

Political Party Debate on the Presidential Threshold System in the Multi-Party Context in Indonesia

Putra Kaslin Hutabarat
Student of Civic Education Department,
Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia,
Bandung, Indonesia
Email: putrahutabarat@upi.edu

Idrus Affandi
Professor of Civic Education Department,
Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia,
Bandung, Indonesia
Email: idrusaffandi@upi.edu

Abstract- This paper will have political implications in terms of the implementation of the presidential election system that is relevant to the style of political parties in Indonesia. Reviewing the chosen solution for implementing the presidential threshold system in the upcoming presidential election. This paper was made using descriptive qualitative and using a comparative design. Data collection using interviews, collection and study. The subject of this study was a cadre of the PDI-struggle Party DPP namely Mr. Ir. Edward Tanari, M.Sc and Head of the Gerindra Party DPP Secretariat namely Mr. Brigadier General (Purn) Anwar Ende, S.I.P. besides this research also took the opinion of political communication expert Effendi Gazali, as well as the presidential threshold system at the Constitutional Court. Finally, the opinion of senior Golkar party politicians, Mr. Akbar Tanjung. The study found detailed leadership about the attitude of political parties towards the implementation of the presidential election threshold system. applying the presidential threshold system of 20% of approved votes and 25% of approved votes still considers democratic principles in Indonesian relations. So further discussion is needed to take alternative solutions for the implementation of political rights for every political party and citizen who wants to become a presidential candidate.

Keywords: *political party debate, presidential threshold, multi-party*

I. INTRODUCTION

This research begins with observations made by researchers on the political constellation in Indonesia ahead of the presidential election in 2019. Elections have become a necessity for democratic countries [1]. Essentially, it gives voters the power to choose 'directly' who will govern the country [2]. The focus of this research is to study naturallyistically on the differences in PDI-struggle Party views as the majority party followed by the Golkar Party, PKB, Nasdem, Hanura and PKB who agree to impose a presidential system threshold of 20% of parliamentary seats and 25% of national votes and Gerindra Party which does not agree to the adoption of PT in a multi-party context in Indonesia.

More interesting to observe, especially for political parties participating in the election. Political parties play a very important role in modern democracies and are the main pillars of the political system [3]. The idea was that coalition tendencies initiated by elites or political party leaders were

actually related to the party's rational choice in maximizing resources to prepare forces ahead of elections [4]. In practice a democratic consolidation emphasizes the existence of strong legitimacy targets and solid coalitions so that all elements including political parties have strong commitments. In other words, democratic consolidation requires more than lip service that democracy is in principle the best governance system, but democracy is also a commitment normative is permitted and reflected (habituation) in political behavior, both in elite circles, organizations, and society as a whole [5]. Judging from the consolidation transition in each election in the rule of the game of democracy, Laurence Whitehead (in Zuhro, S, 2012 p. 22) holds that political consolidation is not only carried out by institutions with institutions but also at the level of society, political actors, parties politics, and civil society [6]. The emergence of thoughts about the constitution is essentially the initial milestone in the history of statements about rights, so that constitutional rights are not only related to constitutional rules but are incorporated in the constitution [7].

With the presidential nomination threshold rule, every political party that passes the verification of the presidential nomination must meet its threshold requirements, which means closing the possibility of small parties to be able to propose their candidates in the 2019 presidential election. The proposed threshold must refer to the 2014 election results. Surely this will potentially be a polemic among the people besides Indonesia as a democratic country, whose source of power comes from the people. So the difference in political views between PDIP and Gerindra is increasingly interesting to study.

II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

A. Debate of Political Parties

Theory of debate in politics is seen from the concept of posttheory thesis there is another view metaphysically in terms of strength and confidence in social and political phenomenons [8]. For example Jhon Rawls's view of political theory debates can be seen when one views justice in the perspective of ideal theory and utopia theory [9]. The debate on one of the efforts of political persuasion was carried out through three things, namely: propaganda, advertising and rhetoric. All three have the same characteristics and goals, involve influence and are planned to influence perceptions and audience opinion [10].

The view that illustrates current political parties is like a catch all party, that political parties have begun to abandon the principle of party ideology in order to gain as many votes and votes as possible in the election. Indeed elections in a democracy protect this kind of thing [11]. As stated by the democracy and its positive effects on freedom, liberty, and wealth among widespread citizens "or belief in democracy has a positive effect on the existence of freedom, independence and wealth for citizens of various countries [12]. Mainwaring Scoot (1992) says: "... this option exists only if malleable parties [13]. The purpose of this statement is that the coalition of political parties is not the main thing in making decisions or in carrying out stability in government, but rather an emergency step when making decisions does not fulfill the final decision.

B. *Presidential Threshold*

The term Presidential Threshold is a threshold system for nominating the president and vice president through political parties that are declared to meet the requirements according to the law [14]. Another argument that has developed from this presidential threshold system is the percentage of maximum support in the parliament so that it can strengthen the legitimacy of the president in implementing his policies, while also being easy to win the next election [15].

In the participation of elections not far from the role of political parties as an example of sovereignty in association for citizens, the premise of thinking and meeting opinions must be maintained through constitutional rules [16]. General elections are a form of two-way political communication between political candidates and parties that offer political programs for future government with the people. Political participation (people) during elections is a determinant of the quality of democracy and government of a country [17].

Rejection from several political parties in the implementation of the presidential threshold system in the presidential election year. As stated by Wells, Michael L, will restore the constitutional right remedy, besides also providing many alternative choices for presidential candidates [18]. Other experts such as Wilson, C, also rampaged if the presidential threshold was removed to reduce conflict in society. So that voter polarization is no longer focused on two political forces [19]. Lastly Ruppert, Evelyn, and Mike Savage, suggested that the presidential threshold system to prevent the occurrence of transactional politics between coalitions of political parties [20]. This refers to the distribution of positions in the ministry by elected presidents due to the politics of coalition commitments which tend to emphasize transactional political agreements. Although the mode is an effort to find a match and strengthen the support of the president's work program.

C. *Multy Party*

Party system according to Maurice Duverger (in Kuswanto 2016, p. 59) is divided into three party systems that are commonly found based on political practice [21]. First, a single party system. Second, the two-party system. Third, a multi-party system. If we examine it based on the concept of electoral theory in this multiparty context. Jones (1995) (in

Hanan Jayadi, 2016) divides into 2 types of election formulas. First is the plurality formula, namely the presidential election is only conducted with one round referring to the most votes. Second, majority runoff is that a presidential candidate must win a minimum of 50 + 1 (50 percent more) to become a winner [22].

In response to this we can see the formula from David Altman in his writing *The Politics of Coalition Formation and Survival in Multiparty Presidential Democracies: The Case of Uruguay 1989-1999*. After studying the substance of the establishment of a coalition of political parties in the presidential government system, he stressed 2 reasons for not requiring a coalition, as follows:: "The first has already been pointed out: under presidential systems are not institutionally necessary. The second reason appears to be the widespread belief that presidentialism is not conducive to political cooperation [23].

Inevitably since the reform era many new parties emerged, in theory according to Dhakidae Daniel the beginning of the emergence of political parties after the reformation was a manifestation of political euphoria as an emotional overflow to the New Order regime and considered a form of freedom of thought, association and gather in a democratic country [24].

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This research method uses descriptive qualitative and uses a comparative study design. Harrison says that the advantages of a qualitative approach in political science are often overlooked, even though its strength lies in the fact that this research "makes researchers involved in social settings the research objectives allow researchers to observe own people in everyday situations and take part in activities with them [25]. The technique of collecting data through observation, interviews and documentation. The subject of this study was a cadre of the PDI-struggle Party DPP namely Mr. Ir. Edward Tanari, M.Sc and Head of the Gerindra Party DPP Secretariat namely Mr. Brigadier General (Ret.) Anwar Ende, S.IP, besides this research also took the opinion of political communication expert Effendi Gazali, as well as the presidential threshold system at the Constitutional Court. Finally, the opinion of senior Golkar party politicians, Mr. Akbar Tanjung.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Party profile PDIP struggle

The PDI-P party was formed due to the fusion of political parties in the new order era of several parties namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the Many People's Consultative Party (Murba Party), the Supporting Association of Indonesian Independence (IPKI), the Indonesian Christian Party (PARKINDO) and the Catholic Party [26]. Internal conflicts and government intervention in the New Order era gave rise to the figure of a child from the Indonesian proclaimer Megawati Soekarnoputri as a central figure who was considered by the PDI as a unifying figure [27].

The PDI-P victory in the 1999 election did not follow the 2004 elections, support for Megawati's PDIP dropped

dramatically from 33.7 percent in the 1999 election to 18.5 percent in the 2004 elections [28]. The dynamics of the PDI-P party's journey can indeed be said to be volatile as political developments in Indonesia. At present, the PDI-P Party is the winner of the 2014 elections and the 2019 elections won a vote of 19.30%, referred to as a simple majority in parliament. PDI Perjuangan nominates Jokowi as president. Jokowi became a phenomenal figure in Indonesia's political constellation [29], although in the initial period Jokowi's election as president was only supported by a minority party in parliament, in the second period Jokowi was able to strengthen the power in parliament as a majority coalition [30].

Party profile Gerindra

On February 6, 2008 the Gerindra party was officially established. The Gerindra Party was ranked 8th in the 2009 Legislative Election and was in the top 3 of the party that won the most votes in the 2014 Legislative Election [31]. Gerindra Party succeeded in building the image of Prabowo Subianto as a figure related to personal image in politics having three benefits including the ideal [32]. In contrast to 2014, the electoral changes meant much greater emphasis on national issues and national-level campaigns relative to provincial and local-level issues this year [33].

Robert Dahl, in his book *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* The essence of democracy and elections is a matter that is closely present. The process of carrying out the general election became one of the manifestations of the means of political life for citizens which became the second pillar of the democratic system [34]. Elections are one measure of the success of a country's democracy [35]. The theory of democracy in several countries according to Henry W. Ehrman refers to the practice that there are 2 principles, namely: first the balancing function of the separation between power, government, and judiciary. Secondly, free choice of alternatives is much more important for a substantial participation of the people [36].

1. The opinion of the PDI-P Party is needed by the Presidential Threshold system in 2019 presidential and vice presidential elections in the context of Multi Party in Indonesia.

The opinion of the PDI-P Party based on the results of the interview with Mr. Ir. Edward Tanari, M.Sc. With the adoption of PT in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections where Indonesia currently adheres to a multi-party system, it will help in breaking down the complexity due to the possibility of many Presidential /Vice-President candidates being submitted by political parties if there is no PT threshold.

The advantages that can be felt by parties with the presence of a presidential threshold system against multi parties, which can be as a motivator in screening the best candidates who will be nominated as President / Presidential Candidates. Political parties will compete to present the best cadres if they meet the presidential nomination threshold requirements.

On the one hand indeed, the disadvantages if applied to the presidential threshold system in the presidential election,

can give birth to a single candidate (pair of President / Vice President) if the parties that pass the PT agree to only nominate only a pair of candidates. However, even then it is very difficult to do because the opportunity to carry out a coalition system is still wide open for political parties carrying presidential candidates.

Problems that arise when the presidential threshold system in the context of multi parties in Indonesia, namely when the number of political parties that do not meet the threshold requirements. So the alternative solution is to form a party coalition (joint political party). Usually the obstacle that arises is the unification of perceptions between political parties with different visions and missions and even ideological tendencies brought about. This is in line with Huntington's view (1965) (in Noor F, 2013, p. 6) which considers that institutionalized parties are capable of being adaptive in accordance with existing developments, including reinterpreting their ideology [37]. It would be better if new parties (not institutionalized) needed stabilization and socialization of ideology to be an important agenda that must be followed along with the consolidation process.

2. The opinion of the PDI-P Party is needed by the Presidential Threshold system in 2019 presidential and vice presidential elections in the context of Multi Party in Indonesia.

The opinion of Gerindra Party based on the results of the interview with Head of the Gerindra Party DPP Secretariat namely Mr. Brigadier General (Purn) Anwar Ende, S.IP. The Gerindra Party DPP believes that the application of the presidential threshold system in the presidential election can be an attempt to bring a single candidate to each coalition that has been built. This will lead to increasingly tense conflict in the presidential election, because the people's voice will be divided into two parts. Then there shouldn't be a threshold of up to 20%.

Weaknesses that will be felt with the presidential threshold system against multi parties. First, it will be difficult to bring up alternative figures due to political vehicles such as imprisonment through political parties. Second, the limited opportunities for political parties to carry out presidential candidates, both from cadres and alternative figures. Third, transactional politics will emerge in a party coalition formed as an effort to meet the presidential nomination threshold requirements. Fourth, polarization of political forces will only focus on large parties and old figures. Antony Down's (1957) theory (in Dalton, 2008) that voters in multi-party systems are given a variety of ideological slogans of choice, with those who emphasize a gentle approach, doctrine and pedaling offering different ideas [38].

The Gerindra Party stated that, in fact, coalitions of political parties were very burdensome to the party with the smallest vote in decision making. The president can attempt to buy the support of individual politicians from opposition parties, but this option exists only if the parties malleable. Democracy needs opposition to avoid party cartelization [39]. Democracy should provide equal opportunity for election participants to win elections, which also means that

election participants have equal opportunities to win their programs [40].

Voter polarization in Indonesia is very diverse and is motivated by 5 streams in the thinking of political parties in Indonesia along with the historical development of the nation's political journey, namely Communism, Radical Nationalism, Javanese traditional, Islam, Socialism and Democrats [41]. From the results of the debate of political parties in parliament about the threshold presidential system stipulation in Law No. 17 of 2017 it resulted in 5 option points, namely.

Tabel 1 Option of The Debate of The Presidential Threshold System On The Establishment of The Law No 17 Year 2017

Option A	Presidential Threshold (20-25%), Parliamentary Threshold (4%), election system (open), seat allocation (3-10 seats), (Pure Saint Lague).
Option B	Presidential Threshold (0%), Parliamentary Threshold (4%), election system (open), seat allocation (3-10 seats), vote convention method (Hare Quota).
Option C	Presidential Threshold (10-15%), Parliamentary Threshold (4%), open electoral system, seat allocation (3-10 seats), vote convention method (Hare Quota).
Option D	Presidential Threshold (10-15%) Parliamentary Threshold (5%), electoral system (open), seat allocation (3-8 seats), convention method vote (Pure Saint Lague).
Option E	Presidential Threshold (10-25%) Parliamentary Threshold (2.3%), election system (open), seat allocation (3-10 seats), vote convention method (Hare Quota).

With the debate, the majority of votes were generated from the PDI-P, Golkar, Nasdem, PKB, PPP A options parties with 20% of seats in parliament and 25% national votes. while the Gerindra, PKS, PAN and Democrats refused the stipulation of option A. The realization of aspirational and democratic elections must fulfill several important conditions. These conditions include, competitive elections, carried out periodically, elections carried out in an inclusive manner, giving consideration to the results of the discussion regarding alternative options [42].

The implementation of democratic majoritarianism by urging political institutions to take steps and actions in accordance with the framework of power that has been written in the constitution, so that when formulating laws and regulations take into account the applicable constitutional restrictions [43]. This is in line with the view, that among the well-known principles of democracy is that the ruling class must get approval from the majority (majority), then the small groups that differ in opinion from the majority are guaranteed rights in society [44]. So the thing that is avoided from the electoral system is when the party coalition is formed now, namely the attitude of pragmatism from political parties that tend to think only of short-term interests.

Which conceptualizes the theory of democracy divided into deliberative democracy and elite democracy (elite

democracy) by Richard A. Posner in Gaffar, Janedri M, 2013) [45]. The electoral system should be established to protect the rights of every citizen through political parties. The right to be elected as president is very reasonable for all figures and certain figures. Apart from the selection provisions formed by political parties it is an internal matter that must be respected.

Seeing the political party debate, political communication expert Effendi Gazali and senior Akbar Tanjung politicians gave personal views on political parties in addressing the presidential threshold system. Akbar Tanjung believes that political parties must make several targets that must be achieved in order to meet the threshold requirements of PT. The opportunity to achieve this target still exists, as well as for the majority political parties, the vote could be reduced from the previous election. So there is a need for seriousness to face the election this time, because there are two focuses to be achieved, namely the legislative and presidential elections. Both types of elections greatly determine the strategic position of political parties. The conditions that govern the current political party are the obligation to fulfill the presidential threshold threshold requirements of 20-25% which is very burdensome. Thus, political parties are required to form a combination of political parties (coalitions) if they want to meet absolute threshold requirements.

Whereas Effendi in interview results argued that political parties that reject the holding of these threshold conditions, please submit a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court, so that it can be legally acceptable. However, if the decision is rejected by the Constitutional Court, political parties must be better prepared to face elections in order to gain votes according to the applicable threshold conditions. For political parties that agree with the PT system, it is also expected to re-prepare the party machinery to meet the PT. The implementation of the presidential nomination threshold requirements will create a situation that always depends on the results of the legislative election and will potentially open transactional politics. This is because the support obtained through legislative results in the parliament does not reflect genuine support. But it will bring about a coalition that is attractive between interests which limits the movement of an elected president.

V. CONCLUSION

The application of an appropriate presidential election system in a multiparty context in Indonesia requires an in-depth study of elements of political parties. This certainly has implications for political stability during the presidential election. These political interests later became a pragmatic debate for each political party participating in the election. There are differences in the intent and purpose of addressing the presidential election system in accordance with the principles of democracy in Indonesia. The different mindset between political parties is a contextual debate. There is a different political agreement between coalitions of political parties that support the running of government, with coalitions of opposition political parties (balancing parties).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Thank you to the board and of the PDI-P Party and the Gerindra Party DPP. The participation of political communication expert Effendi Gazali and senior politician Akbar Tanjung for the information given to this study.

REFERENCES

- [1] Ellen Lust. Competitive Clientelism in the Middle East. *Journal of Democracy*, (2009). 20(3), 122–135. doi:10.1353/jod.0.0099
- [2] D'Alimonte, R. The new Italian electoral system: majority-assuring but minority-friendly. *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 2015, 7(3), 286–292. doi:10.1080/23248823.2015.1093280
- [3] Meyer Thomas. *Peran Partai Politik dalam Sebuah Sistem Demokrasi*. Jakarta: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES). 2012
- [4] Moury, Catherine. *Coalition Government and Pary Mandate: How Coalition Agreement Constrain Ministerial Action*. London: Routledge. 2013
- [5] Diamond, Larry. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*, Edisi Indonesia, Yogyakarta: IRE Press. 2003
- [6] Zuhro, S, R. *Negara Civil Society dan Demokrasi*. Malang: Intran Publishing. 2012
- [7] Kanyinga, K., & Long, J. The Political Economy of Reforms in Kenya: The Post-2007 Election Violence and a New Constitution. *African Studies Review*. 2012. 55 (1), 31-51. doi:10.1353/arw.2012.0002
- [8] Buitenhuis, M.. On Metaphysical Cases against Political Theories. *Erasmus Student Journal of Philosophy*, 2014. Vol 4(1), 6–13. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1765/77056>
- [9] Ruitinga, V. Ideal Theory and Utopia. *Erasmus Student Journal of Philosophy*. 2011. Vol. 1(1), 48–54. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1765/76977>
- [10] Rully. Efektifitas Iklan Negatif Di Media Sosial Dalam Politik Di Indonesia. *Jurnal lontar*. 2018. Vol. 6 No 1 Januari-Juni, 69-79
- [11] Heywood, A. *Global Politics*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan. 2014
- [12] Grundler, K. Krieger, T. Democracy and growth: Evidence from a machine learning indicator. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 2016. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2016.05.005>.
- [13] Mainwaring, Scott. 1992. "Presidentialism in Latin Amerika", in *Arend Lijphart (editors). Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government*. Oxford University Press,
- [14] Robert, A. *A Theory Of Constitutional Right*. Oxford: Oxford University. 2002
- [15] Armia, M. S. Penghapusan Presidential Trheshold sebagai Upaya Pemulihan Hak-Hak Konstitusional. *Jurnal Petita*, 2016. 135.
- [16] Asshiddiqie, Jimly. *Pengantar Ilmu Hukum Tata Negara*. Raja Grafindo Persada. 2010
- [17] Pureklolon, T. P. *Komunikasi Politik*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama Anggota IKAPI. 2016
- [18] Wells, Michael Lewis. Constitutional Remedies: Reconciling Official Immunity with the Vindication of Rights (March 12, 2015). *St. John's Law Review, Forthcoming; UGA Legal Studies Research Paper No. 2015-5*. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2577483>
- [19] Wilson, C. Illiberal democracy and violent conflict in contemporary Indonesia. *Democratization*. 2015. 22:7, 1317-1337, DOI: [10.1080/13510347.2014.949680](https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2014.949680)
- [20] Ruppert, Evelyn, and Mike Savage. "Transactional Politics." *The Sociological Review*. 2011. Volume 59, Nomor 2 doi:abs/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02057.x
- [21] Kuswanto. *Konstitusionalitas Penyederhanaan Partai Politik*. Malang: Setara Press. 2016
- [22] Hanan, Jayadi. Memperkuat Presidensialisme Multipartai di Indonesia: Pemilu Serentak, Sistem Pemilu, dan Sistem Kepartaian. *Jurnal Universitas Paramadina*, 2016. Vol 13. 145
- [23] Efriza. Evaluasi Pemilu Serentak 2019 Dan Sistem Presidensial. *Jurnal Renaissance*. 2019. Volume 4 No. 01 | Mei 2019, hlm: 495-503
- [24] Dhakidae, Daniel. "Partai-Partai Politik di Indonesia: Kisah Pergerakan dan Organisasi dalam Patahan-Patahan Sejarah," dalam Tim Penelitian dan Pengembangan (Tim Litbang) Kompas, *Partai-Partai Politik Indonesia Ideologi, Strategi, dan Program*, Jakarta: Gramedia. 1999
- [25] Harrison. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Jakarta: PT. Kencana Prenada Media Group. 2009
- [26] Koirudin. *Partai Politik dan Agenda Transisi Demokrasi: Menakar Kinerja Partai Politik Era Transisi di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. 2004
- [27] Mietzner, M. Jokowi's Presidency between Elite Consolidation and Extra-Parliamentary Opposition. *Asian Survey*, 2017. Vol. 57 No. January/February ; (pp. 165-172) doi: 10.1525/as.2017.57.1.165
- [28] Edward Aspinall. *Opposite Soeharto: Compromise, Resistance and Regime Change In Indonesia*. California: Stanford University Press. 2005
- [29] Tapsell, R. Indonesia's Media Oligarchy and the "Jokowi Phenomenon" . *Cornell University Press; Southeast Asia Program Publications at Cornell University*. 2015. No. 99 (April 2015), pp. 29-50
- [30] Ricklefs, C Merle. *A History Indonesia Modern Since c. 1200*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2008
- [31] Nurdiansyah, "Marketing Politik Dpp Partai Gerindra Pada Pemilu Legislatif 2014," *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 60-70, Apr. 2018. <https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.9.1.2018.60-70>
- [32] Nimmo. *Komunikasi Politik- Khalayak dan Efek*. Jakarta: Rosdakarya. 2010
- [33] Fionna, U., & Hutchinson, F. E. (2019). Indonesia's 2019 Elections: A Fractured Democracy? *Asian Affairs*, 1–18. doi:10.1080/03068374.2019.1672400
- [34] Surbakti, R. *Memahami Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta : PT Grasindo. 2010
- [35] Morgenbesser, L. Thomas and Pepinsky. Elections as Causes of Democratization: Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*. 2019. 52(1), 3–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018758763>
- [36] Hastuti, S. Pemilu dan Demokrasi dalam Telaah Terhadap Prasyarat Normatif Pemilu. 2004. *Jurnal Hukum No 25 Vol. 11 Januari 2004*.
- [37] Noor, F. Konsolidasi Parpol Menjelang Pemilu. *Party Consolidation A Year Before Election. Jurnal Penelitian politik*. Volume 10 No. 1 Juni 2013.
- [38] Dalton, R. J.. The Quantity and The Quality Of Party System: Party System Polarization, It's Measurement, AND It's Concequences. *Sage Publication (Comparative Political Studies)*, 2008. 901. Volume 41 Number 7 899-920
- [39] Slater, D. Party Cartelization, Indonesian-Style: Presidential Power-Sharing And The Contingency Of Democratic Opposition. 2018. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 18(1), 23-46. doi:10.1017/jea.2017.26
- [40] Herbeth Feith dan Lance Castles, *Pemikiran Politik Indonesia 1945-1965*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988
- [41] Setiadi, Wicipto. Peran Partai Politik Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilu Yang Aspiratif Dan Demokratis. *Jurnal Legislati Indonesia*. 2008, 5(1):29
- [42] Tom Ginsburg. *Judicial Review In New Democracies*, Constitutional Court in Asian Cases, Cambridge University Press. 2003
- [43] Natsir, M. *Alasan yang Melanggar Prinsip Demokrasi, Dalam Kholid O. Santoso (Ed), Mencari Demokrasi Gagasan dan Pemikiran*. Bandung: Sega Arsy. 2009
- [44] Gaffar, Janedjri M. *Demokrasi Dan Pemilu Di Indonesia*. Jakarta : Konstitusi Press. 2013
- [45] Gobel, Rahmat TS. Rekonseptualisasi Ambang Batas Pencalonan Presiden dan Wakil Presiden (Presidential Threshold) Dalam Pemilu Serentak. *Jurnal Law Review*. 2009. VolL (1) (1) January 2019 <https://doi.org/10.33756/jalrev.v1i1.1987>