

# FIELD ROLE ON THE LOW OF WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN WONOSOBO REGENCY

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**Submission date:** 24-Sep-2020 11:43AM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 1395534252

**File name:** seajbel5-VOL18\_245.pdf (174.36K)

**Word count:** 5377

**Character count:** 29226

## FIELD ROLE ON THE LOW OF WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN WONOSOBO REGENCY

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### ABSTRACT

The research aimed to explore the field or domain role on the low of women representation in Legislative Election of 2014 in Wonosobo, and to identify the women needs heading to the General Election 2019 reviewed using Bourdieu field theory. By using qualitative method with analysis descriptive of profound interview the research was conducted to the women contestant of general election 2014 and 2019, elite political parties, General Election Commission, and community in Wonosobo. The obtained data was processed and analyzed using triangulation technique thus obtaining valid data. The research result showed that field including the regulation, political party with masculine image, patriarchy culture, general election system of open proportional, transactional politic, and communication and low political education of people affected the low of women representation in the result of general election 2014 in Wonosobo Regency. Welcoming the election of 2019, women in Wonosobo Regency required support; political education; determination of electoral district that on women side; and the capital in transactional political scheme

**Keywords:** representation, women, field, Affirmative Action

### 1. Study Background

Affirmative action on women in politics has been occurred since 2003 not attain maximum result. The determination of women political representation minimum 30 percent is defined as the strategic step to strive the improvement of equality and opportunity for marginalized women of Indonesia. In political context, it is carried out to boost the number of women in parliament to be more representative because the women representation is required in order the delegation may act on the side of women they represented. According to political representation theory, the representatives have desire to represent the interest of whom choose them or maybe they who choose them in the future although they do not get involved on that interest (Lovendusky, 2008). Even, Phillips in his book declares a concept of *The Politics of Presence*. Phillips argued that a member of a marginalized community physically shall be represented in Parliament with proportional number to their population (Phillips, 1998).

The less progressive result of affirmative action in Indonesia is reflected by the women representation data. In national level, the number of Parliament of RI, the result of general election since 1999 was under 30 percent; even the result of election 2014 showed the women representation number in Parliament has decreased than the previous period. That statement is proven by the following data of Parliament women member of RI since the general election in reformation era.

Table 1. Percentage of Woman Representation of Election Result in 1999-2014

Percentage (%) Women Representation in Parliament of RI			
General election 1999	General election 2004	General election 2009	General election 2014
9% (45 out of 500)	11% (61 out of 550)	18.72% (103 out of 560)	17.32% (97 out of 560)

Source: (Lestari & Resmi, 2018)

The table data above shows that nationally women's representation has increased in each election, except in the 2014 Election, has decreased. In international context, the representation of women in politics occurs dynamically. Representation of women in other countries, for example Rwanda, which has the highest representation of women in the world, has 49 female legislative members out of 80 seats or 61.3 percent. Followed by Bolivia, which has a representation rate of 53% by women (Nugrogo, 2018). There are many factors that influence the amount of women's representation. Caul reveal that certain party characteristics actually influence party-level variation in women's representation (Caul, 1999). Yoon studies Women's Legislative Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa (Yoon, 2004). The study shows the patriarchal culture, electoral system, and gender issues are statistically significant. The other researcher find that female representation is positively associated with attitudes about the political process (Karp & Banducci, 2008).

The reality in the district also shows various results. Some districts have attained 30 percent of women representation and some of them failed. In Central Java, the result of Legislative election of 2014 showed that the number of Regional Parliament of Central Java Province was 23% or 23 people out of 100 seats. It is showed the increasing number from the previous one that is 5% of women representation in Regional Parliament of Province in the period of 1999-2004, 15% in the period of 2004-2009 and 20% in the period of 2009-2014 (jateng bps.go.id, 2014). In fact, the General Election Commission of Indonesia has issued a Regulation of General Election Commission Number 7 of 2013 in respect of giving sanction for political parties which violate

the zipper system. A legislative nomination system by political parties is defined that one of the three candidates must be female candidate. If this provision is violated by political party, then the strict sanction will be given. All legislative candidates from the intended political party in electoral area which not meet the requirement of women representation will be disqualified and cannot participate in the election.

The given sanction based on this regulation is defined to meet good result of affirmative action effort. As stated by Rosen who describe that quotas for women, can be significant in all countries, but only have a positive effect when quotas are accompanied by eligible placement mandates in positions that can be won, a penalty for significant non-compliance for the process (Rosen, 2017).

In Central Java there are three regencies – cities which meet the women representation of election result in 2014 namely Temanggung and Kebumen and Tegal City. Meanwhile, the 32 (thirty two) regencies – cities were failed to meet the women representation including Wonosobo Regency (BP3AKB, 2014). The number of women representation in Wonosobo is only 4.4 percent or two women out of 45 parliament members elected. It is considered as decrease than the previous election in 2009. Many female candidates proposed by big political parties but not elected.

During this time, lot of research have been conducted to analyze the cause of 30 % quota of women representation not attained some of them are patriarch culture (Astuti, 2011), political institution (Soetjipto, 2002), which called by Lovenduski as institutional obstacles (Lovenduski, 2008) and the women themselves (Kertati, 2014), as stated by her that the failure of female parliament to be success in election 2014 one of them is due to the performance presented during become the Parliament member. Montgomery and Ilonszki also underline the culture, structure, and institutional factors in recruiting the female legislative (Montgomery & Ilonszki, 2016). Ashea observes about the importance of quota and election systems for female recruitment that think the quota regulation become significant term (Ashea, Campbella, Childsb, & Elizabeth, 2010).

Actually not only culture and institutional or performance separately that become the factor. It is better to consider the factors of unfulfilled women representation quota from the two sides those are considering female from her habitués and environment. Pierre F. Bourdieu focused his attention on the relation of habitués and environment with the subjective phenomenon. According to Bourdieu, there is dialectical relation among the objective structure with subjective phenomenon. Bourdieu said that the concept about habitués (habit) as the mental or cognitive structure used by an agent/actor to face the social life (Bourdieu, 2016). Pierre Bourdieu states that it is the importance of observing the field. According to him, it is a social field in which struggle or maneuver is taking place to fight for the source or bet with the highly limited access (Jenkins, 2016). Field according to Bourdieu is viewed structurally (Ritzer & Goodman, 2010). A social field is a place of struggle or maneuver to fight over resources or stakes from limited access. Field are also determined as contested bets, for example; Regarding cultural objects (lifestyles), intellectual progress (education), decent work, settlement, land, control (politics), social class, prestige or other - and may depend on relationships that are different from specifications and concrete degrees (Jenkins, 2016). In this case the field according to Bourdieu is a field where the struggle or maneuver occurred to fight over the source or betting and limited access.

## 2. Method

The research was conducted using qualitative method with descriptive analysis. The focus was on the role of field or domain on the low of women representation in legislative election 2014 in Wonosobo as the evaluation for facing the election 2019, identifying the field faced by women, the obstacles, support, culture, and political atmosphere occurred heading to the election in Wonosobo Regency thus may find the failure factor of female candidates in legislative election 2014, and also the women's need heading to the election 2019 observed using Bourdieu field theory. The profound interview was conducted to the female contestant of Election 2014 and 2019, elite of political parties, General Election Commission and community in Wonosobo. The collecting data would be processed and analyzed using triangulation technique thus the valid data obtained.

## 3. Finding and Discussion

### Women in Political Dynamic in Wonosobo

The researcher obtained the data about women dynamic in political parties by conducting in-depth study toward two big parties in Wonosobo Regency namely PDI Perjuangan and Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB). The research was conducted during the grace period after the parties competed in Legislative Election 2014 and Regional Head election in 2015 and a year before the legislative elections of 2019 will be held. For several times the researcher observed and tracked the event and activities of political parties which the office of Branch Management Board (DPC) was perennially quite and only few people who went in just stopped by. The phenomenon of this political parties' activity has indeed been symptomatic and occurred in politics. The office of political parties in region will be crowded again ahead of the election, as have been found by the researcher when the election will be held soon. Not many female administrators who work or have activities there, even though in the document of management structure, the names of female administrators are written as the party management.

The profound interview with the Chairman of DPC PDIP of Wonosobo Regency about women in political party including the role, gait, and their activities showed that women's role in political party still not maximum. In Wonosobo, not many women want to active maximally in political party. Commonly, they whom join in politic are because the presence of their male brothers that previously has been active in politics. The same statement has been said during the interview with the Chairman of DPC PKB who explained, women are active in parties because previously they are active in wing organization of party such as

*Muslimat, Fatayat*, and so on. These two conditions commonly cause women join actively in party but not independent, they tend to follow their male brothers in politic and not take part maximally in politic since they more focus and active in their mass organization. As the result, women often refuse to be appointed as the daily management of party, and thus cause the image of political party become masculine.

The administrators of party really understand about the regulation which optimizes the women's role and participation by the political party, time by time, but the fact is many women not used the opportunities given. Most of them prefer to stay on their domestic role. They get difficulties in managing the time for the role in politic, thus the result of interview with the chairman of DPC PKB. Most of women refuse to be appointed as the candidate of general election in 2009 and the previous year. Because at the time there was no sanction given to party, so who become the candidates were those who want and ready to compete in the legislative election. In the election of 2014, women were forced by the political party to participate in order to meet the requirement determined by the General Election Commission, but most of women in Wonosobo not prepared themselves properly.

#### **The Field Power Affect the Women Political Recruitment**

The political field in Wonosobo contributed to the low of women political representation in election result of 2014. According to the data obtained during the research, it depicted the field in recruitment in Wonosobo Regency and the influence toward the politic of women in election of 2014 as follows;

*First* is the implementation of regulation. After the implementation of affirmative action regulation for women and the determination of zipper system the agitation occurred in political party particularly heading the election 2014. Political party should prepare the women cadre who become their representative thus the special attention in elite level of DPC toward the presence of women cadre suddenly was carried out. If not, the political party could not promote all their candidates in that electoral region. During this time, only some women were active in the party and it was easy to be counted by the finger. For the political party before the election of 2014 was conducted, the presence of women became important in the context of completing the requirement; in which if it was incomplete it would affect the sanction from General Election Commission. Women were sincerely "completing" (became complement) in order their husband or their family who become the candidate pass the administrative requirement. According to the result of interview with the informant of female cadre, they argued that party serve women only as the interest object, that is the interest of party to complete the requirement. In fact, the provision of regulation also made the elite of political party being confused in placing the female cadre into the candidate list in each electoral district. The agitation, the confusion occurred make the women cannot focus to compete. In the field, many women who have potential to win instead of being placed in one electoral area with the elite of political party which has strong mass base. As the result, the women were failed and not elected.

*Second* is the political party with masculine image. The party management when interviewed about the depiction of competition in party as follows: "it is politic, the opportunity has been provided, and the presence has been required, solet's compete." In party, the female candidate also should compete with other candidates either male or other female candidates. The women's opportunity, chance and the fighting spirit are raced with the male cadre. It is the reality in political activity. Moreover, the work programs and policies of political party also depend on the interest of each cadre and the elite which most of them are male. Women are still helped and cannot help themselves in political life. It is supported by the condition of women who cannot attend the political party activity regularly, caused by their role in patriarch Wonosobo family. Women cannot maximal in carrying their political duties and role. Being daily administrator in PKB is not easy thing because they also active in other organization may not hold concurrent positions according to party rules. However, most of women activist in Wonosobo have been active in community organization before they are active in political party. Women have low speed in their political activity. The data obtained about women struggle was quite surprising. Most votes in election 2014 was gained by PKB but the most seats in DPRD were occupied by PDIP. However, from the two parties, women in Wonosobo failed to occupy the seat to represent their female constituent.

The result of profound interview with political party management stated that women actually were active in the implementation of work program, in every activity of wing organization, youth activities, and other regular activities. However, when compete in the field of general election, women always failed to penetrate the barricade of obstacles. Political party with masculine image also came up when the determination of electoral district in Wonosobo that not in women side. Lot of female candidates that not get attention from the political party. They have work and fight hard in party but ignored when the election come. Their rights were not provided thus they have failed, rigged during the election.

*Third* is patriarch culture. It affects the politic of women in Wonosobo, even until the election 2019 come. The grip of masculine values is very close in society, affecting women. The division of domestic affairs that are identical with women and public affairs by men is very clear in constructing the community. Regular activities in political parties will be followed by women as long as they do not interfere with their domestic affairs and needs. However, if you have to take part in activities that require special time, such as meetings at night, often women feel constrained.

The women recruitment phenomenon in politic of Wonosobo cannot be separated by the domination of political power with the genealogy recruitment system. Most of community organizations in Wonosobo are always dominated by women due to symbolic, cultural and social factors that is from the family, the generation. Lot of women who active in politics are from the

family of (religious leader) *kyai*, political figure, and other social figure. However, the factor above is not always being the good capital for women because the patriarch obstacle is powerful. As has been experienced by Isna, the female informant of legislative candidate from PKB when she should fight to conquer the seat in DPRD, her presence in party was started through the religious activity in social organization. The struggle of female candidate in election of 2014 might be the depiction how hard the readiness and the struggle of women. She promoted herself in the electoral district of Kalikajar, who failed with the difference votes of 17 from other legislative candidate. Her failure was caused by the black campaign which underestimates the women. The political rival of women in their campaign always says "do you want to be led by a woman?" this message was also distributed by the religious leader through the individual message and even in open recitation.

Women weakening in society often occur heading the election. Welcoming the election of 2019, researcher disclose the result of profound interview that there was a campaign which used a sentence of; the good nature of woman and will be rewarded by blessings of heaven is women who obey and take care of their family. Certainly, they feel discriminated because it is as if they are active in public, they are not good women in society. The women not get strategic position in politic even when they faced that situation.

*Forth*, the implementation of open proportional election system began to be applied for women in election since 2009. This system is often claimed as the system which provides big opportunity from them. However, in fact it is not as easy as the thought. Since it is applied, the female candidates are struggle individually without maximum assistance from the political party (interview result with the chairman of DPC PDIP). How come the assistance will be held if each candidate who is elite of political party is busy with their own winning. Women in Wonosobo still get difficulties since the Verdict of Constitutional Court. Women compete with other candidates either male or female in their party or in one party of one electoral district. Women are often rigged, their votes are bought by the clear male voters, and they have more capital to boost all effort to gain support of voters. Women are seized or even reduced their rights to be existed or inhibited their political career thus women get difficulties in obtaining and occupying their empowerment in political party. If the women not have readiness and only rely on the initial opportunity as regulated by the laws, for certainly they will get difficulties.

*Fifth* is transactional political scheme in Wonosobo. According to the result of interview with the informant, the reality of goods and money politic in election in Wonosobo for last ten years were increasingly widespread. Female candidate promoted by big party in election of 2014 (such as PDIP, PKB, Partai Golkar), and 2019 who not have enough capital in the process of their promotion will find the obstacles. Money politic was strongly determined the success of female candidate of Wonosobo in gaining the constituent support. Even, the two women who have success conquering the position in DPRD in the period of 2014-2019, were not from big party. Based on the interview result with some informant, they were from small party and being success because have big economical capital, and not from the individual competence. Before chosen as the legislative member, they were not party cadre, their daily social and political gait also not known by wide society.

*Sixth* is political communication and education of community. Actually, if viewed from the profile and identity of female candidate who failed in legislative election in Wonosobo, found that they are activist of party, who active with party's activity, religious organization or in social organization, have intensive relation and communication with the community. In other words, the women's failure not due to they are not capable and self quality but also affected by the untrained political quality. In addition, it is caused by not optimal communication with community and not supported by the funds. Moreover, the power of money politic in Wonosobo in the last five years is affected. Even the money scheme has been prepared as one of the strategy of each candidate. The level of people awareness on the importance of political representative for them is low.

#### **The Women's Needs in the Next Election (2019)**

Women with the dynamic of political party at present not only need an opportunity to join political party which is as if their presence required only as the complement. However, more than that, political party is expected to be able to meet the political needs of woman and carry out its function maximally. Women require guidance, assistance when they join political party. In vice versa the party should be able to carry out its functions of political recruitment, political communication, political education, and political socialization for women. The following are the need of women before the election 2019.

*First*, the support of political party is the primary need for women to participate in politic. The women need is not limited to the opportunity to be the part of political party but more than that, the response from the political organization such as political party is also required by them. During this time, some female informant in this research argued that political party is not consider their need on equality, the same opportunity in political party. Mada (21 years old), a college student who is also an activist of political party argued that it is important for the party to pay more attention to the action of women career in political party. Political party based on the election system is the party who strongly affected the determination of party's policy. Party's policy is expected to be fair, particularly the policy in respect of the determination of the candidates of political party. In determining the candidate of legislative, the party is responsible to determine the list of candidate's name and decide if they pass or not in the first stage of determination in political party. All this time, it is stated that women are incapable, slow, and has less spirit but in the other side the political party which most of them authorized by men never thought about how to increase the quantity and improve the quality of women, either as the cadre, the administrator, or their representative in the house of representative. The women needs shall be answered by the Association Articles of party which favor on the women's need, arranging the responsive work program of political party to the women is also necessary. Often, the obstacle and challenge faced by the women are from their own political institution.

Women require the involvement of political party regarding to the electoral district for them. It is often ignored by the elite of political party. One of the informant explained that the women need to be provided an opportunity to promote themselves in electoral district where their mass base exist. The intended electoral district shall be mapped from the beginning, long time before the election. Therefore, women can socialize and communicate with their prospective constituent intensively and planned. The party's policy sometime not in the women's side, during the election each of the elite of party who most of them are male, always chose the electoral district with basis or vote sources for themselves and often ignore the women needs. It cannot be blame if previously not regulated by the party (interview result with Afif, the chairman of DPC PDIP).

*Second* is political education for women, providing useful provision for them. So far, women join in politics without any women inclusive political education. The political education meant is providing knowledge; guiding the attitude and behavior of their politic thus they become literate and skilled politician. What women need is how to build up their confidence so they brave to compete with other cadre in such political party. Women confidence needs to be built in order they are able to communicate with the community. Furthermore, women are necessary to understand the regulation and about the importance of their position to represent other women. Regarding the feminism issues, women's interest, and women's rights in politic. Therefore, women have courage to "fight" and completely struggle to win the voters' hearth/ constituents. Moreover, political education is important for them in order the political party not agitate about finding the cadre to meet the requirements heading to election.

*Third*, women need capital. They are difficult to exist in political stage if the situation of politic in Wonosobo colored by the money scheme. Therefore, women will need assistance in building the trust from community.

#### Discussion

According to the research result above, it is understood how much the field role on women in politic of Indonesia to meet the affirmative action has been determined for them. Field is also meant as the environment that is the relation network inters objective position inside. According to Bourdieu it is a fighting arena, struggle environment, place for competition, a domination area and the place of conflict occurred of each group for the shake to get position, which sometime is determined by the capital owned. The arena or environment can be analyzed through three stages of process according to Ritzer and Goodman, namely: first, by describing the virtue of power environment (politic) to find the relation of each specific environment with political environment. The relation between arena and "political arena" should be understood. Second, explaining the objective structures of relation inter various positions in such environment. Then, the third is determining the characteristics of agents' behavior who occupy te various types of position in the environment (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003). Environment, structure, interaction relation, relation, culture, the order/ regulation occurred in outside of the individual also become the important part from the effort and struggle of women to scramble each other the sources, capital and also to get an access related to the power sources. The Individual domain and in outside of individual provide the role on success of women in women recruitment in legislative election.

Therefore, finding the answer toward the low of women representation in Legislative Election 2014 in Wonosobo, by exploring the field surrounds the women is conducted. By revealing the domain occurred, it will be seen why the problem arise in politics. Bourdieu argued that field is appropriate with the definition of fighting field. Power sector (politic) is most important according to him, the hierarchy of power relation in political sector functioned to arrange all other sectors. Field based on Bourdieu was viewed in relational than in structural (Ritzer & Goodman, 2010). A social field is a place of struggle or maneuver to fight over resources or stakes from limited access. Field are also determined as contested bets, for example; Regarding cultural objects (lifestyles), intellectual progress (education), decent work, settlement, land, control (politics), social class, prestige or other - and may depend on relationships that are different from specifications and concrete degrees (Jenkins, 2016).

#### 4. Conclusions

According to the research result it can be concluded that: field, in the form of affirmative action regulation, political party with masculine image, patriarch culture, general election of open proportional, transactional politic, and low political communication and education of community affect the low of women representation as the result of election 2014 in Wonosobo Regency.

Facing the general election 2019, women in Wonosobo regency requires; the support of political party in the form of; party's policy, work program, political education, determination of electoral district that on women side; *Second*, political education for women, as the useful provision for them. The intended political education is providing knowledge, guiding political attitude and behavior thus they become literate and skilled politician. What women need is how to build up the ir confidence so they have to compete with other cadre in such political party. Women confidence needs to be built in order they are able to communicate with the community. Furthermore, women are necessary to understand the regulation and about the importance of their position to represent other women. Regarding the feminism issues, women's interest, and women's rights in politic. Therefore, women have courage to fight and completely struggle to win the voters' hearth/constituents. Moreover, political education is important for them in order the political party not agitate about finding the cadre to meet the requirements heading to election. *Third*, women need capital. They are difficult to exist in political stage if the situation of politic in Wonosobo colored by the money scheme. Therefore, women will need assistance in building the trust from community.

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