

The Social Movement and Political Exclusion of Fatayat *Nahdlatul Ulama* as an Islamic Women's Organization in Banten

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to discuss issues regarding the activism of the women's organizations of social movement, namely Fatayat NU in handling Covid-19 and describes the manifestations of political exclusion of women-based movements due to patriarchal practices. The research method used a qualitative approach with phenomenological methods. The data collection techniques used were interviews and by document studies. The results from this study show that the activism of the social movement of women's organizations such as Fatayat during the pandemic has an important role to appear deliberately excluded and it is not widely exposed in society. In this study we conducted research limitations, specifically focused on the activism of Fatayat NU's role in handling the impact of Covid-19 and the issue of patriarchy which excluded activism and its movements which were not widely reported by media with limited coverage in the Banten area. In socio-political perspective, this research tries to enrich the knowledge of women's social movement activism in breaking the hegemonic patriarchal culture in society. Also this discourse needs to be carried out massively in order to fight the strength of patriarchy and gender justice.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The social and political existence of women, both individually and in groups, often experiences exclusion [1], [2], [3], [4], [5]. The activism of actors and non-governmental organizations, individually and in the community, has shown empathy and solidarity with the people that affected by the Covid-19 outbreak. As you can see [6] starting from the richest conglomerates in Indonesia, civil society communities to schoolchildren are working together to show their support

for the government, medical personnel and patients and communities that are affected by the pandemic. This situation has been widely reported and viral through various media platforms. However, reporting about women's activism, which also plays an important role, seems to have been deliberately marginalized. Do not let the important role of women in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic might not be known about their activism and their social activity so that they become missing pieces and tend to

be deliberately reduced due to issues of gender sentiment and bias.

In pandemic period, there is a tendency that the activities and roles of women are intentionally excluded so that they are not widely exposed in the communities [7], [8], [9], [10], [11]. The Covid-19 outbreak until October has not shown a positive decline, and the death rate continues to increase. The conditions become very crucial and problematic in the midst of the massive spread of the epidemic, which requires creative efforts from stakeholders, especially regional leaders who should work together and collaborate with women communities in dealing with the war with the epidemic [12], [13], [14], [15]. The people affected by Covid-19 were quite helped by the activism of the women's organizations under the auspices of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), the Fatayat NU organization. There is an official website from the organization of the Fatayat NU that reports on its activities in dealing with the impact of Covid-19 and there are also several local media also reporting on their activities. This informations are not so massive, but maybe just aborting obligations or demands. The organization's activities seem silent from the coverage of mainstream media and other online media platforms.

Fatayat is a non-governmental organization part of the Autonomous Bodies (BANOM) under the auspices of NU based on NU young women. The organization consists of women with a maximum age of 40 years (nu.or.id; fatayatnu.or.id). This NU women's organization is considered a large organization, because structurally it starts from the lowest level (*Anak Ranting* and *Ranting*) to the national level (*Pimpinan Pusat*). Mayrudin and Nasip ([16], [17] state that an organization is present in Indonesian regions, Fatayat often makes positive contributions to the regions, including roles in the fields of education, preaching, health, socio-politics and economics.

This research is important to do because of the crossover of crucial issues between women's activism, social movements and patriarchal culture in Indonesia, especially in the Banten region. The research

which offering gender issues like this often led to exclusion or even rejection because patriarchal practices are still remains in society. Young asserts that a culture of intolerance to differences leads to political exclusion and marginalization [18]. Therefore, it is feared that the intersection between women's activism and patriarchy will further erode gender justice. Therefore, a deconstruction effort is needed starting from examining the motives for the formation and struggle of social movements initiated by Fatayat NU during the pandemic. The social movement that is activated by the women's organization presents counter narrative and offers public information justice that favors the recognition of the existence of women to handle the Covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia, especially in Banten. This study focuses on the discussion of dissecting the activism of social movements of women's organizations such as Fatayat, which are not widely published by various media platforms and the wider community.

In the socio-political study, this article tries to enrich the knowledge about the activism of women's social movements in the hegemonic patriarchal culture in society. Practically speaking, this kind of discourse needs to be carried out massively in order to fight the strength of patriarchy and fight for gender justice and to care for the historical story of the presence and role of women's struggle in all aspects of social and state life. It is no less important, that handling a pandemic condition requires the participation of parties outside the government. This is due to the limited capabilities and resources the government in fighting and overcoming of the virus outbreak. This research is considered important to identifying, analyzing and formulating the activism of non-government stakeholders in carrying out the role to deal with the spread of the corona virus. So that it will be a meaningful contribution of knowledge for policy makers, that there is a group of people based on women's movements that can be relied on to help the government in the midst of crisis conditions such as the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, we try to examine previous studies related to the topic of the women's movement, patriarchal culture and political exclusion. In fact, in practice of the women's movement has rapidly growth and demands in various places in the world since the enactment of the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This movements are active in the context of realizing gender equality and justice because it is driven by injustices that received by women in the domestic sphere such as the social, economic and political environment. Observed from the nature of its struggle, this movement emerged and developed as a form of awareness to catch up and fight the injustices gained by women [19], [20].

However, studies or research on women's movement activism [21], [22], [23] began to develops in various scientific disciplines and national contexts in several countries at the end of the 20th century. In the United States, the studies of this issue have developed since the 1970s. In France, the context of the historical study of the women's movement was carried out by several French sociology scholars. Studies on this subject gained growing recognition [21] examines the obstacles or difficulties experienced by the women's movement in participating in dominant institutions. In line with that, Taylor and Whittier [21] state that:

"...women's movements studies have challenged a series of analytical dichotomies that have marked the dominant paradigms of social movement theory since the 1970s, such as the oppositions between expressive and instrumental politics, identity and strategic activism, cultural and structural change, and rational and emotional action."

Research on women in the cultural, socio-political and economic spheres in Indonesia has been carried out by academics and practitioners in various contexts of purpose. Several studies present facts about women and the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia which creates obstacles and

challenges to women's activism in the context of electoral politics [24]; shackle women's freedom and violate the rights regulated in the law [25]; and causes gender injustice in the form of marginalization, subordination, stereotypes, violence, and a double burden for women [20].

Other related research conducted by Indriyany, Hikmawan and Godjali which highlighted the issue of Gender Mainstreaming (PUG) through women's political participation in the *DPRD Banten Province* shows that women are still considered as objects of power. The agenda and programatics for women's political struggles are hampered by conditions that are still strongly attached to the patriarchal culture in Banten. The research, emphasized the presence of women through the affirmation of the 30% quota that tends to be merely symbolic politics and is forced to fulfill existing conditions, not to against women's programs and agendas [26].

In contrast to the above studies, Lies Marcos-Natsir et. al. conducted a mapping of the Islamic women's movement in post-reform Indonesia by tracing gender empowerment-based programs in five organizations: 'Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah; Fatayat NU; Women's Prosperous Justice Party (PKS); *Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (MHTI); and Fahmina-Institute [27].

Furthermore, there are also elaborative and explorative studies on the movement of Indonesian Muslim women, namely Fatayat NU, which plays an important role in social transformation efforts related to the discourse of equality and equal rights for men and women in Indonesia and awakens the spirit to get out of the oppression and shackles of patriarchy [28], [29], [30]. Study [31] examines the tactical and strategic movements of the Islamic women's organization Fatayat NU in the struggle for women's empowerment in the Soekarno and Soeharto administrations. study [32] is more specific about Fatayat NU as an Islamic women's organization movement that plays a role in the scope of political literacy regarding awareness of citizenship and political rights and encourages women's political

participation in Sidoarjo. Then there is another study [33] which investigates the internalization of Gender Mainstreaming in the body of an Islamic women's organization, Fatayat NU, Province of Yogyakarta Special Region. In addition, Nadhifah's study (2020) examines the Fatayat movement at the sub-branch level (Kemplong Village, Wiradesa District, Pekalongan Regency) to accelerate women's empowerment in the health sector [34].

Then Sukamto who wrote a study on "*Analysis of the Productivity of Fatayat NU Women in Tackling Poverty in the City of Surabaya in 2016.*" His research attempts to analyze the productivity of young women who are members of the *Fatayat Jam'iyah Nahdatul Ulama* (NU) organization in the city of Surabaya that carrying out various economic activities in order to alleviate poverty conditions. The results of his research show that the level of poverty reduction in Surabaya can be seen from the higher of the productivity of Fatayat NU women it will get decreasing the number of poverties, because women of the Fatayat NU in Surabaya City are the largest contributor to the population's capita. Along with the progress of the organization, Fatayat NU is not only an organization that talks about religion and education, but also an organization that fills social, health, political and economic spaces [35].

The studies above simply carry out an examination to analyze and find patterns for the women's movement in fighting for certain values, regulations or conditions. Initially, the struggle for women's groups in Indonesia still had a central issue related to the urgency of gender mainstreaming in various aspects of life. Now, the agenda setting for the women's movement is growing, touching on the direction of socio-economic empowerment, advocacy, and play an important role as problem solvers in society in certain situations.

The literature review related to the covid-19 pandemic phenomenon departs from a study [36] on examining the public policies of the Joko Widodo Administration in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. Then

Riksandi and Hidayat [37], in the development of a social movement (namely the workout from home movement) through hashtags on social media for a campaign to live healthy in everyday life during a pandemic. A study Sutrisna [38] which presents the urgency of a literacy movement in the midst of a pandemic. A study Salim and Azriani [39] on the development of collective concern in the form of a digital community social movement responding to the pandemic problem in Surabaya. In addition, The reserch study Haryadi and Malitasari [40] show the strengthening of collective action and social solidarity during a pandemic due to "mutual problems" that afflict all levels of society. Then a study that is quite close to our research, namely the study Erowati et al [41] investigating the activism of the women's movement (Persit Kartika Chandra, Branch of XXXIX Pati) which is said to be the driving force for the growth of social capital in the midst of a crucial period due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

All reviews of previous studies presented studies that we consider as relevant enough to show that there is a role and activism by NU women's organizations in society. This organizational movement is not just an organizational ritual or only for the benefit of its members and institutions. More than that, the activities of this women's organization have attempted to empower and help solve public problems, especially gender justice. As an autonomous body, the Fatayat NU organization runs its programs independently and is not tied to government assistance. Its activities continue to prioritize the values of struggle and pay attention to the interests of women. The benefits of the organization's existence have been tested in various contexts and places. So, this research is a continuation of theoretical and factual development to analyze the role of the women's wing of NU in dealing with social and economic problems due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Based from the literatures research above and then compare it with this study, it can be seen that the studies have not focused on deep-rooted exploration of the problem of

strengthening exclusion of the activism of women's organizations during the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, this research aims to fill the empty space for studies regarding the problems and impacts of Covid-19 that hit Indonesia based on the perspective of women's movement activism, patriarchy, and political exclusion.

The hypothesis in this study that the stretching of patriarchal culture and practices often leads to political exclusion on the activities and central roles of women, especially the Fatayat NU women's organization. During the Covid-19 pandemic, their activities and roles seemed to be deliberately excluded so that they were not widely exposed in the community. Its activities are not widely published by various media platforms and the wider community. Unfortunately, gender-based social movements often do not always receive positive feedback and recognition. Therefore, all the activities and central roles of the Fatayat women's organization also experience this. Even though the activities of the *Nahdliyin* wing organization are quite massive, they work together to help people affected by the spread and infection of Covid-19.

3. METHODS

This research used a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. The use of qualitative research is to understand, explore, and uncover certain problems from what is being studied [42], [43]. Then phenomenology is used as an approach to explain the phenomenon and its meaning for the individual concerned. This approach seeks the reality reveal itself naturally. With a stimulus question, the research subject is allowed to tell all kinds of dimensions of experience related to a phenomenon or event [44]. This approach has several advantages in understanding and checking a reality. One of them is to understand the background of the phenomenon in order to know and interpret the root of the phenomenon, so it is not only limited to seeing a visible surface of

phenomenon [45]. In fact, the use of this approach aims to explore the deepest awareness of the subjects, namely resource persons regarding their experiences and activism in mobilizing women-based social movements in facing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic amidst a strong and solid patriarchal culture.

Phenomenological approach is subjective because the facts that refer to the narrative of the subjects, namely Fatayat NU activists who experienced a phenomenon in the handling of the Covid-19 outbreak. However, this can be overcome with phenomenological objectivity, which means letting the facts speak for themselves. There are two ways, namely: *epoche* (researchers postpone or postpone the assessment of facts or phenomena, by letting the phenomenon speak as it is without the intervention of good-bad assessments and so on); and *eiditic* (understanding phenomena through understanding the expressions or expressions used by the subject, then the researcher tries to do empathy, tries to enter the subject's thought experience area through imaginative processes [44]. These methods are useful for uncovering phenomena that occur by observing carefully and examining the social activities of the Fatayat NU organization in dealing with the impact of the corona virus pandemic.

The data collection techniques that used were in-depth interviews and literature studies. Furthermore, the data or information collected is carried out in a reduction stage [43], [44] so it can be presented and concluded as a result of an analysis of the activism of the women's organization movement in handling Covid-19 which focuses on the Muslim organization Fatayat NU. Apart from tracing their activism, another discourse that we would like to examine is patriarchal behavior or practices that often exclude the activism of women's social movements.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Social Movement Based on Women's Identity

In examining the phenomenon of social movement activism in dealing with

Covid-19 for women's organizations under the auspices of NU, namely the Fatayat organization, we use Alberto Melucci's conception of a New Social Movement and an Identity Collective. Melucci [46] defines the New Social Movement (*NSM*) as a form of reaction to a complaint. According to him, *NSM* wants to fight against institutional intervention, which includes a patriarchal culture that is too big in giving birth to gender injustice and trying to reclaim autonomy.

Melucci [47] argues that *NSM* is triggered by a new situation of conflict itself which includes symbolic codes, identity claims, and personal or expressive demands (personal or expressive claims). The issue of information and signs (information and signs) has colored the dynamics of community development. Thus, the *NSM* plays an important role as messages expressing oppositional tendencies and modalities. This movement tends to focus on several aspects, such as spirituality and expressions of the idealized version of the modern type of life, which in its perspective wants to do an implicit rejection of the instrumental rationality of the dominant society. An important systemic impact from the perspective of the GSB is how to clearly see the distinctive form of modern power that lies behind administrative rationality, in this way the collective identity emphasizes natural social constructions and the possibility of autonomous alternative arrangements. This was emphasized by Melucci [46] in his writing entitled "The Process of Collective Identity" which states that Collective Identity is:

"the capacity for autonomous action, a differentiation of the actor from others while continuing to be itself. However, self-identification must also gain social recognition if it is to provide the basis for identity. The ability of a collective actor to distinguish itself from others must be recognized by these others. Therefore it would be impossible to talk

of collective identity without referring to its relational dimension....."

According to Sukmana [47] positive point of view of Melucci's perspective on movements and messages that emphasize the importance of free space between levels of power in daily life. This shows that actors can consolidate collective identities either through representation or participation. This perspective helps establish some of the issues of the *NSM*. One of them is attention to the role of identity in modern collective action such as the activism of the Islamic women's organization Fatayat NU movement in handling the spread of the Covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia.

4.2 Gender, Patriarchy and Exclusion

Gender perspective exists to eliminate gender inequality and injustice. As a strategy, this perspective is useful at the level of against the gender equality and justice [26]. As usual, discussions about gender cannot be separated from the discourse of patriarchal practice as a social structure [48, p. 267], cultural construction [49], and historical construction which stem and inhibit activism in the struggle for justice and gender equality [50].

Mackinnon's study [51, p. 319] examines the effect of equality and/or equal rights in the United States that reveals gender equality laws are completely ineffective in providing justice for women. Chambers [52] and Tong [50] emphasize that the existence of patriarchy in social life is consciously maintained and the dominant image of superior men (masculine) and inferior (feminine) women continues to be normalized. As a result of these conditions, women face and experience discrimination, intolerance, and exclusion in the domestic sphere (family) and even the public sphere as mention in the studies of Jaggar [53].

Patriarchy according to Bressler [49] is a social system that places men as the central authority figure in social and political organizations. As exemplified in

the case of a family, a father has authority over spouse, children and property. The actualization is evident in that the system institutionalizes men's government and privileges and demands subordination and exclusion of women. As for the meaning of exclusion [18], the basic definition of Young [54] is defined as follows: "... keep some individuals or groups out of the fora of debate or processes of decision-making, or which allow some individuals or groups dominative control over what happens in them." Therefore, a patriarchal culture raises the exclusion or marginalization of activism and the existence of women individually and in women's communities.

4.3 *Fatayat NU's activism during the Covid-19 Pandemic*

Covid-19 has spread to almost all of countries, this pandemic also outbreaks in parts of Indonesia. The impact caused many deaths, lost income, jobless and limited room for actualization. Even so, in the midst of the massive attack of the corona virus, there is an "oasis" regarding the growth and development of a sense of social solidarity from various groups, especially the activism of women's movements, one of which is Fatayat NU.

Fatayat management continues to carry out various activities to reduce the misery of people that affected by Covid-19. As stated by Annisa Sholihah, General Chairperson of PW Fatayat NU Banten (Interview, 2020) during this pandemic the organization mobilized collective action to reduce the burden on people's lives by holding social services, distributing groceries, cash, hand sanitizers, and masks to the very community. Affected by covid-19, such as scavengers and pedicab drivers, especially women who have such informal occupations. She said:

"... based on this condition we were reacted to... help those who had an impact from Covid-19, we carried out this activity because we felt that we need to be present in the community to help, especially women." ... berangkat dari kondisi tersebut kami tergugah untuk...

membantu mereka yang berdampak karena Covid-19, kita melakukan kegiatan ini karena memang situasinya sedang seperti ini dan dalam situasi seperti ini kami merasa perlu hadir di tengah masyarakat untuk membantu, khususnya perempuan." (Sholihah Interview, 2020)

The feeling of being awakened is an important aspect of a characteristic of the embodiment of the New Social Movement (NSM) based on the Melucci conception [47] which defines NSM as a form of reaction to a complaint. The form of reaction from a complaint was even the outcry of the community, especially women, which prompted the initiation of activism in the Islamic women's organization Fatayat NU movement to take part in handling the impact of Covid-19 in Indonesia. This was also emphasized by Riri Khariroh (Interview, 2020) as an activist at the Fatayat NU Central Leadership (*Pimpinan Pusat/PP*), that the goal of this movement is a humanitarian movement as a form of Fatayat's responsibility to continue serving the community.

Thus, the institutional structural initiation was carried out by PP Fatayat NU in instructing the raising of social movement activism to mitigate the impact of covid-19 to all Fatayat NU big families from the level of regional administrators to branches. Sholihah enthusiastically delivered a substantial narrative from PP Fatayat's instructions, namely:

"Don't lose your focus, we must continue to monitor and be responsive. Fatayat must always be ahead. So when something is needed, Fatayat can immediately respond and help." "jangan sampai lengah kita harus terus pantau dan cekatan. Fatayat harus lebih selalu di depan. Jadi ketika ada sesuatu yang membutuhkan, Fatayat langsung bisa merespon dan membantu" (Interview with Sholihah, 2020).

During the Covid-19 pandemic, we all realize this problem is not a problem that is only the obligation of the

state, but there is also the responsibility of fellow citizens to help and solve the problems caused by this pandemic. According to Khariroh (Interview, 2020) as an administrator at the Fatayat NU Central Leadership, eloquently conveyed the active role of her organization during the pandemic by saying that Fatayat was very responsive to the problem of the Covid-19 pandemic by carrying out several areas of programmatic activities, namely:

First, in the field of da'wah, Fatayat's activities include creating channels for public education and strengthening spirituality during this pandemic. Such as holding online congregational recitation, online consultation on fiqh during the pandemic, spreading prayer procedures during the pandemic, reviewing the bodies of the death, and so on. In addition, doing online question and answer on Instagram (IG), Whatsapp Group and other social media channels related to practical fiqh-fiqh needed by women during the pandemic and making short flyers related to fadillah reading prayers during a pandemic, so guides that is what we convey to members and the public on social media that can be accessed by anyone;

Second, in the health sector, its activities provide education to the public regarding Covid-19 and its prevention and provide assistance with a set of tools according to health protocols. Fatayat is working with the Ministry of Health's Health Promotion Center (PROMKES) to deal with and mitigate the impact of the pandemic. Some of the main programs are: Conducting public awareness efforts by creating short online campaigns as well as creating memes about recommendations to follow health protocols and also distributing a hand-washing package to regions;

Third, in the social sector, its activities are in the forms of distributing basic necessities, such as food packages and household logistics to poor groups of

people in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi (JABODETABEK) and also Banten. By this activity, Fatayat collaborates with Lazis NU, which is indeed given the main mandate for this basic food package to small vulnerable groups of people affected by covid-19. In addition, Fatayat has collaborated with the Ministry of Manpower (Kemenaker) to focus on encouraging thousands of women who have small businesses to be able to access and get business capital and receive economic empowerment training;

Fourth, in the field of advocacy and law, its activities are to facilitate online counseling services for Institute of the Protection of Women and Children (LKP3A). This is also done by Fatayat because the service institution is currently not operating, so that female friends who have experienced abush of violence cannot make a direct complaint to the service institution, so they can submit of their complaints online. This activity is carried out because many female friends who have experienced violence can complain about their cases and then find a solution.

The movement to handle covid-19 carried out by the Fatayat NU women's organization is not only that, but has also encouraged activism from Fatayat officials in various regions in Banten. The following are some of the activisms of the organization's movements as representatives of Islamic women's organizations:

1. Fatayat NU Banten

The Fatayat NU Banten Regional Management on Monday, May 11, 2020, held a social service with the targets of widows, seniors citizen and jobless person that affected the Covid-19 pandemic. This social service was held in Gempol Village and Kubang Apu Village, Serang City, Banten [55]. In addition, they also held social services which were held

simultaneously, the donation came from Fatayat officials. Sholihah (General Chairperson of PW Fatayat NU Banten, Interview, 2020).

2. Fatayat NU, Tangerang Regency

The Fatayat NU Branch Management in Tangerang Regency provides an integrated coordination post for handling covid-19 in collaboration with Lazis NU Tangerang Regency (Instagram of Fatayat NU on Tangerang Regency).

3. Fatayat NU Lebak

The Fatayat NU Lebak Branch Management initiated a movement to comply with health protocols in order to prevent the spread of Covid-19 in Lebak Regency [56].

4. Fatayat NU Serang City

Activities carried out by Fatayat NU Serang City in the context of handling Covid-19 are providing education about cleanliness and distributing masks in Serang City, in collaboration with APEDI (Indonesian Village Entrepreneurs Association). The focus of this activity is people who are active outside the house. The point of the mask distribution activities was carried out around the Pasar Lama Royal and Pasar Rau [57].

5. Fatayat NU, South Tangerang

Fatayat NU Tangerang Selatan together with several PAC (Branch Subsidiary Leaders), namely PAC Pamulang, Serpong, Ciputat and Pondok Aren conducted fundraising to provide sembago assistance to Fatayat NU cadres in particular and communities around South Tangerang affected by the Covid-19 pandemic [58].

The activism carried out by Fatayat NU in handling the spread of Covid-19 shows a collective movement as an organization that shelters the interests of women members and women in general. This activism was driven by a new situation in the surrounding environment in the form of high victims of being infected with the Corona virus and the wide socio-economic impact of the spread of Covid-19. The global pandemic situation that has affected people's lives in the country has demanded many parties to do something about the crisis that has occurred. Fatayat NU is among those who are motivated to be involved in overcoming the problem of the spread of the virus. Not only from external elements, internal encouragement from the management and members also triggered the massive movement of Fatayat women during the pandemic. Members and administrators demand Fatayat as an organization with a large number of members, spread throughout Indonesia, and have extensive network resources to take concrete actions to help fellow children of the nation and state deal with the spread of covid-19 and its effects.

The four main activities carried out by Fatayat during the pandemic have shown many benefits for some parts of the community. As an organization engaged in a religious-based social sector, of course this Islamic women's organization does not have technical institutional competence in the health sector in curative action to cure positive Covid-19 patients. However, the problem of the spread of the corona virus is not only monopolized by the health sector. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has hit the economic sector and drastic social changes have occurred in society. The four main activities carried out by Fatayat NU provide evidence of the great contribution of a women's collective movement in non-medical fields. In the realm of da'wah, the activities carried out by Fatayat NU have greatly helped the

psychological aspects of Muslims who need guidance in carrying out worship during the pandemic. Fatayat has become one of the frontline organizations that have been aggressively conducting socialization and dissemination of information about fiqh of worship during the pandemic. With this fiqh information, people will be calm and comfortable praying even in a pandemic situation in the community.

The next activity is in the health promotion sector category, it is clear what Fatayat has done to help prevent the spread of Covid-19. They have carried out a massive campaign on the importance of maintaining infectious disease prevention health protocols. They have also distributed cloth masks to the wider community and made hand washing stations at several points of the crowd. Activities like this have indeed become mainstream activities that are carried out by many other social institutions in order to ease government duties. Meanwhile, other activities in the social and advocacy sectors also have an impact on providing great benefits for residents affected by Covid-19.

Fatayat NU's activism shows an important role –as a New Social Movement- in constructing solidarity building that runs naturally, autonomously, and becomes an alternative forum for participatory struggles during this pandemic. The NU women's organization is a reflection in line with the characteristics of Melucci, which is a group of citizens actively mobilizing collective action based on gender-based collective identities and expressions of spirituality [46].

4.4 Exclusion of the Women's Movement

Although the issue of gender equality is a demand in almost all countries, in fact it is not easy to make it happen. This is due to the cultural construct of society through a patriarchal culture that differentiates the roles of men and women [18]. This cultural construct has been going on for a long time from

generation to generation (Susanto, 2015). The movement carried out by the Fatayat NU women's organization seems to want to deconstruct a patriarchal culture that often discriminates in everyday life. This includes the exclusion or marginalization of activism and the important role of women in society during the Covid-19 pandemic because it's happens considered different [59]. Khariroh (interview, 2020) tells about the burdens experienced by women during the pandemic, as follows:

"The Covid-19 pandemic has a tremendous impact on women's groups, where men and women have different impacts. When viewed in the field, women are much more vulnerable during this Covid pandemic. This covid pandemic has made women have to return home, not work back and forth. Then the children did not go to school and studied at home, so that women who previously had a dual role, now women can be said to have a triple role. Where women have to work from home, must complete domestic work and also have to ensure their children can learn well through distance learning. Well, if this is not managed properly, in the sense that if there is no equal relationship in the household, then it can cause problems in the household. And it turns out that the results of the existing complaints, both within KOMNAS Perempuan and service institutions, such as Fatayat NU itself, the level of women's violence or domestic violence has increased very significantly during this pandemic period."

Khariroh (interview, 2020) continued her statement by providing one more example of cases of exclusion of women during the pandemic at the state and community level related to the policy of the Covid-19 National Task Force Team (SATGAS) which was initially not gender responsive. This reflects the situation of Indonesian society which is actually still very strong in a patriarchal culture. The impact is that women's issues are still considered insignificant (Young, 2000). Seeing this, the women's movement made

efforts to encourage the government to create a Gender Mainstreaming Working Group (PUG) in the work of the Task Force. Then the recommendations from this POKJA are discussed with the government, so that in dealing with the pandemic, there is an applicative gender perspective. If there is no push or massive movement of women to intervene in the formation of the POKJA, it is possible that gender injustice will continue to be grounded at the low level of this country. If it is not encouraged from a gender perspective, it is feared that it will become gender blind. It is a struggle in order to provide access to women to participate in progress.

In fact, one of the focuses in this research is to investigate the problem of exclusion or marginalization of these women. Perhaps during this pandemic, a patriarchal culture excludes the central role of women, indeed exclusion exists because it is considered different from the majority [60]. In fact, if we dissect the

activism of the Fatayat NU women's organization during the Covid-19 pandemic, it is extraordinary. But it is true that women's-based movements are often marginalized, not making the media interested in publishing women's movements. Because "majority hegemony" has become everyday life which is then considered as normality just as cultural stereotypes and media are actually a source of injustice [23, p. 47]. According to Khariroh (Interview, 2020) this is not a new phenomenon, this is a phenomenon that has been happening for a long time. Namely how women's voices are, women's movements are rarely raised in the media.

In order to emphasize this expression, we searched and registered online media in Banten. Unfortunately, of the 36 online media that we researched from April 2020 until September 2020, only four reported about Fatayat NU activism during the pandemic. For more details, please see the table below:

Table 1. List of Online Media in Banten Province

No	Name of Media	Website	Link of News
1	Antara News Banten	banten.antaranews.com	https://banten.antaranews.com/berita/101065/fatayat-nahdlatul-ulama-lebak-ajak-warga-taati-protokol-kesehatan-cegah-covid-19
2	Radar Banten	www.radarbanten.co.id	https://www.radarbanten.co.id/fatayat-nu-banten-gelar-bakti-sosial/
3	Tangerang Ekspres	www.tangerangekspres.co.id	https://www.tangerangekspres.co.id/2020/05/20/fatayat-nu-bagikan-sembako-untuk-kader-terdampak-covid-19/
4	Patron.id	www.patron.id	https://patron.id/fatayat-nu-kota-serang-berikan-edukasi-dan-bagikan-masker-kepada-masyarakat
5	Banten Raya	www.bantenraya.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
6	Ekbis Banten	www.ekbisbanten.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
7	Pelita Banten	www.pelitabanten.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
8	Banten Hits	www.bantenhits.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
9	Kabar Banten	www.kabarbanten.pikiran-rakyat.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
10	Media Banten	www.mediabanten.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
11	Biem.co	www.biem.co	No News about Fatayat-Covid
12	Fakta Banten	www.faktabanten.co.id	No News about Fatayat-Covid
13	Central News Banten	www.centralnews.co.id	No News about Fatayat-Covid

No	Name of Media	Website	Link of News
14	Titik Nol	www.titiknol.co.id	No News about Fatayat-Covid
15	Banten Perspektif	www.bantenperspektif.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
16	Banten Pos	www.banpos.co	No News about Fatayat-Covid
17	Seputar Banten	www.seputarbanten.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
18	Banten Info	www.banteninfo.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
19	Suara Banten	https://banten.suara.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
20	Selatsunda.com	www.selatsunda.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
21	Satubanten.com	www.satubanten.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
22	Detak Banten	https://www.detakbanten.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
23	Bidik Banten	https://www.bidikbanten.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
24	Pena Banten	https://penabanten.com	No News about Fatayat-Covid
25	Best Tangsel	https://www.besttangsels.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
26	Kabar Tangsel	https://kabartangsels.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
27	Suara Tangsel	https://suaratangsels.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
28	Tangsels Media	https://tangselmedia.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
29	Warta Tangerang	https://wartatangerang.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
30	Koran Tangerang	https://korantangerang.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
31	Berita Tangerang	https://beritatangerang.id/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
32	Tangerang News	https://tangerangnews.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
33	Jurnal Tangerang	http://www.jurnaltangerang.co/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
34	Cilegon News	https://cilegonnews.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
35	Kabar Pandeglang	https://kabarpandeglang.com/	No News about Fatayat-Covid
36	Banten News	www.bantennews.co.id	No News about Fatayat-Covid

Source: Processed primary data (2020)

So if you ask about the exclusion of the activism of the Fatayat women's organization by the media, and this is done in various aspects, not only in the context of the pandemic, but in the context of the media and / or journals that are very patriarchal (Interview Khariroh, 2020). Fatayat's activism seems to be experiencing it *"exclusion from benefits of political influence or economic participation, strategic power, or segregation from opportunities"* [18, p. 105]. Masudi (in Susanto, 2015) states that indeed the historical construction of a patriarchal society has since the beginning formed a

human civilization which considers that men are superior to women. As a result, this culture from generation-to-generation forms differences in behavior, status, and authority between men and women in society which then become a gender hierarchy.

The common thread for the time being, it means that injustice towards women's actions or the women's movement has indeed often occurred even from time immemorial, meaning that it is deeply ingrained in the culture of exclusion against women's movement

activism. Khariroh (Interview, 2020) stated that:

“exclusion is not only carried out by the media, but also by religious groups, and this is self-criticism too, because some time ago there was a discussion about fatwas in the context of a pandemic, we see that the fatwas issued by religious institutions both LBM NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Al-Wasilah and so on. But unfortunately, most of them are related to *mahdoh* worship. So what about the Friday prayers during a pandemic, how about the *Eid* prayer, the disposal of the corpse and others. But there are no fatwas or religious views or religious calls from religious leaders to build a relationship between *sakinah*, *mawadah* and *warohmah* domestic life, because of their concern for the number of violence during this pandemic. And it was also conveyed by us to religious leaders in the discussion. So it is like in the discourse and also the discourse of fatwa makers or religious views in Indonesia, the issue of the issue of women and children is also considered not something important to be responded to. In fact, what is more important is the great worship. Hopefully there is a connection again.”

Grounding patriarchal ideology and practices according to Muhadjir (in Susanto, 2015) has finally become a source of justification for the system of distribution of power, decision-making system, system of division of labor, ownership system and gender-biased resource distribution system. This kind of culture will eventually lead to discrimination, exclusion, marginalization, exploitation and violence against women [23, p. 9]. In fact, the concern is that in the context of this research, the existence and activism of women through Fatayat NU organizations will become –to borrow Weatherford's term [61]- “The Lost

Chapter” in the history of handling and mitigating the impact of the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic.

5. CONCLUSION

The development of patriarchal culture and practices often leads to political exclusion of women's central activities and roles. Ironically, the independence of the Republic of Indonesia has not been able to free women from stereotypes and wild images that have resulted in injustice against women. This was confirmed during the Covid-19 pandemic, the activities and roles of women seemed to be deliberately excluded so that they were not widely exposed in the community. Unfortunately, gender-based social movements often do not always receive positive feedback and recognition. On the contrary, experiencing social exclusion, namely the act of marginalization or marginalization of the existence of individuals or groups. Therefore, all the activities and central roles of the Fatayat women's organization also experience this.

Handling the conditions of the Covid-19 Pandemic requires participation from parties outside the government. This is due to the limited capabilities and resources the government has in fighting and overcoming the Covid-19 Pandemic. Then the appreciation for the activism of the women's movement in the midst of this pandemic storm must be conveyed by all circles. Openness to access to information regarding the central role of women needs to be promoted. Do not continue to be hegemonized by the patriarchal culture which has so far damaged the structural and cultural order of the Indonesian people.

Injustice towards women's actions or the women's movement has often occurred even from time immemorial, meaning that it is deeply ingrained in the culture of exclusion and oppression against women's movement activism. According to Young [23, p. 9] “injustices may contribute to or result from these forms of oppression.” The activism of women's social movements in breaking the hegemonic patriarchal culture in society. Practically

speaking, this kind of discourse needs to be carried out massively in order to fight the strength of patriarchy and fight for gender justice and to care for the historical story of the presence and role of women's struggle in all aspects of social and state life, so that it does not become a missing chapter. The activism of non-government stakeholders in playing a role in helping deal with the spread of the Covid-19 corona virus in society. So that it will be a meaningful contribution of knowledge for policy makers that there is a group of people based on women's movements that

can be relied on to help the government in the midst of crisis conditions such as the Covid-19 Pandemic that hit Indonesia.

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