Small island women in the sustainability of household livelihoods: case study in Romang Island, Southwest Maluku Regency

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Abstract. Women play important role in fulfilling household needs. Apart from carrying out domestic activities, women are also active in public activities as an effort to maintain the sustainability of household livelihoods. This research is aimed to analyze the position of women in the sustainability of household livelihoods. Qualitative approach was used where data were collected with in-depth interview. Informants were selected using snowball method, and eight women were obtained. Result of research showed that women start to enter public world and seem capable to cope with public complexities. Public world is a place where work orientation is shifting from subsistence to commercial. Work commercialization requires women to do more varying activities including selling production outputs. Women must wander through villages or village markets in order to get a good sale. Although the activities are varying with livelihoods sources, but those represent the effort to maintain the sustainability of household livelihoods.

1. Introduction
Covid-19 pandemic has crippled the world, including Indonesia, for almost a year. The number of Covid-19 sufferer in Indonesia already reached 538,883 cases in the end of November 2020. Number of woman infected by Covid-19 was larger than man. [1] explained that the percentage of woman with Covid-19 is 50.4 percents, which is much greater than man. This fact gives a confirmation that woman is easily impacted by Covid-19 pandemic than man.

Data of Covid-19 pandemic for Maluku has shown that there are 4,626 cases of Covid-19. More than a half of these cases are involving woman [2]. Those women infected by Covid-19, surprisingly, have great contribution to household livelihoods. Field observation has found that women still maintain the sustainability of household livelihoods actively although they get infected by Covid-19. Indeed, most women in livelihood activity have been infected by Covid-19 [3]. Although they work for livelihoods, these women must still bear two problems, respectively work related problem and Covid-19 [4]. If those women must be isolated from their work, then it will put difficulty to them in allocating their time for livelihood activity, which later further weaken their household livelihoods [5].

Researches on women and livelihoods in Maluku context have been too many. Those researches are done by [6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12]. In general, those researches found that women play important role in the sustainability of household livelihoods. Women give contribution for 40-75% to household income, and the household in this research refers to a group consisting of father, mother and child. The activity that women must do for livelihoods is varying, which may involve planting crops and horticultures (corn, edible tubers, vegetable and fruit), processing fishes (preparing fumed fish and cooking other sea hauls), and working at their will (opening laundry service, selling commodities in the market, being papalele,
and opening kiosks). Women are not marginalized in economics if they can allocate time and share the role with men to take care between livelihood activity and domestic activity.

Moreover, research on women during Covid-19 pandemic is still rare in Maluku context. It must be noted that research on the position of women during Covid-19 pandemic has actually been conducted already but the context is not Maluku. That research found that women have greater sufferings than men during Covid-19 pandemic, either in health or economic aspects. For instance, mothers in fisher households have found their income reduced during pandemic if compared to before pandemic. Indeed, during Covid-19 pandemic, women suddenly found their role increasing because they must accompany their children learning at home, which may force them to reset their time allocation of learning hour and working hour. Women feel hampered to develop their work. When economic capital declines, then social capital becomes the alternative used by women to maintain the sustainability of their livelihoods, and this is done through solidarity and helping other women during Covid-19 pandemic [5, 13, 14, 15, 16].

After examining the references above, preliminary deduction is made, which is that during Covid-19 pandemic, women find difficulty to develop their work and this difficulty impacts the sustainability of household livelihoods. However, number of research on small island women during Covid-19 pandemic in Maluku Province is still very few. Therefore, problem formulation of this research is: How is the position of small island women in the sustainability of household livelihoods during Covid-19 pandemic?. The objective of this research is to analyze the position of small island women in the sustainability of household livelihoods during Covid-19 pandemic.

2. Research Method

2.1. Time, location, and sampling technique
Research was conducted in Romang Island District, Southwest Maluku Regency, with Jerusu Village chosen as sample village. This village is selected because this village is the place of mining investment that may change livelihood activity of the people around the mining, including the women. Research was carried out from September to October of 2020. Sample respondent was women, and they must be sorted over purposively with a criterion that they have worked at various livelihood sources to fulfill their household needs for a year. Eight (8) women was chosen from sample village as key informant to examine the answer given by respondents. It is believed that these key informants have information about women activity in various sources of livelihoods.

2.2. Data collection and data analysis
Primary data are usually collected by giving questionnaire to respondent [17] or by conducting depth interview with key informant [18]. Secondary data are usually obtained with participative observation [17, 19]. Participative observation requires researcher to take participation directly in the daily life of research subject, and then listen to what they (research subject) say and differentiate what they do and not do. Data are analyzed using Simple Tabulation to describe the condition and characteristic of research location. Data are displayed in the table and diagram to facilitate readers to understand research location.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Characteristics of small island women
Age is a factor influencing the life activity of human, especially its relation with physic (energy). [20] divided age into three groups, respectively young or not yet productive age (0-14 years old), adult or productive age (15-64 years old), and old or not productive age, which is, over 65 years old. The average age of respondents is productive age. It signifies that respondents can do physical activity for the sustainability of their household livelihoods.
Education level is a factor influencing the mindset of farmers in managing their farming successfully. In general, farmers are highly educated and their mindset is mature. Therefore, they must be more rational in managing their farming. Result of research showed that education level of respondents is mostly from junior and senior high schools (SMP and SMA), and respondents always choose works that benefit their household. Respondents graduated from high schools have stronger business orientation than those graduated from elementary schools whom only concern with fulfilling life necessities.

The National Agency for Demographic Affair and Family Planning [21] differentiated household size into three categories, small (≤ 4 members), medium (5-7 members) and large (> 7 members), respectively. The household in this research is mostly in small category. Few household members may reduce household burden. In other words, household needs become few and the parents can save money for sending their children to college after they graduate from high school. Otherwise, children can also be prepared to enter workforce or help parents to manage farming.

Farming is the main livelihood source in small island. However, the farming is vulnerable to global climate change that may cause harvest failure and low production. Respondents deal with these problems by seeking other livelihood alternatives. Most respondents said that fishery is a livelihood source that can support farming works. The dwellings of respondents are built by the coast and besides, fishery sector is like a legacy work to them. Other alternative is animal husbandry, and the livestocks can give good income during low farm production.

Land is always used for farming. [22] divided land width into three categories, respectively small (< 0.5 ha), medium (0.5-2.0 ha) and large (>2 ha). Result of research indicated that most of respondents’ lands are in small category (< 0.5 ha) with the width of 0.25 – 0.4 ha. This is not representative for farming and therefore, such respondents seek side works, including working at fishery sector (selling fresh fish, fumed fish, and other sea hauls), and breeding buffalo, goat and chicken. Respondents with medium and large lands are usually planting coconut (for getting copra), nutmeg and clove as main commodities. Food crops (corn, peanut and edible tubers) are also planted at average land width of 0.25 ha.

The characteristics of respondents are displayed in Table 1.

| No | Variable                  | Category                  | Number (persons) | Percentage (%) |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1  | Age (year old)            | 0-14 (Not Yet Productive) | 0                | 0              |
|    |                           | 15-64 (Productive)        | 6                | 75.0           |
|    |                           | >64 (Not Productive)      | 2                | 25.0           |
| 2  | Education Level           | Elementary School (SD)    | 2                | 25.0           |
|    |                           | Middle (SMP and SMU)      | 5                | 62.5           |
|    |                           | College (Higher Education)| 1                | 12.5           |
| 3  | Household Size (Member)   | ≤ 4 (Small)               | 4                | 50.0           |
|    |                           | 5-7 (Medium)              | 3                | 37.5           |
|    |                           | >7 (Large)                | 1                | 12.5           |
| 4  | Land Width (Ha)           | <0.5 (Small)              | 5                | 62.5           |
|    |                           | 0.5 – 2 (Medium)          | 2                | 25.0           |
|    |                           | >2 (Large)                | 1                | 12.5           |

3.2. Works of small island women

3.2.1. Women and farming activity. Rural economic system in small island requires farmers, including women, to make gathering in order to discuss problems of farming. They make plans based on the problems, and the plans contain explanations regarding planting location, crop type, planting schedule,
crop treatment, harvest and post-harvest. All items in this system are not written on paper but it is inherited by farmers as their custom. Any deviations to this system will be put on social, economical and cultural sanctions. Within research context, this system is called Dusung.

Dusung gives description about farming works that women must do. Dusung divides farming works based on gender. Interestingly, women do almost all works except heavy works such as clearing the forest or opening new land. Works seen by men as trivial are taken by women. Besides working in the farm, women must still take care of children. Sometimes, children help their mother at work or just stay at home doing homeworks.

The implementation of Dusung requires all farmers, including women, to work as a group to complete production process. The process comprises of several activities starting from land clearance, then continued to planting, weeding or maintenance, harvesting, and ended with marketing. In general, almost all activities in Dusung is done by women. Role of women is truly important in Dusung. There are two categories of production process in Dusung, respectively subsistence production process and business production process. Both can be done either alone or with shared work if there are several neighbors living nearby. Besides those categories, Dusung has two functions, respectively food function and non-food function.

Furthermore, the downstream of Dusung is the outputs of production process, which is precisely the commodities. Dusung accommodates not only food crops but also plantation (annual) crops. The food crops include nuts, corn and cassava. The annual crops include clove, nutmeg, coconut, cacao and orange. Besides these crops, small proportion of Dusung is allocated for sea grass. Food crops in Dusung have two functions, respectively for business commodity and for subsistence commodity. Plantation (annual) crops are aimed for a single function, which is for business commodity. In addition to these functions, Dusung still has other function that is also important, which is, for food tenacity and environmental conservation. Farming commodities are then sold by women. The sale is done by peddling the commodities across villages, or going out of the village for selling the commodities to the markets at the capital of regency or the capital of province.

All facts above indicate the important role played by women in fulfilling household needs through Dusung. It can be said that the role played by women is a part of cultural process because it helps them to fulfill household economic needs. This position is in line with feminism. Women position remains strong although men intentionally marginalize women through the articulation of local wisdom inherited to them throughout generations. If gender construction is taken into account, then men and women have their own role in Dusung. It was said by [12] that women have been domesticated in the cultural cage and they are forced to do all economic activities as the consequence of normative responsibility in household life.

3.2.2. Women and off-farming economic activity. In the beginning, fishery is the alternative to household livelihood strategy. If plantation crops can be used as main source of income due to its production continuity, then fishery is still affected by climate. People in small island go to the sea for fulfilling food needs. They sail to the sea for fishing. At certain times or seasons, sea cucumber and lola are collected. Excessive collection may limit the harvest of sea cucumber and lola, and people implement the so called sasi on these sea products. Sasi is the rule of limiting the utilization of natural resources for a certain time by intention to maintain the sustainability of these resources. Therefore, sea-related activity is always dominated by catching fish at off-shore area and netting fish at the coast area. People also capture fish using spear during the ebb. All activities above are seasonal in nature.

In the last three or four years, coast area has been used for sea grass cultivation. This work is actually promising but the sea waters still affect the productivity of sea grass.

Previously, all activities in fishery were done by men, but lately, women start to support men (precisely their husband) in the fishery. If men must go somewhere and not sailing, women take over the works and netting fish at the coast. Some women go the beach during the ebb and throw spear on fishes. Those are done as the part of livelihood strategy. Husband and wife must have agreement to implement such strategy. Both must respect this agreement and be willing to support one another.
Therefore, although women have been busy with domestic responsibility, they still have times for fishing to fulfill food needs. Such arrangement is in conformance with a concept called Political Allocation, which is about the allocation of power at certain level to certain member of household to become life responsibility [23].

Women play significant role in sea grass commodity. They help men (husbands) in various activities such as drying sea grass, maintaining sea grass, and cleaning sea grass. Women must also ensure that sea grass is in clean condition before it is sold to the market. Sea grass commodity is usually bought by village collector merchants.

In case of animal husbandry, women prepare fodder for varying livestocks, such as chicken, pig, goat and buffalo. The materials of fodder are mostly food remnants from dining table. Alternatively, fodder can be prepared from the peels of corn and edible tubers. Shelled corns in low quality can also be given to the livestocks. Women sometimes use coconut wastes as supplement food for the livestocks.

### 3.2.3. Women and livelihood strategy in small island

The fulfillment of needs through household livelihood strategy is influenced by several factors, such as work hour, education level, husband income, work productivity, age, and number of dependent in household. Main member of household, which includes husband, wife and child, can decide which the proper livelihood strategy to be used to fulfill their needs.

People in small island in general, and in the village in particular, already aware of the importance of maintaining their existence, and this is done by ensuring the sustainability of their life and their life quality. People have used various adaptation methods to facilitate them to live with their ecology, and it may affect their livelihood strategy. One adaptation method is by using the capital possessed by the household to fulfill the livelihoods. It should be easy for the people to maximize their potentials and capabilities to manage the existing resources in order to prepare the alternative of livelihood strategy. They should not be worried with their low access to the land title, their low intellectual competence, and other problems, either natural or not natural. If livelihood strategy has been set, then new livelihood pattern will emerge as a local wisdom, which is created through shared modification. In case of farmers, there are three models of livelihood strategy, respectively extensification, diversification, and migration.

The use of local wisdom in ecofeminism can be understood with subsistence concept. This concept originated from Latin word “subsistere” defined as “to survive, to stop, to be stubborn, to resist, to step backward, and to defend backwardness”. That word can also be defined as “to survive with basic (minimum) needs” or “to keep and defend the existence with self-owned strength”. If environment becomes too corrupted, then subsistence provides an exit from many deadlocks in the destructive system comprising of industrial societies, market economics and patriarchal capitalists.

Moreover, local wisdom is in accordance with the effort to maintain biodiversity, and this effort is in conformance with ecofeminism that aims to produce environmentally friendly position. The nature of biodiversity is relationalist, not reductionist. Biodiversity conservation can be said as the conservation of any relationships in order to protect the balance and harmony. Knowledge owned by local people is the part of diversity that must be respected by others.

Regarding to the explanations above, local wisdom has been used as the base for livelihood activity including migration and farming. Local wisdom is the main constituent of Dusung system, and it has successfully showed women position in social structure. Women activity always follows gender construction in the society. Dusung uses gender construction to divide farming works between men and women. The implementation of Dusung is a result of deep exploration on local wisdom, which is inherited by the people and comprised of knowledge, belief, understandings, habit, and ethic. Local wisdom can also determine women activity in domestic sector and public sector. Women activity in domestic sector includes caring child, doing housekeeping, preparing household staple, and maintaining household sustainability. In public sector, women may go to another place for household affair, do farming (planting crop commodities and marketing the products), and make communication with other women, or other individuals, regarding their works. Women activity in those two sectors is actually the product of sociocultural construction that later initiates gender construction that prevails until now.
As a matter of fact, women activity has been developing, which is precisely not only in domestic sector but also in public sector. It is now difficult to differentiate men activity from women activity. Women not only do farming and housekeeping, and this increase the burden of women responsibility, possibly beyond what they can bear. Women still must implement livelihood strategy to fulfill household needs. The development of three livelihood strategies, respectively extensification, diversification and migration, is actually pioneered by women. The selection of livelihood strategy is done by women who then apply that strategy through Dusung. One proof of this activity is on the case of enhancement of plantation area. Women play important role in the intensification of plantation. They prepare new land for the next plantation after the existing plantation is no longer fertile. In other words, the usual way to open new plantation is by clearing primary forest, and this activity has now been forbidden. Dusung gives a way for women to select the proper livelihood strategy to maintain the sustainability of environment around them that has been harmed over times.

Those descriptions give a direction for this research to conduct an investigation on Dusung. Such investigation may enable researcher to understand why farming and migration are conducted simultaneously. This investigation also helps researcher to understand the role of women in various contexts such as gender construction, local wisdom, and livelihood strategy. Result of investigation on Dusung showed that gender construction, local wisdom, and livelihood strategy are designed based on women activity in both domestic and public sectors, and this gives confirmation that women get excessive workload. The implementation of Dusung may ensure that environment is in good quality, including personal quality of men and women, and it is hoped that this environment is capable to fulfill household needs.

3.2.4. Impact on the sustainability of household livelihoods. The increasing needs have forced women to conduct various livelihood activities in order to make contribution to household income. Result of research showed that the improvement of women role has positive impact on household income. The income is usually allocated to several needs such as food, child tuition, cloth, shelter, custom ceremony, and daily needs. Clear description about this allocation is shown in Table 2.

Based on the contents of Table 2, child tuition dominates the allocation of household income. It seems that this allocation is targeted for next education after the child graduates from senior high school. In the context of this research, the colleges are mostly located in Ambon City and Namlea District, and therefore, a quite amount of money is needed to afford the colleges. The greatest contributor of child tuition includes copra, forest nutmeg, cattle, and captive fishery.

Custom ceremony usually relies its funding source on livestocks (cattle) and coconut (copra). Besides this source, in certain events, such as wedding, birth, and death, the neighbors and relatives possibly feel required to give contribution to the host. During wedding ceremony, the guests must be served with local alcohol beverage (called sopi), and it signifies that the host should spend a quite amount of money. Food needs are fulfilled only from farming the food crops and selling fumed fish.

Great proportion of products from food crops are used for household consumption, while the rest proportion is sold to buy daily needs, which are still related with household food. The average price of peanut commodity is IDR (Indonesia Rupiah) 15,000 per kilogram. Average production of this commodity is 100 kgs from average land width of 0.25 ha. The contribution of this commodity to household income is IDR 1,500,000 per planting season. However, peanut production is still low because farmers use seeds from previous harvest, and they keep using those seeds for the next 2-3 years. Corn commodity is planted together with peanut and edible tubers. Average land width of 0.25 ha can deliver average production of 1,000 kgs/ha and the product can be set at average price of IDR 1,500 per kilogram. Similar to peanut, corn is originated from the seeds stored from previous harvest. Corn and peanut are usually planted during rain season, and therefore, the planting is done only once a year. Edible tubers are grown for household consumption. If the tubers successfully achieve average production of 1,000 kg with average price of IDR 1,000 per kilogram, then the contribution of this commodity to household income is IDR 1,000,000 per planting season.
Plantation crops cultivated include coconut (for getting copra) and clove. The price of copra fluctuates with market demand. Average price of copra is IDR 3,000 per kilogram. Respondents, precisely the households that do the processing of copra, can reach average production of 300 kilograms, and in a year, respondents produce copra twice. Therefore, copra production in a year is reaching 600 kg and its contribution to household income is IDR 1,800,000 per year. Average land width for coconut plantation is about one hectare. Coconut plantation is often inherited by farmers from their parent and the coconut trees have been aged averagely at 30 years old. Although it is considered important for rejuvenation, coconut is rarely replanted after harvest because copra price is always fluctuated and even declined once to IDR 1,000 per kilogram. As informed by respondents, the most tolerated price decline for copra is IDR 5,000 per kilogram. If the price goes down further, then farmers just abandon the plantation and wait for the growth of new shoots. They can get loss if they insist on processing those coconuts into copra. Forest nutmeg is a leading commodity in small island, especially in Romang Island. Average land width for clove commodity has reached 0.5 hectare with average production of 100 kg. The price for this commodity is IDR 30,000 per kilogram, and the contribution of this commodity to household income is IDR 3,000,000 per year.

Captured fishery is one livelihood source for household consumption. Fishes are sold for child tuition, food, and shelter. Fishes may be sold at specific place or by peddling across villages (through system called jibu-jibu/papalele). Captive fishery becomes livelihood source during silent season (less waves), which often occurs averagely every four month in a year. Monthly average income from this work is IDR 1,000,000, which may contribute to household income for IDR 4,000,000 per year. Sea grass, however, is not optimum, but once harvest can give benefit for IDR 1,000,000. The contribution of sea grass to household income is IDR 2,000,000 per year.

Animal husbandry is managed in traditional way. Livestocks are bred as safety valve when the household needs fast money. Cattle can be sold at average price of IDR 5,000,000 per head per year. Goat is priced averagely at IDR 1,000,000 per head per year. Money obtained from livestock sale is used for the shelter (house), which among others is to repair the damaged parts of the house. Respondents who cultivate captured fishery reported that they use net as a tool, whereas large-scale fish entrepreneurs already use fish boat equipped with modern instruments and thus with capability to operate further than traditional catchment area. For the shelter, most materials are acquired from nearby forest, but for the construction of more permanent house, the materials are bought from material store, such as cement, zinc sheets, and iron bar.

Table 2. Household income before and in Covid-19

| No | Source of Income         | Average Income /Year (IDR) |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
|    |                          | Before Covid-19 | In Covid-19   |
| 1  | Food Crops               | 6,450,000**    | 5,000,000**  |
|    | Peanut                   | 2,550,000      | 3,000,000    |
|    | Corn                     | 2,400,000      | 1,500,000    |
|    | Edible Tubers            | 1,500,000      | 500,000      |
| 2  | Plantation Crops         | 7,500,000      | 4,800,000    |
|    | Copra                    | 3,000,000      | 1,800,000    |
|    | Forest Nutmeg            | 4,500,000      | 3,000,000    |
| 3  | Livestocks               | 6,500,000      | 5,000,000    |
|    | Cattle                   | 5,000,000      | 4,000,000    |
|    | Goat                     | 1,000,000      | 500,000      |
|    | Chicken                  | 500,000        | 500,000      |
| 4  | Fishery                  | 8,000,000**    | 6,000,000**  |
|    | Captured Fishery         | 5,000,000      | 4,000,000    |
|    | Sea Grass                | 3,000,000      | 2,000,000    |
Table 2 indicates that households have already selected their livelihood strategy for fulfilling household needs. The selected strategy describes the needs that the households put as priority. Average contribution of women to household income per year is IDR 20,458,000 with monthly average income of IDR 1,788,166. The biggest contribution is given by fishery, followed by livestocks, plantation crops and food crops. Each income source is aimed for fulfilling various household needs. Education gets the dominant allocation from income sources. There are three income sources with significant contribution to pay education cost, respectively captured fishery, livestocks, and plantation crops. Meanwhile, food crops are grown specifically for fulfilling food needs and the remaining, if any, will be sold to fulfill the daily needs.

Average contribution of women activity to household income is IDR 1,200,000 per month, which is quite smaller than Regional Minimum Wage for Maluku Province in Year of 2020, which is IDR 2,604,961 (Decree of the Governor of Maluku, No 268, 2019). Two livelihood sources are the greatest contributor to household income, respectively fishery with IDR 9,000,000 and food crops with IDR 7,000,000. Food crop farming becomes more productive after Covid-19 pandemic, and the reason is possibly because the households rely their food from their land. If food crops are monetized, it successfully increases household income, which also indicates that women contribution to household income is also improving. However, if compared to before Covid-19 pandemic, women contribution to household income is actually declining to IDR 3,450,000 or around 21% of total contribution.

It must be noted that fishery, livestocks, and plantation crops have almost similar contribution to household income. Although food crops are cultivated for self consumption, but it is still counted as expenses. Despite this position, food crops still give the most balanced contribution to household income. Any strategies oriented toward multi-business will be culminated at the effort to defend income sources, especially when one of income sources gets disturbed. Food crops are such livelihood strategy. During Covid-19 pandemic, women who previously worked as seller find themself in difficult position. They still seek alternatives such as moving their activity to the safe place or to nearby the house, and concentrating the sale of farming and fishery products in their own village. Indeed, Covid-19 pandemic has decreased household income decline of 21%.

4. Conclusion and Recommendation

4.1. Conclusion
By the virtue of results of this research, researcher takes several conclusions. Each will be explained as following:

1. Covid-19 pandemic brings positive impact on the expansion of women role in the sustainability of household livelihoods. During Covid-19 pandemic, women play important role in the sustainability of household livelihoods. They stay at home and do economic activity by cultivating food crops in house yards. This activity is done to fulfill the food needs of the household. Economic needs are in general also fulfilled through this farming. This livelihood activity must be done although women still bear the responsibility for caring child and watching the child learning at home.

2. Covid-19 pandemic brings negative impact on the expansion of women role in the sustainability of household livelihoods. When women go out of their house for livelihood activity, they are possibly exposed to Covid-19. If they insist on going out to other village, for example, they risk of neglecting housekeeping activity and having their child hardly controlled. Somehow, selling the farming products to other village or far away markets is the only option for the sustainability of household livelihoods.
3. The expansion of women role has forced women to apply varying livelihood strategies. This position gives them heavy burden in the household. Despite this heavy burden, women still have significant contribution to household income although it ever declines averagely by 21% due to Covid-19 pandemic.

4.2. Recommendation
Women role in the sustainability of household livelihoods has been increasing. The real challenge is how to fulfill life necessities that dramatically increase during Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, women and their economic activity must be protected, and this protective measures are described as following:

1. Village government must prepare a program that gives opportunity to women to conduct their economic activity. This program can be launched by using village donation grant with intention for developing local farming of food crops at the house yards. Therefore, government program can support the fulfillment of household’s food needs while still giving a space for women to conduct their maternal function, including caring and watching child to learn online at home.

2. Household burden must be crossing the mind of women. Covid-19 pandemic can infect the women if they insist on going out of the village for selling farming products. Women should be supported by men, at least by replacing women role in selling the products and in building network with traders in their village or in other nearby village.

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