



Presidential Threshold and Parliamentary Threshold Setting in Elections

Joseph Mario Monteiro

Universitas Nusa Cendana, Indonesia | josefmonteiro@staff.undana.ac.id

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Abstract

This conceptual study aims to analyze Presidential Threshold and Parliamentary Threshold arrangements in elections from the regulatory aspect, the implications for the political rights of citizens and political parties and their comparison with other countries. The method used is normative juridical with a conceptual approach, statutory regulations, and comparative law. The legal materials are primary, secondary, and tertiary, then analyzed descriptively qualitatively. Based on the results of the research, it can be stated that by setting the Presidential Threshold and Parliamentary Threshold percentages, the right of citizens to participate in government, both to vote and to be elected in elections, has been limited so that from the perspective of people's sovereignty, it has created inequality or in other words, there is no equality, fair to citizens. Because presidential and vice-presidential elections and legislative elections are a consequence of the existence of a democratic system, it should be regulated by laws and regulations that are in favor of the interests of the people and not just camouflage for political elites who prioritize their groups only.

Keywords: presidential, parliamentary, democracy, political parties, elections

Introduction

Elections as a vehicle for citizens to use their political rights to elect people they deem worthy of holding positions in parliament or as President and Vice President are not only guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, but also by other laws and regulations, including Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, and Law Number 12 of 2005 concerning Ratification of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In this regard, for the first time in the history of elections in Indonesia, in 2019 simultaneous elections have been held. The arrangements for the 2019 simultaneous elections are based on Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. The provisions of Article 347 state that voting for

general elections is held simultaneously according to the day, date and time determined by the KPU. Thus, elections are held simultaneously in all regions, both executive and legislative elections, both at the central and regional levels.(Muhammad Saad, 2021)

It is interesting to observe the holding of elections to elect the President and Vice President due to the existence of a Presidential Threshold system or threshold requirements for nominating candidates for President and Vice President. Setting the Presidential Threshold system has caused polemic, although some say it is one of the steps that can be taken in order to find quality leaders according to the mandate of the constitution.(Wilma Silalahi, 2022)

In addition, one of the provisions stipulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, regulates the threshold for obtaining votes (Parliamentary Threshold) for political parties participating in elections. The provisions of Article 414 paragraph (1) state "Election Contesting political parties must meet the vote acquisition threshold of at least 4% (four percent) of the total valid votes nationally to be included in the determination of the vote acquisition for seats for members of the DPR". The problem that then arises is that the conception of the Parliamentary Threshold setting is considered to place restrictions on political parties, as well as restrictions on freedom of citizens' political rights.(Ulum, 2021)

Literature Review

The general election mechanism (election) is the most effective and elegant way of rotating political leadership and the realization of formal representation in parliament and government. Therefore, most countries carry out democratic elections in order to realize people's participation in governance. Related to that, the constitutional system of the Republic of Indonesia also regulates the holding of elections to fulfill the right of every member of the state to participate in government.(Rokiyah & Setiawan, 2022)

The involvement of the people in government is regulated in the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The provisions of Article 28D state that every citizen has the right to obtain equal opportunities in government. If interpreted in context, namely understanding the constitution implicitly, and not outwardly, or in other words that there is a meaning contained in it, then the realization of equal opportunities for citizens in government is realized through elections. Article 22E confirms that general elections are held to elect members of the People's Legislative Council, the Regional Representatives Council, the President and Vice President, and the Regional People's Representative Council.(Yasin, 2022)

Research Method

The research method in this study uses normative juridical research methods, Normative juridical research methods are approaches used in legal research to analyze legal regulations and other legal documents. This method focuses on the analysis of existing legal norms and the use of legal arguments to understand and explain the legal issue under study.

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In normative juridical research, researchers collect data from relevant legal sources, such as laws, regulations, court rulings, constitutional documents, and legal literature. Then, the data is critically analyzed using theoretical approaches and legal arguments to explore the meaning, purpose, and impact of existing legal regulations.

Normative juridical research methods involve the following steps:

1. **Legal data collection:** Researchers collect data from a variety of relevant legal sources, such as laws, regulations, and court rulings. These sources provide the legal basis on which research is focused.
2. **Legal analysis:** The collected legal data is then analyzed using appropriate legal arguments and theoretical approaches. Researchers identify relevant legal norms, interpret the meaning and purpose of legal regulations, and analyze the relationship between different legal regulations.
3. **Conclusions:** Based on the legal analysis conducted, researchers draw conclusions related to the legal issues studied. These conclusions are based on legal reasoning and a deep understanding of existing legal regulations.

Normative juridical research methods have several advantages. First, this method allows researchers to understand and explain the existing legal framework as well as provide an in-depth understanding of applicable legal norms. Second, this method allows researchers to provide legal recommendations or advice based on consistent and tested analysis of legal arguments.

Result and Discussion

Choice of Election Mechanism

Elections are chosen by the nations of the world as the best way to form a political representation compared to other methods, such as coups, revolutions or empires. Seizing for power through non-election means will only create a formal representation model that does not result in a direct relationship between the people and representatives, therefore the people cannot claim responsibility or submit accountability if the representative performs poorly. On the other hand, representation formed from the results of democratic elections not only connects representatives and the people closely and directly, but also opens the door for public accountability for this representation. (Muhsin, 2022)

Elections are usually a tool for the people to determine 2 (two) things at once, namely choosing representatives, and assessing the performance of representatives. This means that in elections the people will manifest their will in choosing the candidates provided, as well as assessing a number of programs and their promises in the elections to be further transformed into their future performance if elected in the elections. Therefore, elections are very open instruments to be engineered into something good, but also bad for the regime that controls the election system and regulations. If a regime that manages and controls elections is democratic, then it is certain that the results of the elections will play a role in accommodating the will of

the people and fighting for the aspirations of the people in parliament as much as possible.(Hamonangan et al., 2022)

In a democratic country, elections are one of the important elements to create a clean and responsible government. The election mechanism if carried out with the direct principle public, free, honest and fair ((Luber and Jurdil), it will give birth to the best people. In addition, for people's representatives and leaders, elections are also a mechanism to improve sustainable performance. This is due to elections that are clean, the failure of a people's representative and leader who is elected through the election process, will be judged by whether during the term of office he carries out, his duties and obligations are carried out properly or not, so that the election mechanism becomes a momentum audit carried out by the people, especially the electorate.(Fadlillah, 2022)

Presidential Threshold in the Presidential Election

a. Ratio Legislative Implementation of the Presidential Threshold

The amendments to the 1945 Constitution have also changed the election system for the president and vice president. Based on the original text of the 1945 Constitution (as stipulated by the PPKI on 18 August 1945), the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia were elected by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR)(Ruhdiara et al., 2022). After the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, elections in Indonesia were not only limited to electing members of the DPR and DPRD, but also electing members of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD), President and Vice President. This is as stated in the provisions of Article 22E of the 1945 Republic of Indonesia Constitution, namely: "General elections are held to elect members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, President and Vice President and Regional People's Representative Council.

The presidential and vice-presidential elections were held in 2004, then in 2009, 2014 and 2019. In the presidential election, the *Presidential Threshold system was used* as a condition for nominating candidates for president and vice president. According to the fifth edition of the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), the threshold means the level of the limit that is still acceptable or tolerated. In connection with that, according to Sigit Pamungkas, *the Presidential Threshold* is nothing but setting the threshold level of support from the DPR, either in the form of the number of votes (ballots) or the number of seats (seats) that must be obtained by the political parties participating in the election in order to be able to nominate The president of the political party or a coalition of political parties.(Umagapi, 2022)

The Presidential Threshold system is an additional provision regarding arrangements regarding the requirements for the candidacy of the president and vice president. The provisions of Article 6A paragraph (2) confirm that "Pairs for candidates for President and Vice President are proposed by political parties or a coalition of political parties participating in the election prior to the election. If understood textually, the existence of these provisions provides an opportunity for all political parties participating

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in the election to nominate president and vice president. The existence of threshold requirements for the nomination of president and vice president has experienced dynamics in connection with the presence of political parties who feel their constitutional rights have been impaired to nominate president and vice president. However, the threshold requirement is also seen by some as a strengthening of the presidential system implemented in Indonesia. This was stated, among others, by Tjahjo Kumolo that the threshold requirements that have been regulated in the law are a form of party strengthening which also strengthens the presidential system of government. This is because the elected president and vice president have political power, especially in parliament.(Adjie Hari Setiawan, 2023)

Regarding the application of *the Presidential Threshold* in presidential elections with the aim of strengthening the presidential system, Jimly Asshiddiqie explained the principles of a presidential system, namely:

- 1) The President and Vice President are the highest state executive authority institutions under the Constitution;
- 2) The President and Vice President are directly elected by the people, and therefore are not politically responsible to the MPR or parliamentary institutions, but are directly responsible to the people who elected them;
- 3) The President and/or Vice President can be legally held accountable if the President and/or Vice President violates the law and the constitution;
- 4) Ministers are assistants to the President, ministers are appointed and dismissed by the President, and are therefore responsible to the President, not and are not responsible to parliament;
- 5) In order to limit the powers of the President whose position in the presidential system is very strong according to the need to guarantee the stability of the government, it is also stipulated that the five-year term of office of the President may not be held by the same person for more than two terms;

b. *Presidential Threshold Testing*

In 2004 the threshold for presidential candidacy was 10 (ten) percent(Ghoffar, 2018b). Then based on the provisions of Article 9 Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President the threshold is set at 20% (twenty percent). This threshold figure is not a final figure, because in Article 222 of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections it is emphasized that "Candidate pairs are proposed by Political Parties or a coalition of Election Contesting Political Parties who meet the requirements for obtaining seats of at least 20% (twenty percent) of the number of seats in the DPR or obtaining 25% (twenty five percent) of the valid votes nationally in the previous DPR member election".

Presidential Threshold system regulated by law, there is a weakness because the law was made to accommodate the interests of some groups of political parties. Therefore, there were not a few requests *for judicial review* to the Constitutional Court which were

made by political parties and individuals who felt their interests had been harmed. as a result of the implementation of *the Presidential Threshold*.(Stiles et al., 2020)

According to the Executive Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), Titi Anggraini, the limitation on the parliamentary threshold that favors the winning political party has no clear legal basis, is not transparent, and is not accountable. The selection of the 20% threshold was not accompanied by careful consideration. The methodology for selecting these figures was also not disclosed to the public. This is only the government's way of reducing the cost of holding presidential elections(M Daffa Alfaritsi & Yoga Mulyadi, 2022). Even though the legal basis of Article 6A paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is quite clear, namely: "A pair of candidates for President and Vice President who get more than fifty percent of the total votes in the general election with at least twenty percent of the votes number of provinces in Indonesia, appointed as President and Vice President.

However, the Constitutional Court did not grant the request for a judicial review, on the legal grounds that the regulation did not conflict with the constitution or the 1945 Constitution. In decision Number 51-52-59/PUU-VI/2008 dated 13 February 2009, the Court emphasized that the Presidential provisions -Threshold is a concrete norm for the elaboration of Article 6A paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution which is an open legal policy or an open delegation of authority which can be determined as a legal policy by legislators while still basing it on constitutional provisions.(Prabowo, 2022)

Furthermore, the Constitutional Court also issued a decision number 14/PUU-XI/2013 which did not accept the petition from the applicant regarding the *Presidential Threshold*. Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections was also reviewed for material by Yusril Ihza Mahendra with the Constitutional Case Register Number 70/PUU-XV/2017, but the Constitutional Court also did not grant the petitioner's request with the same legal considerations as previous decisions regarding *Presidential Threshold*.

c. Comparison of Several Presidential System Countries That Do Not Implement *the Presidential Threshold*

There are several countries that adhere to a presidential system but do not implement a *Presidential Threshold*, namely:(Ghoffar, 2018a)

1. United States of America

As a very large country with the most established presidential system, America does not apply a threshold. In the 2016 presidential election, for example, apart from Hilary Clinton and Tim Kaine from the Democrat Party, and Donald Trump and Mike Pence from the Republican Party, there were also many couples from the Third Party (a term for small and independent parties). For example, the pair Gary Johnson and Bill Weld from the Liberal Party, the pair Jill Stein and Ajamu Baraka from the Green Party, as well as candidates from other and independent parties, with a total of around 24 candidates registered on ballots in several states or becoming written candidates. However, there was no candidate from the third party, which dominated a state in the

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2016 presidential election or any presidential election since 1968.(Buchyn & Kalynchuk, 2022)

2. Brazil

There is no regulation regarding the threshold in the Brazilian constitutional system. Article 77 of the Brazilian Constitution explains how the mechanism for electing the president and vice president is. It stated that the President and Vice President of the Republic would be elected simultaneously on the first Sunday in October, and if there had to be a second round it would be held on the last Sunday in October before the end of the term of office of the President who was serving at that time.

After the candidates for President and Vice President have been registered by political parties, the candidate who gets an absolute majority of votes and is considered President is elected. If no candidate achieves an absolute majority on the first ballot, a second round of elections will be held within twenty days after the announcement of the result between the two candidates who received the highest number of votes. Furthermore, one of the pairs that obtains the majority of valid votes will be considered as the elected pair.

In Chapter V of the Brazilian Constitution which specifically regulates the issue of political parties, it also does not mention at all about the threshold for submitting presidential candidates. The chapter only regulates the establishment, consolidation, merger and dissolution of political parties free of charge based on national sovereignty, democratic governance, political diversity and human rights. On that basis, every political party has the freedom to nominate its presidential candidate. In the Presidential Election which was held in October 2018, at least 16 candidates announced their candidacy as presidential candidates. These candidates come from various backgrounds, ranging from senators, deputies, former ministers, former Supreme Court Justices, even former Presidents who have been demoted.(Ribeiro & Fabre, 2020)

3. Peruvian

Under Article 111 of the Peruvian Constitution, it says that the President of the Republic is elected by direct suffrage. The candidate who gets more than half of the votes cast is declared the elected candidate. Invalid or blank votes are not counted. Furthermore, it is stated that in the event that no candidate gets an absolute majority of votes, the election will be held in a second round within thirty days from the official announcement of the election results. The second round was attended by 2 (two) candidates who got the first and second highest votes. While two Vice Presidents are elected together with the Presidential election, in the same manner. The term of office of the president is 5 (five) years. The incumbent president can run for another term.(Haman, 2021)

For example, on April 10, 2016, Peru held its first round of Presidential elections. 10 (ten) presidential candidates participated in the democracy event, namely Keiko Fujimori, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, Veronika Mendoza, Alfredo Barnechea, Alan Garcia, Gregorio Santos, Fernando Olivera, Alejandro Toledo, Miguel Hilario, and Antero Flores-Araoz. Coming out as the first and second winners were Keiko Fujimori (daughter

of former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori), and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski. Meanwhile, Keiko got 39.0 percent of the vote, while Pedro got 21 percent of the vote. The election then continued in the second round which was held on June 5 2016. In this second election, Pedro narrowly won from his rival, by getting 50.1 percent of the vote, while Keiko only got 49.9 percent of the vote.

4. Mexico

The election of the President of Mexico is carried out directly as emphasized in Article 81 of the Mexican Constitution which states "The President of the United Mexican State is directly by the people according to the electoral law". Article 82 of the Constitution regulates the conditions for becoming President of Mexico, namely that the presidential candidate must be a natural born citizen and have the legal right to exercise his rights, born of a Mexican father or mother and must live or live in Mexico for at least 20 (twenty) year.

In addition, still based on Article 81, presidential candidates must be 35 years old on the election date. Presidential candidates must live in Mexico in full the previous year before Election Day. Absence of up to 30 (thirty) days does not interfere with the terms of stay; presidential candidates cannot be leaders of any religion; the candidate is not currently serving in the military for at least six months prior to election day. A candidate for President should not become Minister of State, or deputy Minister of State, Federal Attorney General, Governor or Head of Government of the Federal District, unless he or she resigns from office six months before the date of the presidential election. (Montoya-Bermúdez & Ferré-Pavia, 2022)

5. Kyrgyzstan

This former Soviet Union country does not recognize the term Presidential Threshold. Every citizen with certain conditions has the right to run for President. Article 62 paragraph (1) of the Kyrgyz Constitution states: "*A citizen of the Kyrgyz Republic no younger than 35 years of age and not older than 70 years of age, who has command of the state language and who has been resident in the republic for no less than 15 years in total may be elected President*". Lebih lanjut ayat (2) menyatakan: "*There shall be no limit on the number of candidates for the office of the President; A person who has collected not less than 30.000 voters' signatures may be registered as a presidential candidate. The procedure for presidential elections shall be defined by the constitutional law*". (Bawa & Singh, 2022)

Parliamentary Threshold in Legislative Elections

a. *Parliamentary Threshold polemic*

The practice of *Parliamentary Threshold* is the pruning of political parties (political parties) that do not meet the minimum vote acquisition threshold. However, according to Philipus M. Hadjon, the implementation of the Parliamentary Threshold is contrary to the principle of equal rights before the law and has the potential to cause abuse of authority. In addition, Ledowijk Gultom explained that all citizens involved in

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elections receive legal and constitutional protection. However, basically the Parliamentary Threshold is very vulnerable to discriminating against citizens who have the right to vote.(Kholis, 2020)

Throughout the implementation of the Parliamentary Threshold, the public, especially political parties, conducted several judicial reviews to the Constitutional Court to test the legitimacy of the implementation of the Parliamentary Threshold in elections. The reasons for testing are based more on protection of human rights (HAM), especially civil rights and political rights of citizens which are systematically considered to be castrated by the enactment of a threshold mechanism, because many voters' votes will be lost through this mechanism. Nonetheless, the Constitutional Court through Decision Number 3/PUU-VII/2009 actually strengthened the existence of the threshold with a ruling stating that the application of Parliamentary Threshold was a natural thing for simplification of political parties.

Regardless of the rules regarding Parliamentary Threshold which are regulated in the implementation of legislative elections, in practice it reduces, seizes, and eliminates people's sovereignty in holding elections. There are many valid votes that are wasted which is a bad reflection of the principles of elections, namely direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair (judgmental). Thus, in making their choice, there is no guarantee that the candidate will enter parliament and represent the aspirations of the people.

b. *Parliamentary Threshold Regulation*

The parliamentary threshold rule or Parliamentary-Threshold was first applied in the 2009 election. At that time, the government set a requirement for political parties to get seats in the People's Representative Council (DPR) by obtaining at least 2.5 percent of the total national vote. This is stated in Article 202 of Law Number 10 of 2008 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and Regional People's Representative Council. However, the parliamentary threshold regulation in 2009 has not yet applied to provincial and district/city DPRD seats.

The government then re-imposed a parliamentary threshold or Parliamentary Threshold in the 2014 Election. At that time the government in Article 208 of Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council and Regional People's Representative Council stipulates a limit on obtaining more votes high, namely 3.5 percent of the total national vote as a condition for a political party to obtain seats in the DPR. Parliamentary threshold regulations in the 2014 elections began to be implemented for the DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/Municipal DPRD. But then the Constitutional Court decided that the Parliamentary Threshold of 3.5 percent only applies to the DPR.

Parliamentary threshold rules are also enforced in the 2019 elections, as stipulated in Article 414 paragraph (1) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections which states that political parties participating in elections must meet the threshold of obtaining at least four percent of the total valid votes national level to be included in the determination of the seats for members of the DPR. The provisions of the legislation

stipulate that a political party must obtain at least 4% (four percent) of the total national vote to be able to obtain seats in the DPR.

The higher the size of the parliamentary threshold, logically, can actually be a driving force for smaller political parties to join forces so that they are able to gain significant support from constituents before the election, so that later they will be able to pass the Parliamentary-Threshold. This is at the same time a positive meaning in anticipating the potential loss of votes due to the political parties' inability to meet the demands of the Parliamentary-Threshold. If these small political parties act rationally, then the higher the Parliamentary-Threshold should be addressed with a strategic step of merging themselves rather than forcing themselves to participate in the General Election with the risk of not taking into account their vote acquisition because they fail to pass the Parliamentary-Threshold.

Regulations regarding the parliamentary threshold (PT) in the legislative election system in Indonesia have the following advantages and disadvantages:

a. Disadvantages of Parliamentary threshold:

- (1) The interests of political parties in parliament still dominate. This is especially the case ahead of the 2024 legislative elections, the discourse on increasing the percentage in PT provisions is supported by three major political parties such as PDIP, Golkar and Gerindra. However, there are also other political parties that do not agree with the increase in the percentage of PT, as stated by the chairman of the DPP PAN, Saleh Partaonan Daulay, who stated that PAN does not agree with the discourse on increasing PT because political affiliations in society are very diverse. According to him, there is a possibility of big political parties planning to eliminate small and medium political parties. (Al-Fatih & Siboy, 2022)
- (2) The voices of the people are forfeited and in vain because the political parties participating in the election do not meet the threshold.

b. Advantages of Parliamentary threshold:

- (1) Political parties that do not qualify can take a middle road or compromise, namely by joining a major political party.
- (2) The reduction of political parties through PT has positive implications for the performance of the government to become more effective

Apart from that, regarding the legal ratio of the parliamentary threshold, Hanta Yuda also stated that in the political logic of government, it is actually not the number of political parties participating in elections that must be limited, but the ideal number of political party forces that need to be empowered or streamlined in parliament. In everyday politics, the president or government deals with political parties in parliament and not all political parties participating in elections. Meanwhile, there are two targets. In the short term, the fragmentation of the power of political parties in parliament is reduced. In the long term, it can encourage the stability of party system competition towards the institutionalization of political parties. (Atmor, 2023)

c. Comparison of *Parliamentary Threshold* in other countries

Basically there is no standard formula in the world regarding the amount of threshold for each country. Provisions regarding *Parliamentary Threshold* in each country are generally influenced by the culture and history of the country concerned.

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For example, the implementation of *the Parliamentary Threshold* in Germany of 5% (five percent) with the aim of limiting the election of extremist groups, and efforts to stop small political parties from getting representation. Therefore, countries in the world that apply Parliamentary Threshold do not have absolute limits for each country and tend to vary. This absolute limit does not require a requirement for every country to implement it.

As a comparison, based on the experiences of a number of countries, there are various implementations of the Parliamentary Threshold, for example Turkey, the threshold is 10% (ten percent), Finland is 5.4% (five point four percent), Belgium is 4.8% (four point eight percent), Sweden is 4. % (four percent), Norway 4% (four percent), Greece 3.3% (three point three percent), Austria 2.6% (two point six percent), Italy 2% (two percent), Israel 2% (two percent), Denmark 1.6% (one point six percent), and the Netherlands 0.67% (zero point sixty seven percent).(Suparto, 2021)

In essence, there are 4 (four) criteria for applying parliamentary thresholds in countries holding elections, namely: (a) based on the percentage of votes, for example 3% (three percent) in Spain; (b) based on the location of application threshold provisions are normally applied, either in the constituency, for example as in Spain, or at the national level for national votes as in Germany; (c) the stages of implementation, parliamentary or representative thresholds are mostly carried out at the initial stages of calculating votes and seats, but some are in between calculations, for example Denmark; (d) the threshold is usually imposed on the object of a political party or coalition of political parties, for example in Poland it is imposed 5% (five percent) on political parties, and 8% (eight percent) on coalitions of political parties.(Maftuh, 2020)

Conclusion

The presidential and vice presidential elections as well as the legislative elections experienced various significant dynamics. Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections which regulates *Presidential Threshold* and *Parliamentary Threshold* are conditions that must exist and be fulfilled in order to find good leaders as well as a concrete form of constitutional mandate. However, some people feel that *the Presidential Threshold* and *Parliamentary Threshold* systems have drawbacks because of people's sovereignty and human rights, namely the political right to vote and be elected in elections. Therefore, presidential and vice-presidential elections as well as legislative elections as a consequence of the existence of a democratic system, should be regulated by laws and regulations that are in favor of the interests of the people and not just camouflage for political elites who prioritize their groups only.

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