in ensuring their families' and their own survival and that their social resilience was community based.

Table 6:
The Most Assistance Needed during the COVID-19 Pandemic
 (N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)



For coastal rural women, the most important type of assistance needed during the COVID-19 pandemic was groceries and food. The need for health services and medicine was another important form of assistance needed. As shown from data in table 5 and 6, this study shows only a little women who have 'transformative' capacities since women in coastal villages have no access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. Women only got assistance from their family and through neighborhood ties in the community. This situation is similar to that described in a study in Zambia before COVID-19 pandemic, which showed that in general the 'transformative' capacities of women were low (Rajaratnam et. al, 2016). There was no specific assistance for women in coastal rural areas, since the work of fishing is considered to be men's work (Steenbergen et al, 2017).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the role of women was very important in maintaining family health and in actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19. This study reveals that coastal rural women of East Java have the capacities of 'coping' and 'adapting' to develop social resilience. We can see this in the description of one woman's life on the rural coast of Surabaya City as follows:

Mrs. Bdi is a fish cracker producer and trader who sells at the Kenjeran Beach Amusement Park. Since the Amusement Park was temporarily closed due to COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Bdi selling fish crackers in front of her sister's house. Mrs. Badi was born in 1970, has two daughters and four grandchildren. Mrs. Bdi runs a fish cracker business which is an inheritance from her family. The inheritance of the fish business had been passed down from their parent. Since the 5th grade of Primary School, Mrs. Bdi has been taught how to process fish by her parents. According to her, this is done because the fish business will be passed on to her. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Bdi collaborated with several supermarkets in Surabaya. Mrs Badi also sell fish crackers to several shops in the Amusement park. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Bdi's income had greatly decreased, this was due to the lack of buyers who came directly to her shop. During the COVID-19 pandemic she only worked with her husband, in contrast to before the COVID-19 who had 5 employees to run her business. In household matters, Mrs. Bdi was assisted by her eldest daughter so that she can ease Mrs. Bdi domestic work (Mrs Bdi, 45 years old, married, owner of seafood products small store in Surabaya City, July, 2021)

What we could learn from this description is that there are important links between traditional family ties, women's multiple burdens, unequal gender relations, patriarchy inheritance (i.e. 'unskilled' work) and survival strategies. The results of this study indicate that the issue of gender inequality surrounding the lives of coastal rural women shows a strong patriarchal culture. In the three coastal villages of Surabaya, Tuban and Situbondo men work as fishermen to find and harvest seafood while women work in marine product processing (while taking care of their household and participating in the social life of their neighbours). This study shows the capacities of women to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic by using 'coping' and 'adaptive' capacities, but not transformative capacity. The implications and weaknesses of this types of 'coping' and adaptive capacities' capacity may require the women to change their expectations, limit their preference, and increase their vulnerability.

Although women's work in coastal villages was categorized as unskilled work with small income, women are still working to overcome the direct threat, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, by using their directly available resources (i.e. skills, time, family and neighborhood ties). However, this study shows few 'transformative' types of capacities, because women only had limited access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. This study reveals that the role of women is very important in maintaining family health, actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and in meeting income shortages for family needs. In the coastal villages of East Java, women's role is the key to social resilience that provides a way to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Conclusion

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women played an important role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors and local leaders. In a strong patriarchal culture, women in coastal villages are the key to social resilience that provides a way to survive in during the COVID-19 pandemic. Women also participated in the social life of their neighbors, helped each other to get information about the COVID-19 pandemic and learned how to protect their families. Coastal rural women have three important capacities for building social resilience: namely the capacities to cope, adapt and transform. The results of this study reveal that the issue of gender inequality surrounding the lives of coastal rural women at East Java shows a strong patriarchal culture. In the different cultures of the three coastal villages of Tuban, Surabaya and Situbondo, men work as fishermen while women work in marine product processing (while taking care of the household and participating in the social life of their neighbors and bearing multiple burdens). During the COVID-19 pandemic, the role of women was very important in maintaining family health, actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic and meeting income shortages for family needs. In the “new normal,” women played a role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors and local leaders. In a strong patriarchal culture, the role of women in coastal villages was a key to building social resilience that provides a way to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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The Social Resilience of Women in Coastal Villages of East Java during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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The Social Resilience of Women in Coastal Villages of East Java during the COVID-19 Pandemic

By Emy Susanti,¹ Tri Soesantari,² Sutinah,³ and Henny Rosalinda⁴

Abstract

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the living conditions of rural women in coastal areas of East Java became increasingly difficult. The aim of this study is to reveal the important roles of women and their social resilience to survive during the pandemic. This research was conducted in poor coastal villages in the province of East Java, namely: 1) Surabaya City with multicultural characteristics; 2) Situbondo Regency with Javanese–Madurese mixed cultural characteristics and 3) Tuban Regency with Javanese cultural characteristics. The subjects of this study were married women who have children. Data collection was conducted for 2 months (June–July 2021) using a structured interview technique (questionnaire) with 185 respondents and an in-depth interview technique with 18 informants, including women and local leaders. The results of this study indicate the “coping” and “adaptive” capacities of women during the COVID-19 pandemic. Although women’s work in these coastal villages was categorized as unskilled work generating little income, women were still working to overcome the direct threat of the pandemic through available resources such as skills, time, family, and neighborhood ties. However, this study shows only a few capacities of the “transformative” type, whereby women have access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. This study shows a strong patriarchal culture influencing the lives of poor coastal rural women, but also reveals that the role of women was very important in maintaining family health and meeting income shortages for family needs during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Indonesian Women, COVID-19 Pandemic, Patriarchy, Social Resilience, East Java

Introduction

As an archipelago nation, Indonesia is the second highest marine fish-producing country in the world. From a total population of over 250 million, over six million people are involved in fisheries and aquaculture in Indonesia, with approximately 95% of fishery production coming from small-scale fishers (FAO, 2016). There is considerable diversity in small-scale fishing (SSF) activities in Indonesia, which varies depending on the species targeted, gear used, seasonality of the catch and the nature of markets (domestic or export). Many people, including women, men,

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youth and children, are involved in distinct aspects of pre-production, production, and post-harvest processing. Other people are involved in the trade of fish and other marine resources. Different fisheries-based livelihood strategies have been adopted by social groups in the coastal village communities. The strategies are influenced by preferences and cultural heritage, including the availability of alternative livelihood options, access to productive resources, and geography. Previous studies in Indonesia show that the only source of income to support or contribute to most households comes from the activities of fishing and seafood processing (Stacey et. al, 2019).

42% of the population, including women and children, are engaged in fisheries in Indonesia applying traditional technology (Ariadno & Amelina, 2016). Similar to the situation in other countries, in Indonesia women are under-represented in fisheries development and policy, governance, and marine and habitat management (Alami & Raharjo, 2017). The lives of women in East Javan coastal villages are generally classified as poor. Many women work in seafood processing, which often has a negative impact on their health and social environment. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the living conditions for rural women in coastal areas became increasingly difficult. This study examines their social resilience and survival skills during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Social resilience is about social entities and their ability to tolerate, absorb, cope with and adapt to various types of environmental and social threats. Social resilience includes various types of assets, in the form of economic capital, physical capital, natural capital, and human capital (Ungar, 2008). Assets are products of social relationships, social capital and social networks and play a key role in building and maintaining social resilience. Broadly, social resilience also includes the rules and norms structured by social practices that fundamentally determine their structure and distribution. Assets reflect power relations in society and are a major determinant of social resilience (Cinner & Barnes, 2019). Furthermore, an important aspect of social resilience is the power to determine what is considered a threat or disaster and what is not.

This study of coastal village women not only examined social resilience capacities in intra-household relationships, since that is insufficient to understand the strategies of social resilience for the long-term, but also looked at the social resilience capacities of women in broader community engagement, with the assumption that these capacities will influence their ability to survive. It should be noted whether within or beyond the family, whether with women or men, these wider relationships are part of the patriarchal structure (Walby, 1989). A system of patriarchy is a key concept that reveals the capacities or lack of capacity for social resilience among poor families of coastal villages. The interconnection between patriarchy and social resilience must be acknowledged and explored. The aim of this study is to reveal the capacities of social resilience and the role of women in maintaining their family survival and to uncover gender relations during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Research Method

This research used a gender perspective in that the research was carried out with active participation of the research subjects—women—and focused on gender relations. This research was conducted at coastal villages in the province of East Java: 1) Surabaya City with multicultural characteristics, 2) Situbondo Regency with Javanese–Madurese mixed cultural characteristics, and 3) Tuban Regency with Javanese cultural characteristics. The subjects of this study were married women with children. The data was collected by the research team assisted by our students using a structured interview technique—an offline questionnaire given to women respondents who had been chosen purposely. During two months (June-July 2021), 185 respondents were interviewed

using the questionnaire (64 respondents at Surabaya City, 60 respondents at Tuban Regency, and 61 respondents at Situbondo Regency). This study also included in-depth interviews with 18 women and local leaders. The data processing involved SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) technique for the questionnaire data and a transcription technique for data from in-depth interviews. The process of data analysis was an inductive technique, from the empirical data to the theoretical analysis and conclusion.

Results and Discussion

The concept of social resilience, in addition to focusing on individuals, also focuses on households and communities by looking at the way they face threats. This includes their capacity to respond, which then develops into the learning and adaptation stages, acknowledging the important role that power, politics and participation play in times of uncertainty and shock. Social resilience includes the timely capacity of individuals and groups—families and communities—to respond to disruption and disaster, including their capacities to be more productive during times of stability and to adapt, reorganize, and grow (Van Breda, 2018).

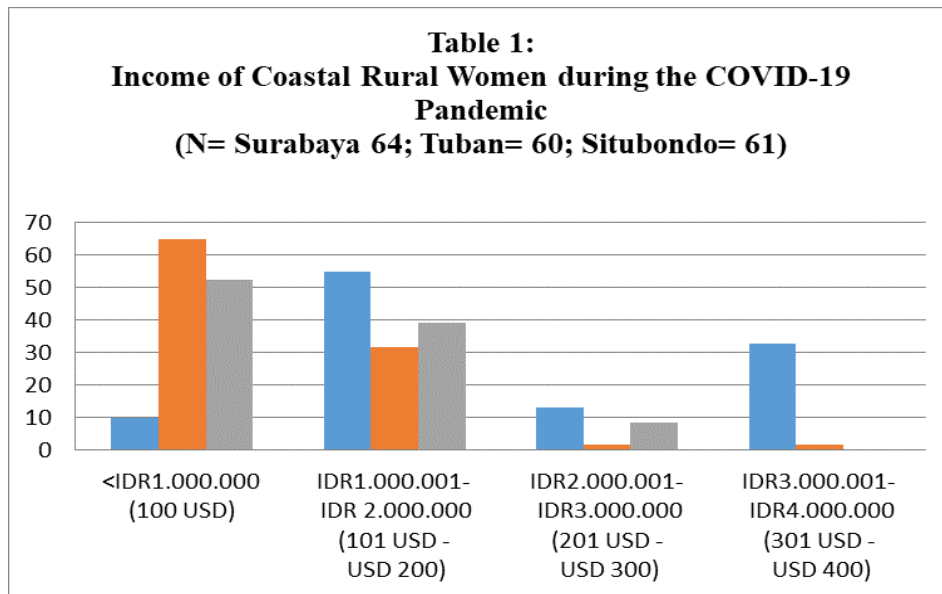
According to Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013), there are three types of capacities included within the notion of social resilience. These three types of capacities are: 1) Coping capacities, or “reactive” and “absorptive” capacities, that determine how people cope with and overcome immediate threats by the means of directly available resources; 2) Adaptive capacities, or “proactive” or “preventive” capacities, that people employ to learn from past experiences, anticipate future risks, and adjust their livelihoods accordingly; and 3) Transformative capacities that include people’s ability to access assets and assistance from the wider socio-political arena and to craft institutions that improve their individual welfare and foster societal robustness for future crises.

The concept of patriarchy is important for understanding women's lives, since the system of patriarchy presents obstacles to their advancement and development. Despite variations in levels of male domination in different countries and areas, the broad principles remain the same—men are in control. Although the nature of this control may differ, it is necessary to understand how patriarchy keeps women dominated and subordinate in both the public and private spheres. It is also important to unravel how patriarchy works against women's development in order to work towards their development in a systematic way. Patriarchy creates obstacles that prevent women from moving forward by their own merit in society. Patriarchal society gives absolute priority to men and, to some extent, limits women’s human rights also. Feminists have located patriarchal institutions and social relations as the root causes of the subordinate, second-class status of women (Walby, 1989 and Walby, 2013). The results of this study reveal that women were able to cope with the patriarchal system and play a key role in building the social resilience necessary to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Women’s Work, Family, and the Capacities of Social Resilience

This study shows women’s coping capacities to create social resilience, namely through the “reactive” and “absorbent” abilities described above. Women in coastal villages in this study were busy every day with processing marine products on the one hand and managing households on the other hand. However, women in these coastal villages coped with the direct threat, namely the COVID-19 pandemic, by using available resources. This study shows that these poor coastal village women live with limitations in incomes that fall below the national average wage (see Table 1). Women received less than IDR 2 M (equivalent to USD 200) per month, in comparison

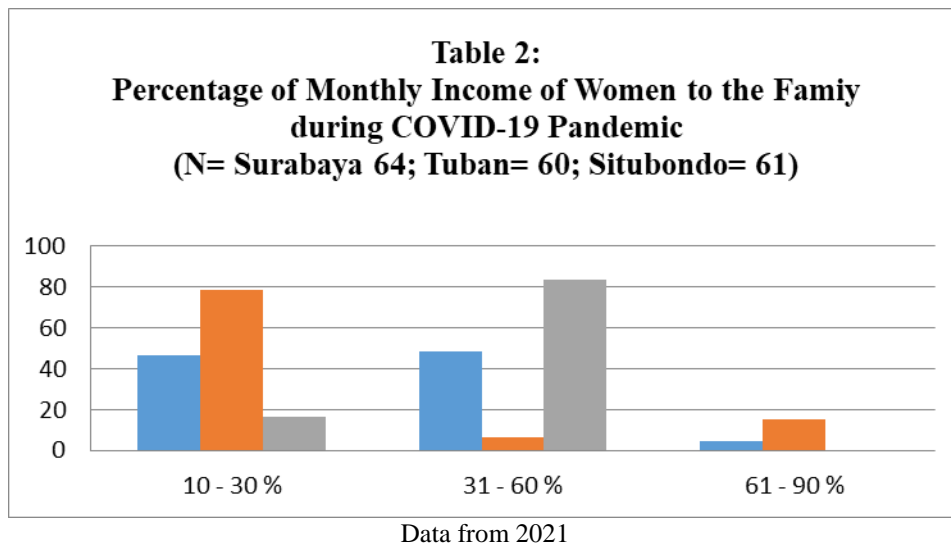
to the national wage standard, which is about IDR 3.8 M (equivalent to USD 350). The income of women in Tuban Regency was lower than in Surabaya City. Previous studies in Pacific countries and in other areas of Indonesia also indicate the lower income of women living in coastal villages (Alami, et al, 2017; Kleiber, et. Al, 2018).



Although the women's income was low, the majority of women produced up to 60% of their families' income in Surabaya and 30% in Tuban. As stated by one of the local leaders, women in coastal villages make a significant contribution to family finances that allows them to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic:

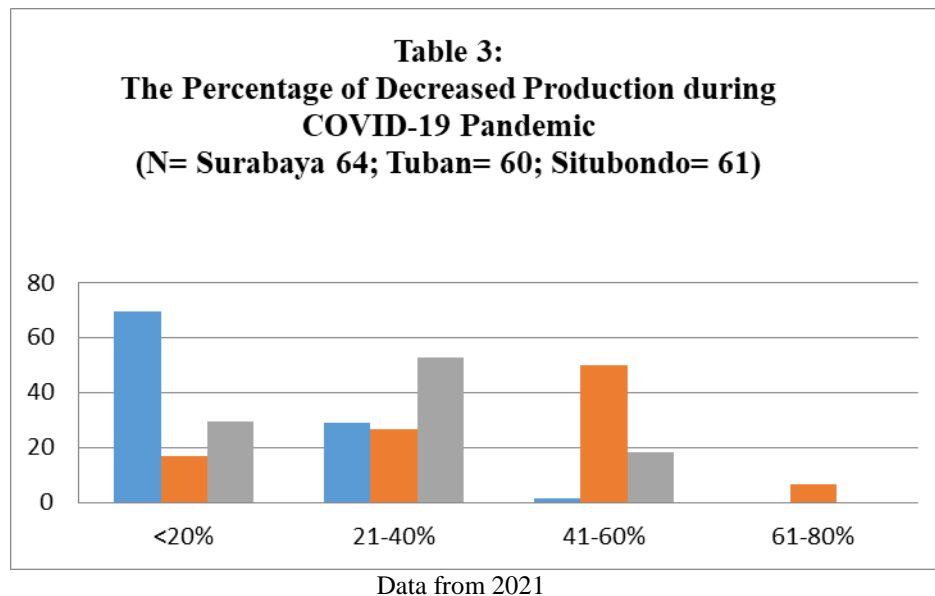
Here in this village, during the COVID-19 pandemic the activities of husbands who work as fishermen decreased because some were sick and didn't go to sea to look for fish. To cover our daily food needs, we only depend on the income of my wife who processes and sells seafood (Mr. Mhd, age 51, Chair of Neighborhood Community, Situbondo Regency, July, 2021).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women continued to work and earn income, while many of their husbands didn't work or worked part time with small income. The results of this study indicate that about half of women in coastal villages produced more than half of their family income. In Situbondo Regency, half of women produced 83.6% and in Tuban Regency, women produced 48.4% of their family's income. Other studies in Indonesia and the Philippines also show that women's work at seafood processing in coastal villages produces a significant amount of their families' income (Pomeroy, et al, 2017; Loneragan, et al, 2018).



The types of work performed by coastal rural women included seafood processing, packing, and sales. Only about 5% of women worked in management or finance. Seafood production during the COVID-19 pandemic decreased considerably, up to 40% in Surabaya and 60% in Tuban. This study found that the majority of women in coastal villages work in processing, namely cooking seafood, which does not require special training in the workplace. This norm is created by the traditional gender division of labor in which the training is performed at home through traditional gender roles. In Surabaya, some women work in sales at the stores or work in packing. Similar studies in the Philippines and Zambia found that women in coastal villages work in seafood processing (Pomeroy, et al, 2017; Rajaratnam, et al, 2016).

From these facts, we could take note that although women's work in coastal villages is categorized as unskilled, women are still taking steps to overcome the direct threat of the COVID-19 pandemic by using their directly available resources, which is a "reactive" step of social resilience. Women in this study have few alternatives to get income for their families because of their limitation of skill and time. This study shows that although the production of seafood processing has decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic, women in the coastal villages have survived by relying on their relatives, as stated by a mother of a three-year-old son: "I still have to work because my husband doesn't work during the COVID-19 pandemic, my relatives help a lot with food delivery, but I don't want to depend on relatives only to survive" (Mrs. Eka, age 32, Tuban Regency, July, 2021). Previous studies in Africa also show that women rely on their relatives to survive during disaster periods (Kawarazuka, et al, 2019 and Kawarazuka, et al, 2017).



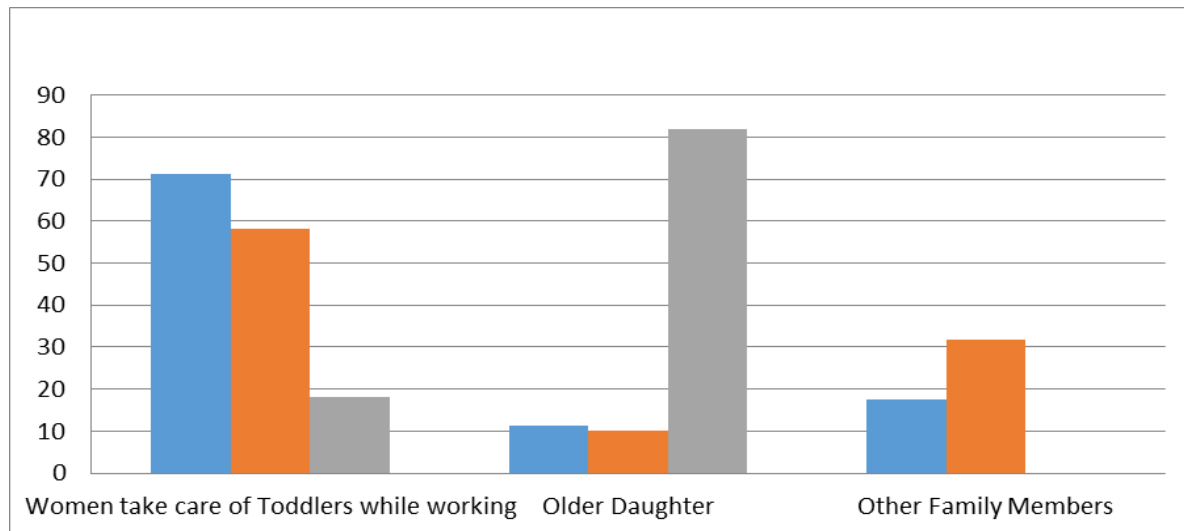
During the COVID-19 pandemic, women still work in seafood processing although the production decreased significantly. This study reveals that there was a disguised unemployment among women in the coastal villages of East Java. This fact also shows the social resilience capacity of women who took the step of continuing to work in order to absorb and overcome the direct threat by using directly available resources (i.e. skills, time, and family ties). A study in Nigeria found that the social resilience capacity of women during disaster is increased by depending on their relatives (Akinsemolu & Olukoya, 2020).

Social Resilience, Women's Roles, and Patriarchy

The results of this study show how women continued to work in seafood processing during the COVID-19 pandemic to survive, and how they used adaptive capacities to take “proactive” or “preventive” measures. In these poor coastal villages, women learned from past experiences, anticipated future risks, and adjusted their livelihoods. However, the results of this study reveal there were no “transformative” capacities of women to access assets and assistance from the government and the wider socio-political system, an absence which directly stems from patriarchy.

The majority of women with toddlers had to take care of their children while working in sometimes dangerous situations. These women experienced extra burdens during the “new normal.” Many children play near their mothers as they cook seafood in large skillets and pots over big fires. Other children accompany their mothers as they sell seafood products on the side of busy roads. The results of this study shows that many women bear multiple burdens and receive little or no protection at work.

Table 4: Toddler Care during the COVID-19 Pandemic, 2021
(N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)



Although the production of seafood has been reduced during the COVID-19 pandemic, many women continue working and simultaneously take care of their children while working. There was a small difference in who takes care of children: in Surabaya City and Tuban Regency, the majority of women take care of the children by themselves, while in Situbondo Regency, the majority of women were assisted by their older daughter.

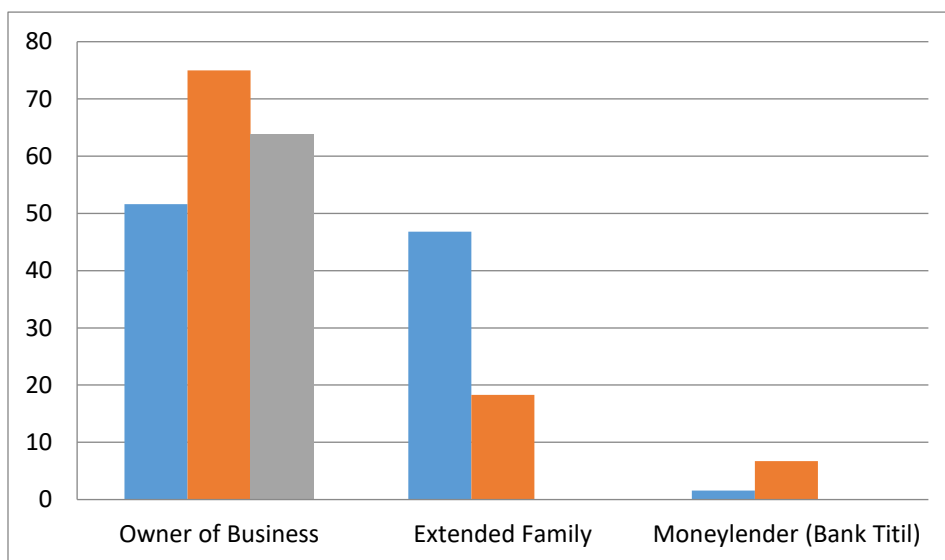
Furthermore, this study shows that during the COVID-19 pandemic, because of the study from home policy, the children in the coastal villages, like the children in other areas, stayed at home almost all day. Therefore, the majority of coastal women in East Java villages have difficulty combining work and household tasks. Most women stated that they ‘sometimes’ and even ‘often’ or ‘very often’ have difficulty combining work and household tasks. There was no significant difference between women's situations in Surabaya City, Situbondo Regency, and Tuban Regency. Despite these difficulties, the women were still working processing seafood at home. Although during the pandemic the husbands were also at home, domestic duties remained a burden primarily for the women. There are strong interconnections between resilience and vulnerability as explained by Christophe Béné, Rachel Godfrey Wood, Andrew Newsham, and Mark Davies (2012). It's important, however, to acknowledge the agency and efforts that women have during the pandemic. It is equally important to recognize that the pandemic also creates greater vulnerability for these women.

This study reveals the adaptive capacities of coastal women to take proactive or preventive measures by learning from past experiences, anticipating future risks, and adjusting their livelihoods accordingly. These capabilities improve their individual welfare and foster social resilience in future crises. This study shows that these women were living and working within a patriarchal culture and that their social resilience in this situation demonstrated adaptive capacities in response to patriarchy. A previous study indicated similar results insofar as women's social relationships are part of the patriarchal structure, whether within or outside of the family (Meinzen-Dick et al, 2014; Wencélius et al, 2016). Patriarchal culture and structure are key concepts that

require capacities of social resilience among poor families, and particularly women, in coastal villages.

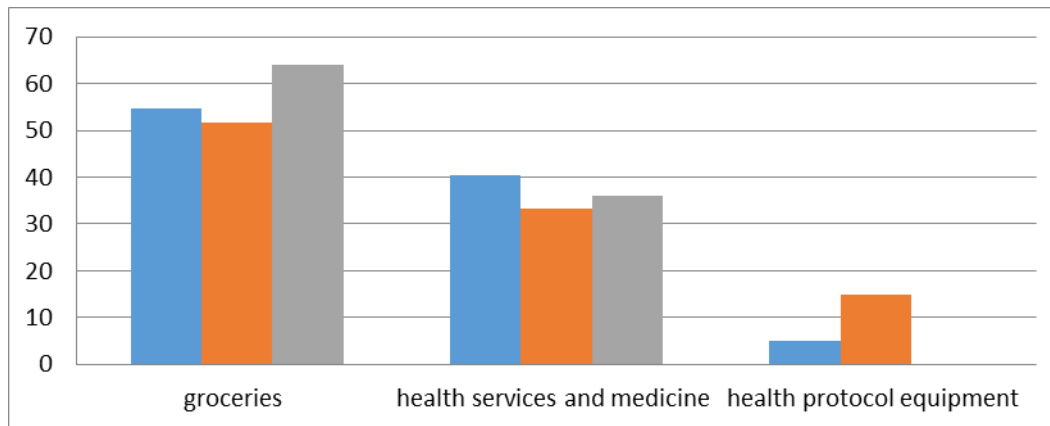
Women play a very important role in maintaining family health and in actively seeking information and assistance to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic and to meet income shortages for family needs. During the COVID-19 pandemic, women played a significant role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors, and local leaders.

Table 5: Parties Who Helped Coastal Rural Women during COVID-19 Pandemic, 2021
(N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)



The parties who often helped coastal rural women during the COVID-19 pandemic were the owners of the businesses where they worked and their extended families. Some women got loans at high interest rates from money lenders. No specific assistance was received from the local government. This study, however, found that women in coastal villages in Surabaya City, Tuban, and Situbondo Regency created their social networks among their neighborhood (including the owners of businesses) and their extended families (see table 5). This study confirms previous studies in coastal villages in other parts of Indonesia that examined fisherwomen's roles in fishery resource management and creating strong social networks (Alami and Raharjo, 2017; Loneragan et al, 2018). This study indicates, along with a prior study, that women were "bargaining with patriarchy" (Ali, 2014). For the sake of their daily and long-term survival, women were creatively negotiating for better options and outcomes for themselves and their families. A study of a poor community in Guatemala also shows that patriarchy is negotiable and that women create opportunities to negotiate within and beyond their intra-household relationships (Beck, 2017). This study reveals that women in coastal villages of East Java played important roles in ensuring their families' and their own survival and that their social resilience was community-based.

**Table 6: Needs during the COVID-19 Pandemic
(N= Surabaya 64; Tuban= 60; Situbondo= 61)**



For coastal rural women, the most important type of assistance needed during the COVID-19 pandemic was groceries and food. Health services and medicine were also another important aspect of need. As shown from data in table 5 and 6, this study shows only a few women who have transformative capacities since women in coastal villages have no access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. Women only got assistance from their family and through neighborhood ties in the community. This situation is similar to that described in a study in Zambia before the COVID-19 pandemic, which showed that the transformative capacities of women were low (Rajaratnam et. al, 2016). There was no specific government assistance for women in coastal rural areas, since the work of fishing is considered to be men's work (Steenbergen et al, 2017).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women were instrumental in maintaining family health and in actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19. The capacities of 'coping' and 'adapting' to develop social resilience can be seen in the description of one woman's life on the rural coast of Surabaya City:

Mrs. Bdi is a fish-cracker producer and trader who sells at the Kenjeran Beach Amusement Park. Since the amusement park was temporarily closed due to COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Bdi sold fish crackers in front of her sister's house. Mrs. Badi was born in 1970 and has two daughters and four grandchildren. Mrs. Bdi runs a fish cracker business which is an inheritance passed down from her parents. Since the 5th grade of primary school, Mrs. Bdi had been taught how to process fish by her parents so that she could take over the business. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Bdi collaborated with several supermarkets in Surabaya and sold fish crackers to several shops in the amusement park. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Mrs. Bdi's income greatly decreased, due to the lack of buyers who came directly to her shop. During the COVID-19 pandemic she only worked with her husband, in contrast to before the COVID-19 when she had five employees to run her business. In household matters, Mrs. Bdi was assisted by her eldest daughter to ease Mrs. Bdi's domestic work (Mrs. Bdi, age 45, married, owner of seafood products small store in Surabaya City, July, 2021).

What we could learn from this description is that there are important links between traditional family ties, women's multiple burdens, unequal gender relations, patriarchy inheritance (i.e. unskilled work), and survival strategies. The results of this study show gender inequality and a strong patriarchal structure surrounding the lives of coastal rural women. In the three coastal villages of Surabaya, Tuban, and Situbondo, men work as fishermen to find and harvest seafood while women work in marine product processing while taking care of their household. This study shows the capacities of women to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic by using coping and adaptive capacities, but not transformative capacities, because they have limited access to assets and assistance from wider social and political networks. The limitations of coping and adaptive capacities may lead to increased vulnerability for women.

Conclusion

During the COVID-19 pandemic, women played an important role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors, and local leaders. Women also participated in the social life of their neighbors, helped each other to get information about the COVID-19 pandemic, and learned how to protect their families. Coastal rural women have three important capacities for building social resilience: namely the capacities to cope, adapt, and transform. The results of this study reveal gender inequality and a strong patriarchal culture surrounding the lives of coastal rural women in East Java. Women helped to meet income shortages for family needs, but they also bore multiple burdens of working in marine product processing and taking care of children and the household. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the role of women was very important in maintaining family health, actively seeking information and assistance in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, and meeting income shortages for family needs. In the “new normal,” women played a role in strengthening the social networks of the family, neighbors, and local leaders. In a strong patriarchal culture, women in coastal villages were the key to social resilience and survival during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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