Challenging the Patriarchal Barriers: The Role of Women Activists and Their Advocacy for Domestic Violence in Semarang City, Central Java

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Abstrak

Kekerasan dalam rumah tangga merupakan bentuk kekerasan yang paling banyak dialami oleh perempuan di Indonesia. Hal itu menjadi tantangan bagi penggiat isu perempuan untuk dapat menyelesaikannya. Akan tetapi, banyak aktivis perempuan yang harus menghadapi tantangan, baik tantangan struktural maupun tantangan kultural, seperti yang dialami para aktivis perempuan *Legal Resources Center*-Keadilan Jender dan Hak Asasi Manusia (LRC-KJHAM) di Kota Semarang. Tulisan ini berargumentasi bahwa tantangan pada level struktural dan kultural pada akhirnya menjadi hambatan bagi aktivis perempuan LRC-KJHAM dalam memperjuangkan hak dan keadilan bagi perempuan korban kekerasan, serta mewujudkan iklim kesetaraan gender di Kota Semarang. Argumentasi tersebut disusun berdasarkan hasil penelitian kualitatif terhadap para aktivis LRC-KJHAM Kota Semarang dalam kerangka analisis teori morfogenesis Margaret Archer.

Abstract

Domestic violence is the most common form of violence experienced by women in Indonesia. It has become a social issue for women activists to seek a solution. However, many women activists have to face challenges, both structural challenges, and cultural challenges, as experienced by women activists at the Legal Resources Center-Gender Justice and Human Rights (LRC-KJHAM) in Semarang City. This article argues that challenges at the structural and cultural levels ultimately become obstacles for women activists from the LRC-KJHAM in fighting for rights and justice for women victims of violence, as well as creating a climate of gender equality in Semarang City. This argument is based on the results of qualitative research on LRC-KJHAM activists in Semarang City within the framework of Margaret Archer's theoretical analysis of morphogenesis.

Keyword: domestic violence; women activists; advocacy; Semarang

INTRODUCTION

Gender inequality, especially domestic violence[2], is still a social problem experienced by women in Indonesia in every age group. According to the research from the Commission for the Protection and Anti-Violence against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*), the number of cases of domestic violence in Indonesia has increased significantly every year. In 2017, *Komnas Perempuan* (2018) stated that there was a 25% increase in violence against Indonesian women, from 259,150 cases to 348,446 cases.

The Indonesian government has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and has represented Act No. 7 the Year 1984 about Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, as a policy intervention to minimize the numbers of violence against women in Indonesia. Besides, the government has made another act (Act No. 23 the Year 2004) about the Elimination of Domestic Violence. But, the law has not completely reduced the number of cases of domestic violence against women in Indonesia.

Semarang, the capital of Central Java Province, is one of the cities that has a significant number of domestic violence in Indonesia. Based on data published by the Central Java Province Integrated Service Center (PPT), in 2017 there were 352 cases of violence against women that occurred in Central Java Province 118 cases are from Semarang with most of them being domestic violence. The local government has implemented some interventions to reduce domestic violence by making a local regulation (Perda/Peraturan Daerah) Number 5 the Year 2016 on Protection of Women and Children from Violence. The local government has committed to preventing, assisting, facilitating, and dealing with the citizens of Semarang City, especially women and children who are victims of violence. Then, the local government provided technical assistance for complaints from the victims, providing medical, psychological, and rehabilitation services, legal assistance, and social reintegration. In addition, the local government has also established the *Seruni* Integrated Service Center which has the special

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[2]According to the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, violence against women is any act based on gender differences that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts. certain circumstances, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of rights both in the public and domestic spheres (KemenPPPA 2011)

task of assisting women and children who are victims of violence. However, these efforts have not been able to solve the problem of domestic violence in Semarang City.

Various strategies for preventing and resolving domestic violence cases that are difficult to implement in Semarang City have been experienced by women activists at the Legal Resources Center for Gender Justice and Human Rights (LRC-KJHAM) as an assistant for the victims of domestic violence in Semarang City through advocacy mechanisms. The advocacy process carried out by women activists LRC-KJHAM aims to help women to obtain justice, equalize the position of women in social structures, and can also reduce cases of violence. However, based on data during observations and interviews, I found a phenomenon that was contrary to the expectations and goals of women activists in the LRC-KJHAM, blaming from the social environment on the victims of domestic violence and also women activists who did the advocacy. They are considered guilty because they have exposed the family's disgrace. Likewise, women activists from the LRC-KJHAM are considered to have violated values and norms due to interfering in other people's household problems.

Such conditions represent the existence of a patriarchal culture that is still being reproduced and deeply rooted in society. This culture tends to place women in a weak position, so they have no bargaining power to fight the violence they experience. Men in patriarchal cultures have more power than women. This inequality in power relations causes women to be in a subordinate position in both the public and domestic spheres. This article argues that the patriarchal culture that grows and develops in the domestic sphere is a means for the community to normalize cases of domestic violence that occurred in Semarang City as a structural and cultural barries for resolving cases of domestic violence carried out by women activists from the LRC-KJHAM in Semarang City.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article is written based on qualitative research to explain in detail and in-depth the forms of obstacles encountered by women activists in the advocacy process they carried out for women victims of domestic violence and how activists overcome the obstacles experienced. The phenomenon that became the focus of the research was reviewed

in detail and depth through an interview process with key informants, namely human rights activists at the LRC-KJHAM.

MARGARET ARCHER'S THEORY OF MORPHOGENESIS

I use Margaret Archer's theory of Morphogenesis in this paper as an analytical tool to explain the structural and cultural challenges for women activists in domestic violence advocacy strategies. This theory provides an overview of the influence of structure, culture, and agents in the advocacy process through an analytical dualism frame. Through the dualism perspective, structure, culture, and agency analysis are understood as entities that appear differently, and are in different dimensions of time and historical contexts. This can happen because the structure exists before the agent's action and structural elaboration can occur after the agent's action (Archer 1996). Structures and agents are considered to have autonomous properties and causal relationships that can condition each other in different time periods and run over time. In the context of dualism, time analysis is seen as a variable that has a role in determining the relationship between structure and agent. It can be concluded that the idea of analytical dualism is the key premise for understanding the process of reproduction and social transformation contained in Archer's Theory of Morphogenesis.

The theory of morphogenesis proposed by Margaret Archer has 3 main elements that become the focus of the analysis, namely structure, culture, and agent. Structure in this context is a field and phenomenon that is material and interests generated through previous social and structural relationships (Archer 1995). Structure is present as a consequence of previous social interactions and exerts a systematic causal effect on subsequent actions. Meanwhile, culture is an independent entity that acts as a producer of beliefs, beliefs, and values including non-material phenomena and ideas (Archer 1995). Lastly, the agent is a real party and has real action in the form of an agency to reject or approve the structure and culture depending on the choices, tastes, or attractiveness of the agent. Archer (1995) states that the agent does not only refer to things that are individual or micro, but covers macro and micro phenomena. According to Archer (1995), structure, culture, and agents are things that exist in society and cannot be reduced to others, have relative autonomy, and are relatively durable.

In analyzing structure, culture, and theoretical agents, Margaret Archer's morphogenesis offers three stages of analysis, namely: 1. Structure or cultural conditioning, 2. Socio-cultural interaction, 3. Elaboration of cultural structures (Archer 1995). The first stage is a process carried out by agents to determine what is approved or not approved in a structure, this refers to the condition of the previous structure, but is not decisive. The second stage is a socio-cultural interaction in which it explains I use Margaret Archer's theory of Morphogenesis in this article as an analytical tool to explain the structural and cultural challenges for women activists in domestic violence advocacy strategies.

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This theory is very relevant to be used in this paper because it can help the author explain the situation that when an agent has the ability and awareness to achieve his interests, it may not necessarily be realized. This is because there is the presence of structure, culture, and other agents who also have ideas, ideas, and interests. Agents' efforts to maintain or change ideas, ideas, and interests in structure and culture can be seen through 3 stages in Archer's theory of morphogenesis, namely conditioning cultural structures, socio-cultural interactions, and elaboration of cultural structures.

PATRIARCHIC CULTURE AND CASES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SEMARANG CITY

Patriarchal culture is a belief system that still exists in the structure and culture of the people in Semarang City. This culture is still growing and forever developing in the social order of society, especially regarding the relationship between women and men. People in Semarang City in carrying out social interactions, still place men in a higher position than women. This is of course to the concept of patriarchy, which is a system that places men in a superior and central role and position when compared to women (Rokhmansyah 2013).

The existence of a patriarchal system results in a gap between women and men in various aspects of life. Men in a patriarchal system, especially in the city of Semarang, tend to be in control of the running of activities in society. Meanwhile, women have little influence in it.

The majority of women are limited in their space of movement, only in the domestic sphere. Meanwhile, men hold full power over the public sphere, such as the economic, political, and educational sectors. Referring to the research that has been done, I had a concrete example of the subordination of women in the city of Semarang. The first is the subordination of women in the economic field which can be seen from the different views between men and women who work to generate economic resources. Even though they both work, society still considers men as the main breadwinners, while women's work is never seen as the same and tends to be considered as a complement or addition to men's work.

The existence of this view ultimately causes a gap in terms of wages, in the informal sector that has not implemented regional minimum wage (UMR/*upah minimum regional*) system, and women tend to be paid lower wages than men, even though both have the same workload. Apart from wages, another result that arises is that it is easier for men to access formal jobs and strategic positions when compared to women. To strengthen the field findings, the authors also include BPS data showing the distribution of work between women and men. According to BPS, out of every 100 residents who work as: a.) Leadership and management personnel, 18 are women, and the remaining 82 are men, b). Working with business status or being assisted by paid or unpaid workers, 23 people are women and the remaining 77 are men, c.) Work with employer/employee/labor status, 34 are women and the remaining 66 are men, d.) Family workers or unpaid, 73 women and the remaining 23 men (Supriyanto 2015). The data published by BPS further strengthens the fact that in the economic sector, the position of women is still below men's.

In addition to the economic sector, women's subordination is also found in the political sector. Real evidence of this can be seen from research findings which state that in the decision-making process at lower levels such as the village government, women still do not get access to be involved in it. This can be seen from the incident experienced by the women's community assisted by LRC-KJHAM in one of the village in Semarang City. Based on the data from the focus group discussion (FGD) conducted on January 20, 2020, I was know that women's community members have so far lacked access and information related to the development planning deliberation *(Musrenbang)* that carried out in their area of residence. The *Musrenbang* activities that

have been carried out so far are mostly attended by men, if there are women they are usually given the task of taking care of consumption and administrative needs. Women's voices and opinions about policy and budget formulation are still not considered by the community. The surrounding community argues that the *Musrenbang* activities carried out at night are inappropriate if women are followed. Therefore, they decided to only invite men who were deemed appropriate and could represent women's voices. This results in policies and budgets that are formed that are masculine and do not accommodate the needs of women.

The third is a phenomenon that occurs in the education sector. Referring to the data on the results of the fieldwork, the education sector still cannot be separated from patriarchal values. In social life in the city of Semarang, women who choose to postpone marriage to continue their education are still stigmatized as women who violate their nature. The majority of people in Semarang City still have the view that women should not have higher education degrees and exceed men because it is feared that they can become rebellious and difficult to manage. This stigma is experienced by almost all of the informants discussed in this article.

Women who decide not to marry at a young age also get a stigma from society as old maids. They are considered to have disobeyed the values and norms that have been institutionalized in their area, where women usually marry between the ages of 23-25 years. Meanwhile, the situation is different for men. In this case, men are freer in accessing education. There was no stigma attached to him when he chose to postpone his marriage and chose to continue his education. The male body in this case seems to be free from value. Men in Semarang City have never been labeled as old virgins or men who violate the rules and nature when they decide to continue their education. This situation causes the birth of inequality in terms of education between women and men. This difference in situation ultimately causes men in Semarang City to tend to have the opportunity to receive higher education than women.

A patriarchal culture that ultimately places women in Semarang City as second-class citizens was not only occur in the public sector, in the domestic sector such as marriage relationships, women in Semarang City are also still placed in positions that are not equal to men. This is following the results of observations and interviews with informants.

When women in Semarang City decide to get married, their bodies and minds automatically tend to be controlled by their husbands. Women in this case are required to be obedient wives and must obey the wishes of their husbands.

In marital relations, women are still often seen as mere sidekicks or back friends. The meaning of the term woman, in this case, is that the wife has the task of managing all matters relating to household matters, such as raising children, cooking, and washing clothes. The term konco wingking in Semarang City is not only attached to wives who do not work, but also to women who are married and working. As a result, women in Semarang City are still experiencing a double burden situation, namely responsibilities in the public sphere when they work, and responsibilities in the domestic sphere as wives and housewives. The task of taking care of the household, especially those related to children, is still fully delegated to women or in this case is the wife.

The wife is considered to have full responsibility to ensure that the house and children are in good condition. When the wife is busy outside of household matters and children, the husband feels he has the right to sue and protest. Delegation of household tasks to the wife ultimately causes women to experience a double burden. The double burden referred to in this case is a condition when women receive or get a larger share of workloads than men (Hidayati 2016). Besides *konco wingking*, there are other discourses that are grown and reproduced by the people of Semarang City regarding the relationship between husband and wife in the institution of marriage. The discourse that I mean, in this case, is *swarga nunut, neroko katut* (Go to heaven with you, take you to hell too). The meaning of the discourse is that the wife's survival is in the hands of her husband, the wife is the party who always follows whatever her husband does. According to the results of field visits, the people of Semarang City still believe and reproduce this discourse. It has becomes a legitimacy in the social system that the wife must obey and obey her husband because the reward of heaven or hell in the life to come depends on her husband's blessing.

The continued reproduction of the above discourses makes women a people who do not have control and power over themselves. Women continue to be the second class or the second class whose existence and existence are not paid much attention to by society. The presence of women in the public sphere is still considered one of the taboo and inappropriate things. The ideal woman in this context is described as

a woman who does not leave domestic work and obeys her husband or men. Institutions and social institutions in Semarang City are still reproducing and perpetuating this. The implication is that it is difficult for women to be equal to men in the public and domestic spheres.

Inequality of position between women and men in the city of Semarang, in the end, raises new implications and problems, namely the high rate of violence against women, especially cases of domestic violence. In cases of violence against women in the domestic sphere according to the opinion of women activists LRC-KJHAM which in this context is the informant still dominates as the type of violence that is mostly reported. Women's safe, in this case, can be said to be limited because in its immediate scope women still experience acts of violence. Perpetrators of domestic violence are usually men or in this case husbands. Patriarchal culture is one of the main factors cause's high levels of domestic violence in Semarang City. The patriarchal culture places men in a superior position compared to women, this mindset adopted and applied in domestic relations. Domestic violence is a form of domination by men against women because men feel they have a stronger position.

Based on the results of observations and interviews, I found several facts that showed the relationship between patriarchal culture and cases of domestic violence in Semarang City. Based on the data mining process, it can be seen that patriarchal culture makes cases of domestic violence a normal thing as a form of disciplining husbands to their wives. A wife who experiences a case of domestic violence is demanded by her social environment to be quiet and accept her husband's treatment, due to the assumption that the husband's anger is the result of the wife's fault. This situation in addition to making women victims silent for the violence they experience, also causes women to be the ones who are blamed for the injustices that happen to their bodies. This blaming can be seen in several examples of cases, such as wives who are incompetent in taking care of children, wives who cannot serve their husbands, wives who cannot give children, and wives who prioritize work over household matters. This view in the end perpetuates the case of domestic violence because there are no parties who dare to reprimand their husbands. Neighbors or family advise the woman victim to be patient and endure. When the female victim finally has the decision to break the chain of violence she experienced by getting a divorce, what happens is that she is blamed and discussed by her social environment.

Other evidence of the relationship between patriarchal culture and cases of domestic violence can also be seen from the blame committed by perpetrators of violence, their families, and close people from women victims to women activists LRC-KJHAM when they carry out their duties in advocating for women victims of domestic violence. The patriarchal culture that makes domestic violence cases a private matter makes this case taboo when it is known by people who are not related to the family. This view in the end caused the women activists of the LRC-KJHAM to be considered as parties who deliberately interfered in other people's household affairs. In addition, they are also considered to have a bad influence on women victims because women victims dare to speak up and demand rights and justice for their bodies through legal processes and divorce.

In addition, blaming my family and close people, law enforcement officers, and service providers also show a link between patriarchal culture and domestic violence in Semarang City. Law enforcement officials and service providers, which in this case means the police, court officers, integrated service officers, and the Office of Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Population Control, and Family Planning should be the parties that should handle cases of violence and ensure the fulfillment of rights. Female victim. However, in practice, according to the experience of women activists from the LRC-KJHAM, there are still many law enforcement officers and related officers who do not show their support for women victims of domestic violence. This can be seen from one example of a case regarding blaming the Service Provider Center (PPT).

According to the experience of the LRC-KJHAM female activist, there was a partner who was banned by the PPT officer of one of the urban villages in Semarang City when he wanted to file for divorce. The PPT officer insisted on reconciling the victim and the perpetrator because the domestic violence case that occurred did not violate the rules and was a form of punishment given by the husband to the wife because the wife was negligent of her duties and roles as a wife and mother. Apart from PPT officers, the lack of support was also shown by the police, which in this context is the police officers at the Semarang. According to the women's activist LRC KJHAM, several police officers at the Semarang Police Office complicate the process of reporting cases carried out by women victims of violence.

The attitude shown by law enforcement officers and service providers shows that the patriarchal culture in Semarang City is also growing in government agencies. PPT officers and police officers are actors who participate in perpetuating patriarchal culture through their working mechanisms. The peaceful process and the rejection of reports by PPT officers and police officers are an indication of the rejection of women's decisions. Women in this case are seen as people who have no control over their bodies and lives. Coupled with the attitude of the PPT officer who stated that the domestic violence case experienced by one of the LRC-KJHAM partners was a form of punishment from the husband to his wife because the wife was negligent in her duties. This is a form of normalizing the culture of violence following the patriarchal mindset. The assumption that cases of domestic violence are normal has implications for the increase and persistence of these acts of violence. This can be proven by data published by the LRC-KJHAM, in which of 79 cases of violence that occurred, 65 cases were cases of domestic violence and 39 of them were cases of domestic violence.

THE ADVOCACY OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CASES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE THEORY OF MORPHOGENESIS

I describe the process of advocating for the domestic violence case through the 3 stages of morphogenesis introduced by Archer. The three stages of morphogenesis that the author refers to are structural and cultural conditioning, social and cultural interaction, and structural and cultural elaboration. Through these three stages, the relationship between structure, culture, and agents in the process of advocating for domestic violence cases carried out by women activists from the LRC-KJHAM can be seen.

First, I explain the condition of cultural structures carried out by agents in the advocacy process for domestic violence cases in Semarang City. When referring to Archer's thought, structural and cultural conditioning is a process that includes the agent's belief and trust in the truth of structure and culture. The agent's belief in the structure and culture affected the advocacy process for domestic violence cases carried out by women activists from the LRC-KJHAM. The process of advocating for domestic violence cases cannot be separated from the role of several agents who condition this.

According to Archer, this conditioning is carried out in the realm of structure and culture. The conditioning of cultural structures is a process carried out by agents to determine what is approved or disapproved of in a structure or culture, there is a two-fold relationship between cultural structures and human agency with their influence on us (logical traits that influence people) and our effect on it (how people shape and change their logical nature), this refers to the previous state of structure and culture, but is not decisive (Archer 1996). That is, the agent has the ability or in this case, can be called an agency to condition as well as to be conditioned by structure and culture. Conditioning carried out by agents is different from one another. This is influenced by how the agent's attitude in looking at the structure and culture that has existed before. This difference in attitude occurs because agents are in certain logical relationships with theories or beliefs, namely complementary and contradictory logical relationships which ultimately place them in different ideational conditions and have an effect on the formation of cultural contexts and different conditioning patterns in ideational development (Archer 1996).

Several agents have developed an advocacy process for domestic violence cases carried out by LRC-KJHAM activists, families of LRC-KJHAM women activists, Semarang City Government, law enforcement officers, service providers, women victims of domestic violence, families of women victims of domestic violence, and perpetrators of violence. Between one agent and another agent conditioning different cultural structures depends on how the agent captures and understands pre-existing structures and cultures as part of ideology and knowledge.

In this article, the structure, and culture that influences agents are patriarchal. Patriarchy is a pre-existing structure that provides knowledge and understanding related to the phenomenon of case advocacy and domestic violence. The understanding of agents related to these two phenomena is different because they have different logical relationships to structure and culture, namely contradictory and complementary (Archer 1996). When the agent has a complementary logical relationship, he tends to defend the ideals and values that have been believed and internalized by the structure and culture to him, meanwhile, when he has a contradictory relationship, the agent will reject and disagree with what the structure or culture believes (Archer 1996).

Women activists from the LRC-KJHAM are agents who have a logic of contradiction with the patriarchal structure and culture. LRC-KJHAM female activist with the ability to condition the cultural structure to fight against the structure and culture through the process of advocating for domestic violence cases. In this case, the women activists of the LRC-KJHAM believe that the patriarchal structure and culture have harmed their people. Women activists at LRC-KJHAM guided by situational logic of contradiction ultimately rejected the teachings of patriarchal structure and culture.

Educational background and work also help women activists at LRC-KJHAM in rejecting the teachings of patriarchal structure and culture. In the end, the LRC-KJHAM women activist carried out advocacy work to create justice and equality for women in the city of Semarang. However, the advocacy process carried out by women activists in the LRC-KJHAM was confronted by other agents who had a complementary logical relationship with the patriarchal culture and contradicted the advocacy for domestic violence cases carried out by women activists in the LRC-KHJAM. The agents, I mean in this case are the families of women activists from the LRC-KJHAM, women victims of domestic violence, families of women victims of domestic violence, law enforcement officers, service providers, and the Semarang City government. These agents use the structure and culture they believe to condition the structure and culture of other agents. This situation in the end caused the agents to carry out structural and cultural conditioning that affected the cash advocacy process. The following table describes the structure and culture possessed by each agent in the process of building structure and culture.

Socio-cultural interaction in the process of advocating for domestic violence cases carried out by women activists LRC-KJHAM involves the interests and strategies of agents to realize their interests. Referring to Archer's thinking, socio-cultural interaction is the second stage that must be passed by agents in Morphogenesis Theory. Socio-cultural interaction is a relationship between agents in which there is a network of causal influence and involves the influence of other people's ideas, forcing ideas on others, and challenging other people's ideas (Archer 1996). Socio-cultural interactions are carried out by women activists from the LRC-KJHAM, both individually regarding their work status and in groups related to the institutions that oversee them.

LRC-KJHAM women activists in the process of advocating for domestic violence cases interacted with women victims of domestic violence, law enforcement officers, service providers, and the people of Semarang City. For the people of Semarang City, in this case, the focus will be on a smaller scope including perpetrators of domestic violence, families, and neighbors of LRC-KJHAM activists, as well as families and neighbors of women victims of domestic violence who are partners of women activists of LRC-KJHAM. In advocating for cases of domestic violence, women activists from LRC-KJHAM do not work alone but interact with other parties. The relationship between LRC-KJHAM women activists and the parties concerned can be said to be a socio-cultural interaction because it contains meetings between agents who have different ideas. Meetings between agents that take place during the advocacy process are a tangible form of network.

Networking work has been carried out by women activists from the LRC-KJHAM since the early stages of the process of advocating for domestic violence cases. This networking work, when viewed through Archer's theoretical lens, has fulfilled one of the main components of the socio-cultural interaction stage, namely the existence of social groups. Social groups, in this case, are represented by women activists from the LRC -JHAM, law enforcement service providers, and the people of Semarang City. Networking work is carried out by women activists from the LRC-KJHAM to make the advocacy process for domestic violence cases easier and faster. However, this goal cannot always be achieved by women activists LRC-KJHAM when doing work in the field. The non-achievement of the goals of the LRC-KJHAM women activists, in this case, shows that there are different goals for each agent in carrying out socio-cultural interactions. The difference in the goals of each agent when viewed from Archer's point of view is the second component of the formation of socio-cultural interactions, namely the social distribution of interests and power based on certain situational logics adopted by agents (Archer 1996).

According to Archer (1996), the elaboration of cultural structures is the third stage of the morphogenesis process. This stage is the conditioning of cultural structures and socio-cultural interactions. Elaboration of the cultural structure is a change and expansion of the cultural structure caused by the interaction between agents. At this stage it can be seen which cultural structures have morphostatic (reproductive) and morphological (production) properties. Morphostatic cultural

structure can occur because the level of integration of socio-cultural and cultural structures is at a high level, characterized by the existence of situational logic of complementary and limiting contradictions. Meanwhile, morphosyntactic cultural structures are created due to the low level of socio-cultural integration and cultural structures characterized by situational logic, complementary contingencies, and competitive contradictions. The morphogenesis of cultural structures can be seen in the process of handling cases, networking in advocating domestic violence cases, and the internal work of women activists from the LRC-KJHAM. Meanwhile, for cultural morphostasis, it can be seen in the daily interaction process between women activists from the LRC-KJHAM and their families.

The morphogenesis of the structure and culture in the process of handling domestic violence cases can be seen from the changes shown by women victims of domestic violence, which before the advocacy process they became the downtrodden parties and did not get rights and justice for their bodies. However, after the advocacy process, they can transform into strong women and become companions for other women victims of domestic violence in the area where they live. Morphogenesis in the networked work process can be seen from the involvement of law enforcement officers, service providers, and the Semarang City government in the school work program for gender equality and human rights, the issue of a regional regulation on the protection of women from cases of violence, the availability of supporting facilities for women with violence, and the start to reduce the value of women-masculine values in the institutions concerned. Finally, the morphogenesis of the internal collaboration process between women activists from the LRC-KJHAM can be seen in the revision of the standard operating procedures for advocacy for domestic violence cases. Meanwhile, the morphostatic cultural structure can be seen from the rejection of the families of the women activists of the LRC-KJHAM and the families of the women victims of domestic violence for the advocacy process carried out by the women activists of the LRC-KJHAM as an effort to aspire to gender equality in Semarang City.

CONCLUSION

Advocacy carried out by women activists LRC-KJHAM to women victims of domestic violence does not always go according to purpose.

As an activist who has been in the advocacy world for a long time, the LRC-KJHAM women activist has an agency that she can use to achieve her interests. LRC-KJHAM women activists can coordinate structure and culture to achieve their interests. However, the interests of women activists from the LRC-KJHAM to create gender equality and justice for women victims of domestic violence must be faced with the interests of other agents who also have the same ability to condition the structure and culture.

The influence of structure, culture, and agents in creating obstacles to the advocacy process for domestic violence cases within the framework of Margaret Archer's theory of morphogenesis. The patriarchal structure and culture that are believed to be true by agents other than women activists from the LRC-KJHAM are the main obstacles to the advocacy process for domestic violence cases. The patriarchal structure that becomes an obstacle in the advocacy process is the standard oparional procedure (SOP) for Case Handling belonging to law enforcement officers and service providers who do not have a gender perspective, the points in the marriage law are gender-biased, the difference in wages and job differentiation for women and men, and there is also the mission of the City of Semarang to become a Child-Friendly City and reduce the divorce rate.

The patriarchal culture that is an obstacle for women activists at LRC -JHAM in the process of advocating for cases of domestic violence is the existence of values, norms, and beliefs in a patriarchal culture that is still being reproduced by the agents involved in the case advocacy process. To overcome these obstacles, women activists at LRC-KJHAM took several alternative steps to overcome the obstacles faced in the process of interaction with related agencies. In this case, LRC-KJHAM women activists approach both through discussion, negotiation, and consolidation. If persuasive methods fail, then the women activists of the LRC-KJHAM will carry out movements and actions, either through writing in the media or taking to the streets.

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