THE RELATIONSHIP OF HUSBAND AUTHORITY TO THE WIFE POLITICAL RIGHTS

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Abstract
This research aimed to show the relationship of husband authority in the form of intervention on wife political rights. The collection of data was carried out through interviews, observations, and literature studies in order to help answering the research questions. The results showed that the husband intervened in his wife’s political rights. This was what escaped the attention of governments and gender drivers in protecting the political rights of wives. So far, the government has not maximally protected the rights of wives in the public sphere. Whereas the private/family institution is the root of the wife’s political rights being unprotected. Thus, the family institution becomes the first place to lose the wife’s independence in obtaining her political rights.

Keywords: Relationship, Husband Authority, Wife Political Rights.

A. Research Background
Indonesia is a law state that adopts a democratic system. These provisions can be seen in Article 1 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Sovereignty in the hands of the people is one of the characteristics of a democratic system. Indonesia as a country that adheres to the people's sovereignty system must implement the system according to the constitution. That is the mandate and has been regulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The implementation of the people's sovereignty system implemented in Indonesia may be different from other countries. That is because the people's sovereignty system in Indonesia must be in accordance with the constitution. The Indonesian constitution has explicitly
regulated the procedures for implementing people's sovereignty. The implementation of popular sovereignty can be seen in the implementation of general elections.

Article 22E paragraph (1) of the Indonesian constitution stipulates those general elections are held in a direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair manner every five years. Based on the article, it can be seen that the implementation of the general election (people's sovereignty) has principles that are written explicitly in the constitution. The principles of the general election must be implemented concretely, not just a discourse. Each principle has a different meaning. One of them is the free principle. Freedom here indicates that every citizen who is entitled by law is free to be involved in a democratic party. The implementation of general elections in accordance with these principles can be used as a parameter for the implementation of elections to run well.

In the implementation of popular sovereignty, recognize the terms voters and elected people. Both terms are closely related to human rights. It can be seen that the word "voters" means that people and/or citizens who have the right by law to be involved in general elections are the parties who channel their aspirations to elect one pair of candidates, be it president and/or vice president, regional head candidate, or legislative candidates. The term “elected person” implies that citizens have the right by law to participate in general elections, either as presidential and/or vice-presidential candidates, regional head candidates, or legislative candidates. Based on this explanation, it can be seen that being a voter and being elected is part of human rights in the political field.

The exercise of people's sovereignty has a relationship with human rights. To
find out human rights can be found in Article 28A-28J of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights. Article 28D paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states that "Every citizen has the right to have the same opportunity in government." This article uses the diction of "citizen" not "everyone". It can be seen that using the "citizen" diction indicates that the rule of rights regarding equal opportunity in government only applies to Indonesian citizens. This means that there is protection for citizens to get opportunities in government and that means not giving opportunities to foreign citizens to get rights in government.

The article is one of the many articles related to people sovereignty. The same opportunity in government can be interpreted as an opportunity in realizing people's sovereignty in this matter about the involvement of citizens in elections. The general purpose of elections is to implement the principles of democracy by electing representatives of the people in the people's representative body.¹ In addition, general elections are also used as a means to elect the president and/or vice president and regional heads. This is one of the characteristics of a democracy. Where elections are used as a means to occupy positions in government.

Citizen involvement in elections is urgently needed. Citizen involvement can be a measure of popular sovereignty. Even citizen involvement in elections can be a measure of the quality of elections. Therefore, the state has provided political protection as part of the human rights listed in the constitution. As a good Indonesian citizen anyone who already has political rights can use these rights in

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elections, both as voters and as people chosen.

Women (wives) are the parties that are always highlighted in the implementation of people sovereignty in Indonesia even in developing countries. The involvement of the wife in the election is still low. Therefore, an affirmation policy must be made to invite the wife to participate in the election. The fulfillment of rights also faces various challenges, including to realize women's rights related to rights in the political sphere. Special attention is also actually protected in the constitution as regulated in Article 28I paragraph (2) which states "Everyone is free from discriminatory treatment on any basis and has the right to get protection against such discriminatory treatment". Thus, the wife should also have the same opportunities and access to the husband in the election.

The emergence of affirmative policies towards wives in politics is carried out so that wives have the same opportunities as their husbands in politic. A wife is a free human being who is entitled to her independence. Moreover, the Indonesian constitution guarantees the political rights of citizens who meet the requirements. A wife is said to have the political right to be involved in politics, either to run for elections, or to participate in voting to elect candidates who are considered to be able to channel their political aspirations.

A more patriarchal and cultural political view which does not allow the wife to take care of public matters becomes some of the factors causing the lack of involvement of the wife in politics, especially elections. Political reforms in Indonesia actually provide great hope for women whose political rights are still

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shackled. Various groups, especially gender activists try to eliminate the stigma so that the wife has equality and equal opportunities in the political field. Whereas Article 28C paragraph (2) states "Everyone has the right to advance themselves in fighting for their collective rights to develop their society, nation and country." The article shows that the wife has the same rights as her husband to fight for their rights collectively.

A democratic system which is considered well-established in Indonesia has failed to protect the political rights of wives. The failure can be seen from the wife's lack of understanding in distributing political rights that are free from intervention from her husband. This could be one of the reasons for the need for affirmations for women to show their equal rights. Affirmative policies are temporary special measures taken to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment between women and men. This policy must be taken by the government to provide gender equality in the political and legal fields.

The affirmation policy provided by the government for women is not effective because it has not yet reached the root of the problem. This can be proven by the recruitment of women legislative candidates who seem careless. Political parties have a very pragmatic view. The most important thing for them is only limited to meeting the requirements of the law to provide a 30% quota for women's representation. The presence of affirmative action is expected to be able to actually give birth to women's representation in the legislature.


Problems in the political field, especially the involvement of the wife as a person who has the right to vote in the general election becomes interesting to study. Several similar research have been conducted but have not specifically discussed the problems discussed in this article. Some research is more focused on gender power relations in the legislation and social life of the community. According to researchers precisely the problem of gender stems from the family environment. The family institution is the environment that is still vulnerable to gender inequality. There is even a legal vacuum that explicitly regulates or protects the wife's political rights. The occurrence of this legal vacuum resulted in the emergence of problems as described previously. Thus, a movement is needed to actually realize efforts to protect political rights for wives.

The purpose of this research was to show the relationship between husband's authority and wife's political rights. This research was very interesting because the issues concerning gender relations, democracy, and the protection of political rights for women have always been the main issues. In addition, there has been no research on gender issues, political rights, and people's sovereignty that directly specifically addresses family institutions. This research is inseparable from the existence of law in Indonesia relating to society, without legal society such as inanimate objects because it cannot realize the aims and objectives contained in it.

B. Research Method

This research uses normative legal research methods. The use of this methodology is considered very appropriate to reveal the existence of a husband's power relation to his wife's political rights. Through the normative legal methodology, the author can
examine various regulations, both regulations at the international level and regulations at the national level (national laws and regulations). In addition, the author also conducted interviews with parties who were considered to know the causes of the problems posed in the study. The results of the research can be known after we examine the norms related to political rights with the existing reality. It is hoped that this methodology can find new things so that the results can be beneficial for all parties.

C. Research Result and Analysis

1. Indonesian Democratic Country

Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia does not explicitly state the word "democracy". However, the word "sovereignty is in the hands of the people" can be interpreted as an interpretation of the meaning of democracy. In fact, democracy is part of the sovereignty of the people. Democracy in a normative understanding is something that is ideologically intended to be carried out or carried out by a country, such as knowing the expression "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people". The phrase is very closely related to democracy. When people recognize the statement, it can be ascertained in their minds leading to democracy. Based on this explanation, we can conclude that Indonesia is a democratic country.

Almost all countries claim to be democratic. The democratic system if we look at each country is different. The difference lies in the nation's culture or ideology. Please note that democracy has a variety of models. It turns out that the models of democracy expressed by Imam Hidajat were or are being adopted by the Indonesian state. For example, guided

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democracy that was embraced in the Old Order. Guided democracy is democracy in which policies exist within the framework of party control and direct implementation of government by the head of state.\(^8\) The requirement for realizing democracy is freedom while the word guided will actually eliminate freedom itself.\(^9\)

After reformation, Indonesia began to reform as a democratic country by carrying out Pancasila democracy as a characteristic of Indonesian democracy. Pancasila Democracy is a system of organizing a state society which is carried out with the consent of the people in which the pattern of human dignity is regulated.\(^10\) The Pancasila democracy model is expected to be the inspiration of the state management process by using a democratic system. This is what is said that the models of democracy are different in each country because they are influenced by the culture and ideology of the country. Like the country of Indonesia as a country that adheres to the ideology of Pancasila.\(^11\)

Developing countries still have problems with democracy. The problem of democracy has indeed become a serious problem for developing countries. Where they want to get what democracy promised. However, that hope still cannot be obtained. Such is the case in Indonesia which places democracy as a system in managing the country. Various laws provide democratic rights for citizens. Sometimes reality is not as beautiful as what is in the law. Some think that economic factors are the main prerequisite for the ongoing process of democratization in a country.\(^12\)

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\(^12\) H. Nugroho, “Demokrasi dan Demokratisasi: Sebuah Kerangka Konseptual Untuk Memahami
Every country that claims to be a democracy must also pay attention to the principles of democracy. Indonesia as one of the countries that has signed the Warsaw Declaration Ministerial Conference Toward a Community of Democracies in Warsaw, Poland on June 27, 2000. The Warsaw Declaration consists of nineteen principles as follows.

a. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government, as expressed by exercise of the right and civic duties of citizens to choose their representatives through regular, free, and fair elections with universal and equal suffrage, open to multiple parties, conducted by secret ballot, monitored by independent electoral authorities, and free of fraud and intimidation.

b. The right of every person to equal access to public service and to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

c. The right of every person to equal protection of the law, without any discrimination as to race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status.

d. The right of every person to freedom of opinion and of expression, including to exchange and receive ideas and information through any media, regardless of frontiers.

e. The right of every person to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

f. The right of every person to equal access to education.

g. The right of the press to collect, report and disseminate information, news and opinions, subject only to restrictions necessary in a democratic society and prescribed by law, while bearing in mind evolving international practices in this field.

h. The right of every person to respect for private family life, home, correspondence, including electronic communications, free of arbitrary or unlawful interference.

i. The right of every person to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, including to establish or join their own political parties, civic groups, trade unions or other organizations with the necessary legal guarantees to allow them to operate freely on a basis of equal treatment before the law.

j. The right of persons belonging to minorities or disadvantaged groups to equal protection of the law, and the freedom to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and use their own language.

k. The right of every person to be free from arbitrary arrest or detention; to be free from torture and other cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment or punishment; and to receive due process of law, including to be presumed innocent until proven guilty in a court of law.

l. That the aforementioned rights, which are essential to full and effective participation in a democratic society, be enforced by a competent, independent and impartial judiciary open to the public, established and protected by law.

m. That elected leaders uphold the law and function strictly in accordance with the constitution of the country concerned and procedures established by law.

n. The right of those duly elected to form a government, assume office, and fulfill the term of office as legally established.

o. The obligation of an elected government to refrain from extra-constitutional actions, to allow the holding of periodic elections and to respect their results, and to relinquish power when its legal mandate ends.

p. That government institutions be transparent, participatory, and fully accountable to the citizenry of the country and take steps to combat corruption, which corrodes democracy.

q. That the legislature be duly elected and transparent and accountable to the people.

r. That civilian, democratic control over the military be established and preserved.

s. That all human rights -civil, cultural, economic, political and social--be promoted and protected as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant human rights instruments.

Based on the principles of democracy above, it can be seen in the first principle that:

The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government, as expressed by exercise of the right and civic duties of citizens to choose their representatives through regular, free and fair elections with universal and equal suffrage, open to multiple parties, conducted by secret ballot, monitored by independent electoral
authorities, and free of fraud and intimidation.

The first principle clearly states that the will of the people is the basis for the government to exercise power. Civilians have the right to elect their representatives through general elections. The right to choose freely is a universal right in the implementation of democracy.

Many international regulations regarding the implementation of a democratic state have been ratified by Indonesia, one of which is the Warsaw Declaration. This should be a shared commitment that the government will administer the Indonesian government according to these principles.

2. Women’s Participation in Elections

Community participation in democracy is one of the main characteristics of the state, said democratic or not. In the article of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women that states parties must take action to eliminate discrimination between women and men in the political field. That women and men have the right:

a. To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
b. To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
c. To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

According to Roth and Wilson, conventional political participation activities include the following actions.13

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First, voting in elections; second, attending the general meeting; third, becoming a member of a political party or interest group; fourth, establishing communication with government officials or members of parliament. The people should have participated in realizing a democratic state. One of them voted in the general election.

Talking about elections and women is always an interesting discussion. Not a few research that try to telescope or dialogue between women and the general election. One of the interesting things is that general elections are part of the political system. So far, the political system is considered very masculine. Even the involvement of the wife in the election is inseparable from the intervention of her husband. The husband's intervention against his wife is a form of human rights restraint. Where this restraint can be influenced by economic factors, education level, political authority, image or good name, and physical strength. These factors can be the source of the emergence of husband's political intervention against his wife.14

According to Laycette there are at least four obstacles for women to participate in politics.15 The constraints presented by Laycette have similarities with this research. In this research, three similarities were described. First, the role of reproduction is one of the roots of some conservative wives. Awareness of the condition of the wife as a mother becomes the main focus to carry out her role properly. Status as mothers and wives are not directly affected by politics so that the political rights they should have been regarded as something that is not too important.


15 Z. Mukarom, Loc.Cit.
Second, education is the reason why a wife does not understand the ownership of political rights. They are not trying to maximize their political rights because for some women with little education, the political world is a world they do not control. Even for some wives with tertiary education, political rights are the submissive rights of their husbands. Some of them consider the wife’s political rights to be the same as the husband who incidentally is the head of the family. Third, patriarchal culture has a correlation with the second factor where the wife's obedience is devotion to the husband.

Various research on women's participation in developing countries have a lower tendency than men. Women mostly take care of domestic matters.\(^\text{16}\) Reflecting on the statement is no different from women in Indonesia who still show the lack of participation in politics. This can be seen from the emergence of women's affirmations in parliament. The emergence of the affirmation policy proves that Indonesian women still do not get equality in politics. Affirmations are an effort to equalize women in the political/parliamentary field. However, the affirmation policy itself is not an attempt to solve the root of the problem. The government should see first the root causes of women's rights are still not equal to men. During this time, the government is only limited to regulating important matters and has not reached the main points or main factors. The problem of the difficulty of women entering the world of politics is also experienced in Malaysia. As explained in Piya Sukhani's research which states that women are hampered from advancing in leadership\(^\text{17}\).

\(^{16}\) Ibid.

\(^{17}\) Piya Sukhani, “Women’s Political Representation: Progressing in Malaysia?”, Papers, Nanyang Technological University, Singapura, RSIS Commentary, No.009, 13 January 2020, p. 45.
The Indonesian government seeks to protect women's political rights through legislation. The Indonesian Constitution has guaranteed all citizens to get the same rights in the field of government. However, in the implementation of legal protection in an effort to realize equality and opportunities for women in elections is still questionable. Political parties as a political vehicle seeks to fulfill the representation of 30% of women. However, in reality, women have difficulty in funding and there is a patriarchal system within the party itself.\(^\text{18}\)

The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection also conducted activities to increase women's participation in the 2019 elections. This activity was carried out to increase the target of 30% representation of women in parliament. Reflecting on the 2014 election, the representation of women in the central parliament is only 17.32% or 97 women from 560 legislators.\(^\text{19}\) Of course this is still far from expectations. Stretching changes about the number of women representatives in the central parliament can be seen from 575 members of the Indonesian Legislative Assembly (DPR), 458 of them men and 117 women. This is certainly good news for democracy.

In the end, various institutions only focused on efforts to increase 30% representation of women in politics. They forget that to achieve 30% representation, there are many things that women must face. The government should examine the main factors that concern women, especially their wives, in obtaining their


political rights. As long as the government does not use this paradigm, so long as the target of 30% representation of women in politics is only a delusion. Researchers believe that with the completion of the root of the problem then the 30% figure becomes something that is no longer useful because the barrier that has been blocking a wife or woman from politics has disappeared. Whereas women’s involvement in politics is very large in fighting for rights related to family and health.\textsuperscript{20}

3. Stigma of Women in Politics

The struggle of women in obtaining their rights is still ongoing. The difficulty of women getting equal rights with men in politics shows that there is still a stigma. In addition, the results of Maznah Mohamad's research show that the low participation of women in politics is not influenced by rural and urban gaps, ethnic relations, and class differences.\textsuperscript{21} Women's political participation experienced degradation and reduction.\textsuperscript{22} This statement can be seen from the husband’s intervention on the wife's political rights. The patriarchal culture is the beginning because of the inherent stigma that the role of women in all sectors cannot be matched with men.\textsuperscript{23} The view of women must be changed.

Women have good political skills. Some examples are Megawati Soekarnoputri (Former Vice President and President), Khofifah Indar Parawansa (Former State Minister for Women’s Empowerment and Former Social Minister and Governor of East Java), and Tri Rismaharini (Former


\textsuperscript{21} Mohamad, Maznah, “Getting More Women into Politics Under One-Party Dominance: Collaboration, Clientelism, and Coalition Building in the Determination of Women’s Representation in


\textsuperscript{23} Inayatush Sholihah, ”Perempuan dan Stigma Politik”, Indekstat: Argues, Indekstat, 11 July 2020.
Mayor of Surabaya and Minister of Social Affairs). These three women can be an example that women can also have a career in politics. They have the ability to run the government. This is proven by their achievements.

Megawati Soekarnoputri, she is the daughter of the proclaimer, Soekarno, who has great passion in politics. She was able to become the first woman to serve as president of Indonesia. In the midst of the unstable condition of the Indonesian state, Megawati succeeded in making several policies that can be felt to this day, namely the establishment of the Corruption Eradication Commission. Megawati is also considered successful in leading the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle and winning the general election.

Khofifah Indar Parawansa, she is a role model for everyone, not just women. Khofifah can be said to be a successful wife and leader. How could his political career not be so good? Not only has served as minister twice. Khofifah also serves as the Governor of East Java for the period (2019-2023).

Tri Rismaharini, she is a strong woman. His firm figure can be seen when he served as mayor of Surabaya and currently serves as Minister of Social Affairs. Risma has many achievements. One of them is winning the Adipura Kencana Trophy eight times from 2011 to 2018. His political career continues to shine after being elected by President Joko Widodo as Minister of Social Affairs.

Figures such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, and Tri Rismaharini are successful women in the political field. The political world that is considered masculine does not apply to these figures. In fact, they are able to align themselves and at the same time prove their success as a woman, wife, and mother who has a career in politics.
Indonesian women can also be like the three women above. One thing that can be done is to participate in general elections. The participation of women is very much needed in politics. Political policies need a touch or women’s views so that the policies made are not masculine. Therefore, community participation (women) demands involvement in making, implementing, and being responsible for decisions.\textsuperscript{24} By directly involving the role of women in politics, it will have a major influence on the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. Moreover, the Indonesian constitution gives rights to all citizens, including women, to have the same rights as men in government as regulated in Article 28D paragraph (3). Law No. 39 of 199 concerning Human Rights, in article 46 stipulates that:

The general election system, parties, election of members of the legislative body, and the appointment system in the executive and judicial fields must guarantee the representation of women according to the specified requirements.

Based on these regulations, it can be seen that there are equal rights between women and men in government, especially in a democratic system.

4. Independence of Wife’s Political Rights

It is undeniable that a wife has big obstacles in obtaining equal rights with her husband in the political field. The nature of women is one of the dominant factors. In addition, low education affects the mindset of women towards politics. In addition, we can find that in the journal written by Phyllis Ghim-Lian Chew shows that some women think that they do not have time for a career in politics.\textsuperscript{25} During this time, we can see women who


are involved in politics who have a good education, a good level of political awareness, and awareness of gender, and association in social activities.

The findings in this research certainly become a critical part regarding the emergence of differences from previous studies on the relationship between wife and politics. The issue of gender and political socialization can be two things that need attention in similar research. Mother's maternal feelings are a factor in the lack of involvement of the wife in politics and the wife tends to get lower political socialization.\(^\text{26}\) However, research between the relations of wives and politics, especially the participation of wives in elections, began to shift. Several research have shown that there are significant changes related to women's political rights.\(^\text{27}\) Significant political changes must also be criticized by the factors that influence them, whether the wife's involvement in implementing pure political rights over her own awareness or there is intervention from outside the wife's self to politics.

Research conducted by Herning Suryo showed that in the reform era, Indonesia's political system is getting better and more democratic.\(^\text{28}\) While this research showed that the involvement of a wife or woman in politics has a driving factor, it was husband's intervention. Husband's intervention can be positive or negative. The positive side helps increase the wife's participation in elections. The negative side of a wife's independence in determining her political rights is lost because of the intervention.

Husband's intervention cannot be denied in influencing the wife's political views in the election. Intervention can be seen from the obligation for the wife to

choose the same options as the husband. Aspects of patriarchal culture are still very thick felt. With this, it can affect the achievement of the number of women in parliament. Husbands' intervention on their wives to elect legislative candidates can lead to patriarchal tendencies. It could be that the husband chooses male legislative candidates over women for various reasons. Automatically, the intervention can occur to the wife. Where the wife will also choose the same candidate as the husband. As a result, women legislative candidates get a small number of votes.

Apart from the factors that influence the participation of wives in elections, the fact that they have dared to take part in the political system. Although maybe their level of political culture is still low. Knowledge systems, emotional attitudes, and judgments of moral ethics for wives must still be considered.

Because this attitude and behavior becomes an object marker of political symptoms that will occur in the political system. This is the typical orientation of the implementation of wife's politics towards the political system with its various parts. A good political culture among wives helps to create a democratic country. This is based on the assumption that the acceleration of democratization in a country is caused by the preconditions in the form of the political culture of a nation.

They need a critical understanding of the importance of fulfilling political rights. Politics is not a command to obey a wife to her husband. Politics is a field that does not recognize gender. Therefore, everyone has the same opportunity in politics. Marriage institutions should not be used as a means to handcuff wife's political rights. The wife has independence in determining her

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29 Ibid.

30 H. Nugroho, Loc. Cit.
political rights. Wife's political rights are not related to the wife's obligation to obey her husband. Politics and human rights are independent, so no one has the right to intervene with any reason.

The wife should have the same opportunity in getting her political rights. The political rights of the wife at this time are still artificial, constantly under the men. This view must of course be changed that politics does not recognize gender as stated earlier. Husband's intervention in his wife's political thinking hopes do not happen again. This intervention is difficult to detect if the wife does not get a good political education and knows that she has independent political rights from her husband. What is regulated in Law Number 7 of 1984 concerning the CEDAW Convention on women's rights is difficult to realize if the wife does not understand that she has independence in politics. This patriarchal system is of great concern for freeing wives from marginalized positions in a masculine work culture.

D. Conclusion

The research entitled "The Relationship of Husband Authority to Wife Political Rights" showed that there is a husband's intervention in his wife's political rights. The government is limited to providing rules on protecting political rights for women. This has not touched the root of the problem. Because the main root of the problem starts from the family institution with the power of the husband in interfering in the wife's political rights. This research is a reflection to policy makers that it is not easy for wives to obtain political rights independently and hopes that the results of this study will open up insights that the root causes of

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the protection of wife's political rights are in family institutions. Therefore, some concrete actions are needed to overcome these problems. Some ways that can be done include making regulations on political freedom for wives as part of human rights, asking stakeholders to provide protection and helping provide political education to the family environment. These methods are expected to help wives to get their rights as independent individuals.

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