

An Analysis of the Impact of Abolition the Parliamentary Threshold on Democracy in Indonesia

Muhammad Taufik Qurahman^{1,} Achmad Nurmandi² and Helen Dian Fridayani³

^{1, 2, 3} Department of Government Studies, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia Corresponding author: Muhammad Taufik Qurahman, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. taufik.gurahman354@gmail.com

Abstract

The abolition of the parliamentary threshold has certainly created pros and cons. This policy shows the dynamics in Indonesian politics, it certainly changes the implementation of significant changes in the Indonesian democratic system and of course also has an impact that can affect democracy in Indonesia. Therefore, the question is how this policy is relevant to the quality of democracy in Indonesia. This research uses a descriptive qualitative research method. The collection technique used in this research is qualitative by relying on secondary data sources. Data sources come from mass media and also previous studies that are relevant to the topic discussed. The results of the research based on mapping from the mass media using two indicators show that the wide participation indicator with its parameters, namely reducing wasted votes, is the biggest impact that can be caused by removing regulations regarding the parliamentary threshold. With the results showing that the wide participation indicator is the most influential impact that can be caused by the elimination of the parliamentary threshold, this is certainly a good impact on democracy in Indonesia because it can make political participation and diversity of representation in parliament increase, and make fewer votes wasted because they do not reach the threshold, which of course also affects the improvement of the quality of democracy in Indonesia. *Keywords*: Parliamentary Threshold, Wide Participation, Democracy

Abstrak

Penghapusan ambang batas parlemen tentunya menimbulkan pro dan kontra. Kebijakan ini memperlihatkan dinamika dalam politik Indonesia, hal tersebut tentunya mengubah implementasi perubahan yang signifikan dalam sistem demokrasi Indonesia dan tentunya juga memilik dampak yang dapat berpengaruh terhadap demokasi di Indonesia. Oleh karena itu, hal yang dipertanyakan adalah bagaimana kebijakan ini relevan terhadap kualitas demokrasi di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan jenis metode peneltian deskriptif kualitatif. Teknik pengumpulan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan mengandalkan sumber data sekunder. Sumber data berasal dari media massa dan juga penelitian-penelitian terdahulu yang relevan dengan topik yang dibahas. Analisis data kualitatif pada penelitian ini yaitu menggunakan Software NVivo 14. Hasil penelitian berdasarkan pemetaan dari media massa dengan menggunakan dua indikator menunjukan bahwasannya indikator partisipasi yang luas dengan parameternya yaitu mengurangi suara terbuang menjadi dampak paling besar yang dapat ditimbulkan dari dihapusnya peraturan mengenai ambang batas parlemen. Dengan hasil yang menunjukan indikator Partisipasi yang luas menjadi dampak paling berpengaruh yang dapat ditimbulkan dari penghapusan ambang batas parlemen, hal tersebut tentunya merupakan dampak yang baik bagi demokrasi di indonesia dikarenakan dapat membuat partisipasi politik dan keberagaman keterwakilan di parlemen meningkat, serta membuat semakin sedikit suara yang terbuang karena tidak mencapai ambang batas yang tentunya hal tersebut juga berpengaruh terhadap peningkatan kualitas demokrasi di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Ambang Batas Parlemen, Partispasi yang Luas, Demokrasi

INTRODUCTION

The democratic system in Indonesia currently implements parliamentary thresholds as a minimum requirement for political parties to gain seats in parliaments. The Parliamentary Threshold is a threshold mechanism for political parties participating in elections to be followed in the counting of valid votes in order to challenge the quota of seats in the People's House of Representatives (Itasari, 2013). The main objective of the enforcement of parliamentary thresholds is to create effectiveness of government and ensure adequate public support for each political party in Parliament by setting the minimum number of votes or seats to be obtained (Ekoyusmario et al., 2022). The parliamentary threshold in Indonesia was first implemented in the 2009 elections, at which time the government stipulated that political parties could only gain seats in parliament if they obtained at least 2.5 percent of the national valid vote. In the 2014 elections, the parliamentary threshold increased to 3.5 percent, then in the 2019 and 2024 elections the parliamentary threshold was 4 percent. The existence of a parliamentary threshold has a good reason. By limiting the number of parties in parliament, it is expected that the decision-making process can run more efficiently and cohesively. Parties that pass the threshold tend to have a larger and stronger support base, so they can make a more significant contribution to policy formulation. In addition, the threshold is also considered to prevent too many small parties that only represent narrow interests and can destabilize the government.

The abolition of the parliamentary threshold has certainly created pros and cons. This policy shows the dynamics in Indonesian politics. However, it sees the implementation of significant changes in Indonesia's democratic system. This decision is the object of heated debate among political stakeholders as a democratic country has recently gone through a significant political transition. Therefore, what must be questioned is how this policy is relevant to the quality of democracy in Indonesia. Research from (Bachmid, 2020) mentions that the implementation of parliamentary thresholds in the Indonesian electoral system is not in line with the principle of people's sovereignty, the existence of parliamentary thresholds can restrict political representation and narrow access for small or new parties to enter parliaments, which ultimately reduces the variation of political options that people can choose. In accordance with the opinion, (Diniyanto, 2019) stated that the application of parliamentary thresholds should be considered wisely and avoid repression of the choices of the people, both majorities and minorities, without depriving them of their rights and interests. (Ekoyusmario et al., 2022) This is a challenge for both long-standing and newly formed political parties, with different challenges specific to the two groups. However, (Tomsa, 2014) argues that local political conditions differ from national levels and that the application of uniform thresholds would weaken the spirit of decentralization. Further, (Adam et al., 2021) stated that the implementation of parliamentary thresholds did not significantly facilitate the simplification of political parties in parliaments. On the contrary, the existence of multi-party parties has become a necessity that is considered reasonable in the context of general elections and democracy in Indonesia. There are two concept that the author uses in his analysis: the concept of inclusive democracy and also the concept of political stability.

The indicator of inclusive democracy concept is wide participation, the removal of parliamentary thresholds in Indonesia will have a significant impact on the dynamics of democracies in the country. By removing the threshold, the number of political parties that can enter parliament is likely to increase significantly. This will open the door to more inclusive representation in the political process, in line with the principles of inclusive democracy. To prevent fragmentation, countries that use the form of proportional representation often apply electoral thresholds to limit the number of parties in parliament (Tomsa, 2014). Nevertheless, the setting of parliaments limits the numbers of political parties in the DPR RI, enabling coalition management in Parliaments to be more effective between successful elected parties. The move is also aimed at preventing uncontrolled fragmentation in the legislative and government bodies (Al-Hamdi et al., 2022).

Party diversity in parliament, the presence of more political parties in parliament can illustrate the diversity of views and political interests in society. It will enrich discussion and

decision-making in the legislative process, as well as broaden the space for political participation for various groups of society. The poll (Higashikata & Kawamura, 2015) states that regions with higher per capita economic growth provide more support to the ruling parties. It shows that local political conditions differ from national levels and that the application of uniform thresholds will weaken the spirit of decentralization (Tomsa, 2014), That's why automatically the electoral threshold policy becomes a relatively inappropriate step for the reformists in responding to the ideals of political reform (Putera et al., 2018). Although widespread participation with the presence of many parties in parliament can enrich discussion and decision-making, the fact that local political conditions differ from national levels suggests that the application of uniform thresholds can be counterproductive to efforts for decentralization and political reform.

An indicator of political stability is political instability, the presence of too many political parties can interfere with decision-making and impede the ability of governments to conduct policies efficiently. The removal of the parliamentary threshold has various impacts on Indonesia's political system. The impact of removing the parliamentary threshold is the potential for greater political fragmentation in parliament. Thus, without the threshold as a barrier for small parties, the prospect of the emergence of new parties or the prospect of parties that were previously not strong enough prospects to enter parliament becomes more open. This may change the political landscape that has so far been dominated by large parties by bringing in new voices to the system, but it also makes it difficult to form stable coalitions. If the mechanism for setting thresholds is not accompanied by a suitable design for electoral institutions and political parties, then it is highly likely that the desired stability of government will not be achieved (Abadi, 2022). However, in order to ensure the stability of the government, public participation in general elections is essential. It's because through this process, people can actively determine the leader and direction of leadership they want. General elections have become the main mechanism for producing leadership in line with the will and needs of the people (Rokhim, 2011), and of course general elections are intended to provide an opportunity for a change of government as well as an opportunity to assess public support for the performance of the government in power, both in terms of success and failure (Arrsa, 2016). Therefore, the design of the right electoral institutions and political parties is essential to guarantee the desired stability of government while ensuring public participation in determining the leadership of the country.

Complicating the policy-making process, according to (Wibisono, 2017), the existence of many political parties is very difficult to take policy for the government, because it is always with political considerations. In a presidential system, the simplicity of political parties is absurd. This is in line with a statement (Kurnia, 2020) that states that there is a problem in simplifying the multi-party system in Indonesia in order to effectively apply the parliamentary threshold to implement the presidential system in government. At least the number of parties has a strong influence on the effectiveness of the government so that the government is running stable and performing optimally. People's control of the ruling party becomes effective. On the other hand (Sinaga, 2024) stated that with a proportional election system involving many parties as a consequence of pluralism and complex social strata creates instability in the maintenance of the state Therefore, there is a need for a balance between the number of parties not too many but neither too few to accommodate various interests and maintain the stability of the government.

Political division, research from (Sulaiman & Rohaniah, 2023) mentions that political parties in Indonesia are often the cause of instability because they need to form fragile coalitions, threaten policy effectiveness, and undermine public confidence in the political system. The common problem of a multi-party country is its weak political stability due to the large number of parties (Sompotan, 2021). It is important to shape ethics and morality in the personalities of the political elite in order to ensure the smoothness of the democratic system in Indonesia (Majid & Sugitanata, 2021). A good result for democracy is if there are a few ruling parties that get a majority seat in parliament and a large vote (Blais et al., 2023).

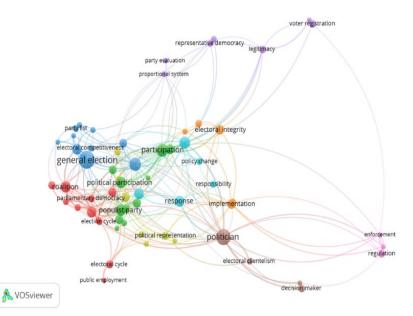


Figure 1. Network Visualization

Source. VOSViewer

Figure 1 Shows the network visualization of data search results in Scopus with the keyword "Election", the data result in the Scopus produces 9 clusters. Cluster 1 (Red): Democracy, Parliamentary, Coalition, Electoral Cycle, Elections, Public Employment. Cluster 2 (Blue): General Election, Electoral Competitiveness, Party List. Cluster 3 (Green): Political Participation, Populist Party, Participation. Cluster 4: Regulation, Enforcement. Cluster 5: Politicians, Electoral Clientalism, Decision Makers. Cluster (Yellow): Political Representation. Cluster 7 (Oren): Electoral Integrity, Implementation. Cluster 8 (Light Blue): Policy Change, Responsibility, Response. Cluster 9 (Dark Purple): Proportional system, Party evaluation, Legitimacy, Voter Registration, Representative Democracy. The results of the above data show that there is no research on elections that discusses parliamentary threshold especially in terms of analyzing the impact that can be caused by the removal of parliamentary threshold on democracy in Indonesia. This study aims to determine the impact of the elimination of the parliamentary threshold on democracy in Indonesia, at this time there is no research that discusses the impact of the elimination of the parliamentary threshold on democracy so this research is important to fill the knowledge gap and provide deeper insight. This research uses the concept of inclusive democracy with a wide participation indicator to discuss how the elimination of the parliamentary threshold can make public participation and political parties can become more to improve democracy, then the concept of policy stability with an indicator of policy instability to discuss the elimination of the parliamentary threshold can lead to disruption of the policymaking process so that it disrupts the democratic process, the two indicators as an analytical knife or foundation in conducting analysis to provide an overview of the phenomenon under study. This research is useful to find out what the impact of removing the parliamentary threshold will be and whether this impact can improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia or even make the quality of democracy in Indonesia decrease.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a type of qualitative descriptive compilation method. The collection technique used in this research is qualitatively based on secondary data sources. Data sources come from mass media as well as previous research relevant to the topic discussed.

Number	Online Mass Media	Intensity
1	Kompas	10 News
2	Detik	10 News
3	Suara	10 News
4	Tribunnews	10 News
5	Tirto.Id	10 News

Table 1.Online Mess Media and News Intensity

Source: Online News

Additional data sources are obtained from previous research that exists in the database at the Scopus as well as journals relevant to research topics. Qualitative data analysis in this study is using NVivo Software 14. NVivo 14 is used to develop data reduction and also data visualization. The focus of this research is to find out what the impact of removing the parliamentary threshold will be, using the visualization of data obtained from the mass media which is then analyzed by Nvivo using two indicators namely widespread participation and also political instability, with the results of the analysis of such data will later be known about whatever the impact will be most affected in connection with the removal of parliaments.

In this study the authors used the following criteria:

1. Electoral System Theory

Electoral system theory is a framework that examines how electoral rules and mechanisms can influence election results and political representation in a country. It emphasises the importance of understanding the various components of an electoral system and how their interactions can shape a country's political landscape (Norris, 2004). One of the key elements of the electoral system that receives particular attention in this theory is the parliamentary threshold. The parliamentary threshold is the minimum vote or seat threshold that must be met by a political party in order to have representation in parliament. This concept plays an important role in determining the degree of fragmentation or consolidation of a country's party system (Lijphart, 1994).

Electoral system theorists argue that parliamentary thresholds can have a significant impact on a country's political dynamics. On the one hand, a high threshold can encourage party system consolidation by eliminating smaller parties, potentially creating greater political stability. But on the other hand, a threshold that is too high can also result in the under-representation of various minority interests in society (Taagepera & Shugart, 1989). In the Indonesian context, the application of a parliamentary threshold has been an integral part of the electoral system since the 2009 elections. The policy has undergone several changes, reflecting ongoing efforts to balance the need for political stability and inclusive representation (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2010).

Electoral system theory also emphasises that the effectiveness of parliamentary thresholds cannot be seen in isolation from other elements of the electoral system, such as the vote counting formula, district magnitude and ballot structure. The interactions between these elements collectively shape the incentives for political parties and voters, which in turn influence electoral outcomes and parliamentary composition (Reynolds et al., 2005). Electoral systems theory thus provides a comprehensive analytical framework for understanding how technical electoral rules, including parliamentary thresholds, can have far-reaching implications for the political dynamics and quality of a country's democracy. A deep understanding of this theory is crucial for policymakers and academics in designing or analysing electoral systems that can support the creation of political stability and effective representation.

2. The Theory of Checks and Balances

The theory of checks and balances is a fundamental concept in political science and governance that aims to prevent the concentration of power in one state institution. The theory is rooted in Montesquieu's idea of separation of powers, which was further developed by modern political thinkers (Vile, 1998). The essence of this theory is that state power should be

22 | Muhammad Taufik Qurahman, Achmad Nurmandi and Helen Dian Fridayani

divided and balanced between various institutions to prevent abuse of power and protect the freedom of citizens.

In the modern context, checks and balances are not only limited to the classic separation of powers between the executive, legislature and judiciary, but also include more complex interactions between different state institutions. One important aspect in the dynamics of checks and balances is the composition of parliament and how this affects the relationship between the legislature and the executive (Levinson & Pildes, 2006). The composition of parliament, which is determined by the outcome of elections and the electoral system in place, has significant implications for the effectiveness of legislative oversight of the executive. A fragmented parliament, with many political parties represented, may face challenges in reaching consensus and providing effective oversight. On the other hand, a parliament dominated by one or two major parties may be more cohesive in its actions, but may also be less representative of the diversity of interests in society (Mainwaring & Shugart, 1997).

In a presidential system such as Indonesia, the composition of parliament can affect the dynamics of the relationship between the president and the legislature. If the party or coalition supporting the president has a majority in parliament, this may facilitate the implementation of the president's policy agenda, but also potentially weaken parliament's oversight function. Conversely, if the opposition has significant power in parliament, this can strengthen checks and balances, but also potentially create political deadlock (Linz, 1990). Comparative studies show that the effectiveness of checks and balances depends not only on formal rules, but also on political culture, the degree of party institutionalisation, and informal political dynamics. Perrin (2014) argues that effective checks and balances require not only the right institutional framework, but also an active civil society and free media to ensure government accountability.

In the Indonesian context, the implementation of checks and balances has undergone significant evolution since the reform era. Amendments to the 1945 Constitution have strengthened the position of the DPR in balancing the powers of the president, including in terms of appointments of public officials and policy making (Indrayana, 2008). However, the effectiveness of this system is still a subject of debate, especially when the coalition supporting the government has a significant majority in parliament. Furthermore, the development of technology and social media has added a new dimension to the dynamics of checks and balances. Increased transparency and public access to political information have created new forms of oversight that engage the public directly, although this also brings new challenges such as the spread of disinformation (Bennett & Livingston, 2018).

As such, the theory of checks and balances remains a central concept in understanding and evaluating modern democratic systems. The composition of parliaments, as a result of electoral processes, plays a crucial role in determining how the principles of checks and balances translate into everyday political practice. A deep understanding of these dynamics is important for policymakers, academics and civil society in their efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and ensure accountable governance.

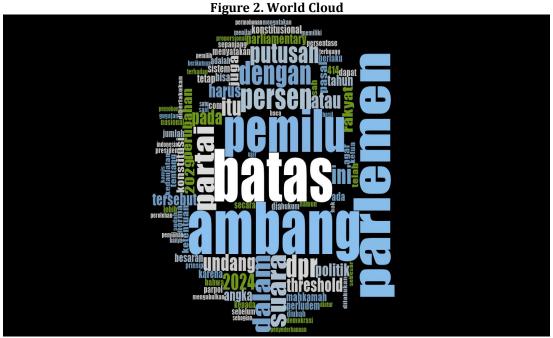
RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The research examines the consequences of eliminating the parliamentary threshold on Indonesia's democracy. The study finds that this removal has a significant effect on the country's democratic dynamics. Removing the threshold can result in increased political representation in the legislature, aligning with democratic principles of participation and representation. This diversity can enhance the system's checks and balances, preventing tyranny. However, the research also shows that the removal of thresholds may lead to excessive political fragmentation, potentially hindering decision-making and government stability. This fragmentation may weaken checks and balances if numerous small parties cannot form a strong opposition. Additionally, the study determines that removing the parliamentary threshold improves political accountability as small, independent parties have a greater chance of entering parliament, enhancing political discourse and government oversight. In conclusion, removing the threshold in Indonesia can strengthen representation and accountability but introduces challenges related to government effectiveness and stability. Striking a balance between representation and effectiveness is crucial for maximising the positive impact on Indonesian democracy.

In the context of democratic theory, the removal of the parliamentary threshold can be seen as a step towards a more inclusive democracy. Robert Dahl, in his theory of democracy, emphasises the importance of effective participation and equality of votes as criteria for an ideal democracy (Dahl, 1989). The removal of the parliamentary threshold has the potential to increase effective participation by allowing more political parties, including small and new parties, to gain seats in parliament. This is in line with the concept of inclusive democracy proposed by Fikri (2016), which emphasises the importance of the involvement of various social groups in political and decision-making processes. However, this increased inclusiveness also brings challenges to political stability, which is an important aspect of democratic theory. Huntington (1991) argues that political stability is key to maintaining and consolidating democracy. The removal of the parliamentary threshold could result in greater political fragmentation, as feared by Jati (2013) and Hadi & Brata (2020), which could disrupt government efficiency and political stability.

From the perspective of the theory of checks and balances, the removal of the parliamentary threshold has significant implications for the power dynamics between the legislature and the executive. The theory of checks and balances, rooted in Montesquieu's thought, emphasises the importance of the distribution of power to prevent abuse of authority (Vile, 1998). In the context of Indonesia, which adheres to a presidential system, a more diverse parliamentary composition due to the removal of the threshold may strengthen the legislative oversight function of the executive. This has the potential to create a stronger checks and balances mechanism. However, excessive political fragmentation can also pose a risk of political gridlock, where too many different interests in parliament can hinder the decision-making process and policy implementation. As argued by Wibisono (2017) and Kurnia (2020), the existence of too many political parties can complicate the government's policy-making process.

Furthermore, the removal of the parliamentary threshold also has implications for the concept of political representation, which is an important element in democratic theory. On the one hand, it can improve representation by allowing more people's voices to be represented in parliament, as Aminah (2020) argues. However, on the other hand, excessive political fragmentation can result in coalition instability and reduce government effectiveness, as feared by Sulaiman & Rohaniah (2023). In the context of checks and balances, a more diverse parliamentary composition may strengthen the legislature's oversight function, but it also has the potential to create sharper political polarisation. This can affect the dynamics of the relationship between the legislature and the executive, as well as between factions within the parliament itself. As such, the impact of removing the parliamentary threshold on democracy in Indonesia should be seen as a trade-off between inclusiveness and stability. On the one hand, this move has the potential to increase political participation and broader representation, in line with the principles of inclusive democracy. However, on the other hand, it could also threaten political stability and government effectiveness, which are also essential elements in a well-functioning democracy.



Source. Nvivo 14 data processing results

Based on the above image that shows the Word Cloud used in this research resource. The results of the analysis of mass media data related to the removal of parliamentary thresholds most often appear using Nvivo software on word Cloud among them are Pemilu, Partai, ambang, batas, Parlemen, Suara. DPR, Putusan, politik, threshold. The largest or thickest word is the word that appears most often on the data, the smaller or thinner the word indicates the less the word is mentioned in the data. This shows that these words became the main object in the news about the elimination of the parliamentary threshold in the mass media.

Indicator Analysis

Political participation is very important to run democracy and to open the door to democracy in a country (Yunus et al., 2017), without political participation, of course, democracy will not run smoothly. Wide participation of various community groups in the political process, especially through political parties, is an indicator of inclusive democracy because it reflects the representation and involvement of all elements of society in the decision-making process. The removal of the parliamentary threshold can make participation wide, especially the participation of political parties in parliament, this is because the absence of a parliamentary threshold makes it easier for political parties to enter parliament.

The existence of a parliamentary threshold makes it difficult for parties that do not have much support base to get seats in parliament, the threshold often makes it difficult for many legislative candidates from the party to be in parliament. The policy instability indicator is also certainly one of the impacts that can be caused by the removal of the parliamentary threshold, with the removal of the parliamentary threshold, policy instability can occur because there will be many political parties entering parliament, with many political parties entering parliament, of course, it will cause the policy-making process to be difficult because each party will bring its own interests. The two indicators are of course the positive and negative impacts arising from the removal of the parliamentary threshold by comparing the two, of course, we can find out which indicator will have the most impact on democracy in Indonesia.

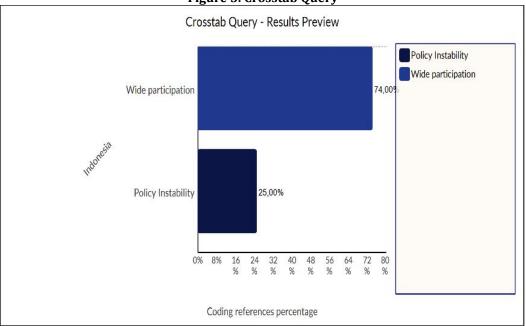


Figure 3. Crosstab Query

Source. Nvivo 14 data processing results

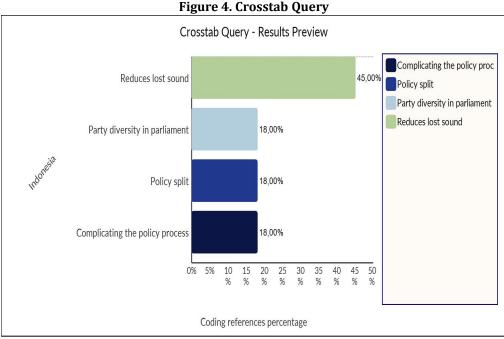
The picture above is a mapping of the mass media using Nvivo 14 on the most influential indicator of the removal of the parliamentary threshold. Widespread participation is the most influential impact associated with the abolition of parliamentary thresholds, which is one of the positive impacts on democracy in Indonesia because of the wide participation means that it will allow many parties to enter Parliament. Wide participation in democracy can reduce political inequality by giving equal opportunities to people to participate in policymaking and participating in political processes, and widespread participation is one of the keys to democratic success, because with wide participation there will be a diverse voice of people coming in and allowing different perspectives in decision-making, so that in the future can produce more quality decisions and respond to the needs of society.

Parameter Analysis

The dynamics of Indonesian democracy are greatly influenced by the removal of the parliamentary threshold, especially in terms of party diversity in parliament and the reduction of wasted votes. The parliamentary threshold makes many people's legitimate votes wasted (Maftuh, 2020). Parliamentary thresholds were previously implemented to ensure that political parties entering parliament had a sufficient electoral base, with the hope of reducing excessive political fragmentation. However, the number of parties entering parliament increased significantly without a threshold. As such, parliaments have become more ideologically and interest-diverse, but also present problems for building stable majorities to formulate consistent and successful public policies. One of the benefits often attributed to the removal of thresholds is the reduction of wasted votes. New or small parties have a greater chance of representing their voters in parliament when there is a low threshold. This is in line with the democratic principle that favors as much representation as possible from different groups of society. Party differences in parliament can also complicate the legislative process. It is difficult for different parties to reach a strong agreement, which is necessary to produce sustainable and comprehensive policies. The removal of the parliamentary threshold has strengthened the voices of minorities who previously may not have been well represented in Indonesia, which has much social, cultural and political diversity. However, as parties may have different agendas or priorities, this can also lead to policy divisions. This can hamper the decision-making process in parliament and hinder the creation and implementation of equitable public policies. Analyzing the parameters of wide

26 | Muhammad Taufik Qurahman, Achmad Nurmandi and Helen Dian Fridayani

participation, namely party diversity and the reduction of wasted votes, as well as the parameters of policy instability, namely complicating the policy-making process and policy divisions, is of course to find out what is the most significant impact on democracy in Indonesia caused by the removal of the parliamentary threshold.



Source. Nvivo 14 data processing results

The picture above is a mapping of the mass media using Nvivo 14 on the most influential parameters of the removal of parliamentary thresholds, of the four parameters that researchers carefully investigate on the impact of anything that can be influential in connection with the abolition of Parliament's thresht, such as reducing the lost votes, the diversity of parties in parliaments, the division of policies, and also the complication in the policy process. If the party does not meet the national minimum number of votes, which is 4%, then of course the legislative candidates cannot enter the parliament so that the party has no representation in Parliament. There are other effects that can be caused by the abolition of parliamentary thresholds in terms of political division and also complicated in the political process, both of these effects can occur when the parliaments threshing line is removed, with the removal of the Parliament limit will eventually allow parties that were previously unable to enter the House will be able to get into the House, with many differences of thinking and different views of representatives of each party in Parliaments such things can hinder the policy making process so that it can lead to political fragmentation and complicate in the policy process, the process of policy making will take a long time because there are different interests of each such party so that this can also cause instability in the government.

CONCLUSION

The Abolition of the parliamentary threshold can have a significant impact on democracy in Indonesia. Based on the results of the analysis, the positive impact is the most influential impact caused by the abolition of the parliamentary threshold on democracy in Indonesia. This is because it can make political participation and diversity of representation in parliament increase, as well as make fewer votes wasted because they do not reach the threshold, which certainly makes democracy in Indonesia increase. However, on the other hand, the negative impact of removing the parliamentary threshold can still be influential so that it can potentially complicate the policy-making process and also cause policy divisions due to the large number of parties with different interests. According to the article, several recommendations can be made regarding the removal of the parliamentary threshold in Indonesia. These include conducting regular evaluations to assess the impact of the threshold removal on political participation and government stability. Strengthening the party system is also important to avoid excessive political fragmentation caused by the entry of small parties into parliament. Improving the capacity of legislators to manage differences and reach consensus is essential given the more diverse parliamentary composition. Encouraging a consensus-oriented political culture can help reduce the risk of political deadlock due to conflicting interests in parliament. Designing decision-making mechanisms that can accommodate diverse voices without compromising efficiency is crucial. Enhancing political education to educate the public on the implications of the new system and the importance of voting for parties with clear policies is recommended. Monitoring whether the increase in parties in parliament leads to increased representation of underrepresented groups is essential. Strengthening checks and balances between the legislature and executive is advised to prevent potential political instability. Comparative studies with other countries can provide lessons on managing political diversity in parliament. Lastly, maintaining policy flexibility and adjusting the parliamentary threshold based on evaluations of its impact on Indonesian democracy is suggested. Overall, these recommendations aim to maximize the benefits of removing the threshold while minimizing potential negative effects on governance stability.

REFERENCES

Books

- Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (2010). *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, institutions and society*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Indrayana, D. (2008). *Indonesian constitutional reform 1999-2002: An evaluation of constitutionmaking in transition*. Kompas Book Publishing.
- Lijphart, A. (1994). *Electoral systems and party systems: A study of twenty-seven democracies,* 1945-1990. Oxford University Press.
- Mainwaring, S., & Shugart, M. S. (Eds.). (1997). *Presidentialism and democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2004). *Electoral engineering: Voting rules and political behavior*. Cambridge University Press.
- Perrin, A. J. (2014). American democracy: From Tocqueville to town halls to Twitter. Polity Press.
- Reynolds, A., Reilly, B., & Ellis, A. (2005). *Electoral system design: The new international IDEA handbook*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Taagepera, R., & Shugart, M. S. (1989). *Seats and votes: The effects and determinants of electoral systems*. Yale University Press.
- Vile, M. J. C. (1998). Constitutionalism and the separation of powers (2nd ed.). Liberty Fund.

Journals

- Abadi, S. A. (2022). Mekanisme Penetapan Ambang Batas (Threshold) Terhadap Stabilitas Sistem Presidensial Dan Sistem Multipartai Sederhana Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Konstitusi Dan Demokrasi*, 2(1), 10–35. https://doi.org/10.7454/jkd.v2i1.1202
- Abin, G. R., & Ayunita, R. (2024). Ada Apa Pemilu 2024 : Dinamika Protes Pasca Hasil Pemilu 2024 Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Stabilitas Politik What ' S Happening In The 2024 Election : Dynamics Of Protests Post 2024 Election Results And Its Implications. *Jurnal Intelek Dan Cendikiawan Nusantara*, 1(2), 951–954.

- Adam, A. F., Betaubun, W. L., & Jalal, N. (2021). Quo Vadis Parliamentary Threshold di Indonesia. *JIIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan, 6*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.14710/jiip.v6i1.8618
- Al-Hamdi, R., Sakir, S., & Lailam, T. (2022). Pro and Contra of the Parliamentary Threshold among Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and Political Parties: Seeking a Relevant Model for Indonesia's Legislative Election. *Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, 9(3), 225–240. https://journal.umy.ac.id/index.php/GPP/article/view/15149
- Aminah, S. (2020). Pengaturan Ambang Batas Perolehan Suara (Parliementary Threshold) Dalam Pemilu. *Datin Law Jurnal*, 1(1), 538–546.
- Arrsa, R. C. (2016). Pemilu Serentak dan Masa Depan Konsolidasi Demokrasi. *Jurnal Konstitusi*, *11*(3), 515. https://doi.org/10.31078/jk1136
- Bachmid, F. (2020). Eksistensi Kedaulatan Rakyat dan Implementasi Parliamentary Threshold dalam Sistem Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia. *SIGn Jurnal Hukum*, *2*(2), 87–103. https://doi.org/10.37276/sjh.v2i2.83
- Bennett, W. L., & Livingston, S. (2018). The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(2), 122-139.
- Blais, A., Bol, D., Bowler, S., Farrell, D. M., Fredén, A., Foucault, M., Heisbourg, E., Lachat, R., Lago, I., Loewen, P. J., Nemčok, M., Pilet, J. B., & Plescia, C. (2023). What Kind of Electoral Outcome do People Think is Good for Democracy? *Political Studies*, 71(4), 1068–1089. https://doi.org/10.1177/00323217211055560
- Diamantina, A., Wardhani, L., Ramadhan, D., & Yakub, S. (2021). Elimination of Parliamentary Threshold and Efforts of Democratization in Parliament. *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Law, Economic, Governance, ICOLEG 2021, 29-30 June 2021, Semarang, Indonesia, 7.* https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.29-6-2021.2312591
- Diniyanto, A. (2019). Politik Hukum Regulasi Pemilihan Umum di Indonesia: Problem dan Tantangannya. *Jurnal Legislasi Indonesia*, *16*(2), 160–172.
- Ekoyusmario, M., Humaerah, & Agis, A. (2022). Relevansi Partai Politik Dalam Penerapan Ambang Batas Parlemen Pada Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2019 Andi. *Journal of Lex Generalis* (*JLS*), 1(4), 489–501.
- Fikri, A. (2016). Konseptualisasi dan Internalisasi Nilai Profetik: Upaya Membangun Demokrasi Inklusif bagi Kaum Difabel di Indonesia. *Inklusi*, 3(1), 41. https://doi.org/10.14421/ijds.030107
- Firdaus, S. U. (2016). Relevansi Parliamentary Threshold terhadap Pelaksanaan Pemilu yang Demokratis. *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 8(2), 91. https://doi.org/10.31078/jk825
- Hadi, I. G. A. A., & Brata, D. L. (2020). Pengaruh Penentuan Parliamentary Threshold Dalam Pemilihan Umum Legislatif dan Sistem Presidensial di Indonesia Indonesia. *Jurnal Kertha Patrika*, 42(1), 39.
- Hidayatulloh, B. A. (2014). Politik Hukum Sistem Pemilu Legislatif Dan Presiden Tahun 2009 Dan 2014 Dalam Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi. *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum*, *21*(4), 559– 582. https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol21.iss4.art3
- Higashikata, T., & Kawamura, K. (2015). Voting Behavior in Indonesia from 1999 to 2014: Religious Cleavage or Economic Performance? *SSRN Electronic Journal, January 2015*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2620455
- Itasari, N. (2013). Penerapan Parliamentary Threshold pada Pemilihan Umum 2009. *Al-Daulah: urnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam, 3*(2), 356–374. https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2013.3.2.356-374

- Jati, W. R. (2013). Menuju Sistem Pemilu Dengan Ambang Batas Parlemen Yang Afirmatif. *Jurnal Yudisial,* 6(2), 143–158. http://jurnal.komisiyudisial.go.id/index.php/jy/article/view/110
- Kurnia, T. S. (2020). Presidential Candidacy Threshold and Presidentialism Affirmation in Indonesia. *Padjadjaran Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 7(3), 353–379. https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v7n3.a4
- Levinson, D. J., & Pildes, R. H. (2006). Separation of parties, not powers. *Harvard Law Review*, 119(8), 2311-2386.
- Linz, J. J. (1990). The perils of presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy*, 1(1), 51-69.
- Maftuh, M. A. (2020). Parliamentary Threshold in Constitutional Election in 2019 (Philosophical Review of the Principles of People Sovereignty). *JIL : Journal of Indonesian Law, 1*(2), 200–213. https://doi.org/10.18326/jil.v1i2.200-213
- Majid, A., & Sugitanata, A. (2021). Sistem Pemilu Sebagai Wujud Demokrasi Di Indonesia: Antara Orde Lama, Orde Baru Dan Reformasi. *Qaumiyyah: Jurnal Hukum Tata Negara*, *2*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.24239/qaumiyyah.v2i1.18
- Maria. (2018). Kebebasan Keamanan, Keadilan Dan Kedamaian Dalam Pemilihan Umum Untuk Stabilitas Negara Maria. *Jurnal Legilasi Indonesia*, *15*(4), 5–24.
- Putera, F., Ginting, P., & Saragih, A. (2018). Ilusi Demokrasi Substansial di Indonesia: Sebuah Kritik Terhadap Impementasi Parliamentary Treshlod. *Politeia: Jurnal Ilmu Politik, 10*(2), 79–90.
- Rannie, M., Saraswati, R., & Wisnaeni, F. (2024). Does the Reform of the Parliamentary and Presidential Threshold Strengthen the Presidential System in Indonesia? *Sriwijaya Law Review*, 8(1), 133–151. https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol8.Iss1.3157.pp133-151
- Rokhim, A. (2011). Pemilihan Umum Dengan Model "Parliamentary Threshold" Menuju Pemerintahan Yang Demokratis Di Indonesia. *DiH: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 7(14), 85–94. https://doi.org/10.30996/dih.v7i14.266
- Sinaga, P. (2024). Is The Post-Reformation System Of The Indonesian Government A Parliamentary Form ? *International Journal of Law Recontruction*, 8(1), 19–37.
- Sompotan, H. B. (2021). Analisis Yuridis Tentang Ambang Batas Parlemen (Parliamentary Thereshold) Dalam Pemilihan Umum Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia Pasca Keluarnya Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pemilihan Umum. *Lex Administratum*, *IX*(7), 180–188.
- Sulaiman, B., & Rohaniah, Y. (2023). Analisis Pemilu dengan Sistem Proporsional Terbuka. *PETANDA: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Dan Humaniora*, 4(2), 88–105. https://doi.org/10.32509/petanda.v4i2.3319
- Tomsa, D. (2014). Party system fragmentation in Indonesia: The subnational dimension. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *14*(2), 249–278. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1598240800008924
- Wibisono, Y. (2017). Anomali Praktik Sistem Pemerintahan Presidensial Dan Multipartai Di Awal Pemerintahan Jokowi Tahun 2014. *Jurnal Ilmu Dan Budaya*, *40*(50), 6361–6384.
- Yunus, N. R., Sholeh, M., & Susilowati, I. (2017). Rekontruksi Teori Partisipasi Politik Dalam Diskursus Pemikiran Politik Negara. SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-I, 4(3). https://doi.org/10.15408/sjsbs.v4i3.10289.