

Presidential Threshold Discourse and Its Implications: Case of Presidency Election in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia is a democratic country that adheres to a system of government and legislative elections by way of general elections (Pemilu). The 2024 election in Indonesia which will be held on 14 February 2024 will be the 13th election, since the election was first held in Indonesia in 1955. This study aims to present a discourse on applying presidential thresholds in presidential and vice presidential elections to be held in Indonesia in 2024. This research uses a normative juridical approach because the main sources are primary legal materials and secondary legal materials obtained from legal materials, both statutory regulations and library materials relating to the Presidential Threshold and previous research results relevant to the issue studied, then arranged systematically. The results of the study show that there are many pros and cons regarding the application of the Presidential Threshold which seems very discriminatory from the notion of democracy. There are those who argue that setting a presidential threshold with a high percentage has limited the number of potential presidential and vice presidential candidates to run for and be elected as state leaders and this is contrary to the rights of citizens to be elected. Meanwhile, others are of the view that setting the presidential threshold is to support the effectiveness of the general election process and can strengthen the presidential system so that it is hoped that the inauguration process for the elected president and vice president can run stably.

Keywords: Democracy; General Election; Presidential Threshold; President and Vice President

ABSTRAK

Indonesia merupakan negara demokrasi yang menganut sistem pemilihan pemerintah dan legislatif dengan jalan pemilihan umum (Pemilu). Pemilu di Indonesia tahun 2024 yang akan dilaksanakan pada tanggal 14 Februari 2024 merupakan Pemilu yang ke-13, sejak diselenggarakan Pemilu di Indonesia pertama kali pada tahun 1955. Studi ini bertujuan untuk memaparkan diskursus tentang penerapan presidential treshold dalam Pemilu Presiden dan Wakil Presiden yang akan dilaksanakan di Indonesia pada tahun 2024. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan yuridis normatif karena sumber utamanya adalah bahan-bahan hukum primer dan bahan-bahan hukum sekunder yang diperoleh dari bahan-bahan hukum baik peraturan perundang-undangan maupun bahan pustaka, yang berkaitan dengan Presidential Threshold dan hasil penelitian terdahulu yang relevan dengan masalah yang diteliti, selanjutnya disusun secara sistematis. Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa terjadi banyak pro dan kontra terkait penerapan Presidential Threshold yang terkesan sangat diskriminatif dari pengertian demokrasi. Sebagian berpandangan bahwa penetapan presidential treshold dengan persentase yang tinggi telah membatasi jumlah calon presiden dan wakil presiden potensial untuk ikut berkontestasi dan dipilih sebagai pemimpin negara dan ini bertentangan dengan hak warga negara untuk dipilih. Sedangkan sebagian yang lain berpandangan bahwa ditetapkannya presidential treshold untuk mendukung efektivitas proses pemilihan umum dan mampu memperkuat sistem presidensial sehingga diharapkan agar proses penyelenggaraan pemerintahan bagi presiden dan wakil presiden terpilih dapat berjalan stabil.

Kata Kunci : Demokrasi, Pemilihan Umum, Ambang Batas Pemilihan Presiden dan Wakil President

1. Introduction

Indonesia is a democratic country that adheres to a system of government and legislative elections by way of general elections (Pemilu). The 2024 elections in Indonesia which will be held on 14 February 2024 will be the 13th elections, since the first elections were held in Indonesia in 1955. The purpose of elections is to select government leaders, both executive and legislative. As well as to form a government that is democratic, strong and gains the support of the people in order to realize national goals in accordance with the 1945 Constitution².

General Elections are a means for the public to participate in determining the figure and direction of state or regional leadership in a certain period³. Elections as a means of realizing people's sovereignty in order to produce a democratic state government based on Pancasila and the 1945 Republic of Indonesia Constitution, are intended to elect a president and vice president, members of the DPR, DPD, DPRD, as well as regional heads and deputy regional heads who are able to reflect democratic values and can absorb and fight for the aspirations of the people in accordance with the demands of the development of national and state life. When democracy gets widespread attention from the world community, the holding of democratic elections becomes an important requirement in the formation of a country's leadership. As mentioned above, one of the objectives of general elections is to elect the leader of the executive government (President).

In a presidential system, simultaneous elections are characteristic, different from the parliamentary system, the concept of elections is carried out in legislative elections which produce executive officials. In the parliamentary system, political parties that win general elections can control parliamentary seats⁴. The application of the Presidential Threshold is

² Siti Sarah & Sri Suatmiati. (2022). General Election System in Indonesia Based on Law of The Republic of Indonesia No 7 of 2017. *Jurnal Sosial dan Teknologi (SOSTECH)*, Volume 2, Number 9, September 2022 p-ISSN 2774-5147.

³ Muhammad Wahdini. (2022). The Effectiveness of Simultaneous Election 2019. *Jurnal Bina Praja: Journal of Home Affairs Governance*, Volume 14, No. 1.

⁴ Muhammad Mukhtarrija, I gusti Ayu Ketut Rachmi Handayani, & Agus Riwanto. (2018). The Ideal Concept of Presidential Threshold Arrangement to Achieve Constitutional Rights of New Political Parties in a Simultaneous General Election in Indonesia. *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding (IJMMU)*, Vol. 5, No. 3, June.

irrelevant if applied to the 2024 election because the system will eliminate the opportunity for new political parties to nominate presidential or vice-presidential candidates.

The setting for the presidential threshold in elections in Indonesia was initially regulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia stated in Article 6A, then further regulated in Law Number 23 of 2003 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President, then amended by Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Deputy The President, which is then regulated again in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. Initially, the setting of the presidential threshold by the legislators was in the framework of strengthening the presidential system. This presidential threshold is one of the ways to strengthen the presidential system through simplification of political parties. The goal is to create a stable government and not cause the running government to experience difficulties in making policies with the legislature.

Since the 2019 election, the presidential nomination system has adhered to the presidential threshold as stipulated in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. In Article 222, it is stated that the candidacy for president requires 20 percent of the seats in the DPR or 25 percent of the total national valid vote based on previous elections. This means that a party that obtains less than 25 percent of the valid national votes cannot nominate a president. This law has also been challenged many times to the Constitutional Court (MK). However, none of them worked. Most recently, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) sued the presidential threshold for limiting their movement to form a coalition. In addition to hindering the determination of coalitions, PKS considers that the threshold system makes it difficult for citizens who want to run as presidential candidates.

The holding of democratic elections is the dream of every Indonesian citizen. Elections are said to run democratically if every Indonesian citizen who has the right to vote can cast his vote directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly. Each voter only exercises his right to vote once and has the same value, namely one vote. This is often referred to as the principle of one person, one vote, one value (opovov)⁵. The laws related to election preparations themselves are Number 7 of 2017 and Law Number 10 of 2016. The two laws

⁵ Putri Lina Wahyuni, Elidar Sari, Mukhlis. (2020). Presidential Threshold Against the Election of President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia in the State Administration System. *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fakultas Hukum Universitas Malikul Saleh, Aceh*. Volume 1 Nomor 1 Januari-April 2020 (page 38-58).

mandate that in 2024 elections will be held simultaneously in one year, namely presidential elections, legislative elections, and regional head elections..

The 2024 election stages will begin in mid-June 2022. This is in accordance with the provisions of Article 167 paragraph (6) of Law Number 7 of 2017 (Election Law) which states that the stages of holding elections begin 20 months before voting day. The Legislative Election (Pileg) in that year was held simultaneously with the 2024 Presidential Election (Pilpres) and Regional Elections (Pilkada). The implementation of the Pileg, Presidential and Regional Elections at the same time is still causing controversy, and has even been sued to the Constitutional Court.

There are many pros and cons related to the implementation of the Presidential Threshold which seem very discriminatory from the notion of democracy. In this regard, not everyone has the right to run for president. Applying a presidential threshold with a high percentage is tantamount to limiting the number of candidates which sacrifices the people's right to get alternative candidate choices other than those offered by the big parties that have a majority of seats in the DPR. Setting thresholds for the acquisition of votes and seats in the DPR for political parties nominating the president and vice president in the 2019 election has undermined democratic values and violated the fulfillment of the constitutional rights of political parties (especially new political parties, which did not take part in previous elections). Therefore, the more candidates, the more alternative choices so that the quality of democracy in the presidential election contestation stimulates voter participation.

But on the other hand, for the benefit of the state. the enactment of the President Threshold is also very meaningful. The implementation of the Presidential Threshold facilitates and maintains the effectiveness of the general election process. The application of the Presidential Threshold will strengthen the presidential system by assessing the multiparty system. Indeed, the implementation of the Presidential Threshold will facilitate the holding of elections by limiting the number of politicians based on a 20% -25% threshold. Based on academic texts on holding general elections in the context of several party systems in parliament, the most important thing is the concentration of seats in political parties, not the number of political parties.

2. Focus of Problem

The debate about the presidential threshold in holding elections in Indonesia is always interesting to discuss. What has become a hot issue in the discourse is whether by setting the high President Threshold figure, the elected president and vice president are the best quality presidents and vice presidents? If one looks at the continuity of the current President Threshold system, the choice of a party to occupy a DPR seat is definitely a party that does have big support or not small parties in a coalition. There has always been such a big discrepancy. What quality guarantees are provided by the state, by political parties in enforcing the Presidential Threshold? It is simply not far from the politics of reciprocation and can give rise to oligarchic politics. By implementing a high threshold presidential system, the people do not have many alternatives to choose the best presidential and vice presidential candidates. This raises the pros and cons of the president threshold system. The focus of the problems of this study are, first, what are the arguments for and against the 20% presidential threshold system? and second, what are the implications of applying the presidential threshold?

3. Research Methodology

The type of research used is normative legal research. In this research, the statutory approach and the concept approach are used. These approaches are used to determine the suitability between the rules and the realities that occur. This research focuses more on a normative juridical approach because the main sources are primary legal materials and secondary legal materials, by collecting legal materials, both statutory regulations and library materials, related to the Presidential Threshold and research results related to the subject matter. , then arranged systematically. The sort of research is library research, which focuses on obtaining information from the literature and reading the results (laws and regulations, legal books, legal journals and literature related to the object of study in the field of law)⁶. The data for this study comes from two sources: primary data sources in the form of the primary book and secondary data sources in the form of explanatory or supporting books.

⁶Jonaedi Efendi, Johnny Ibrahim. (2018). *Legal Research Methods*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, p. 78.

4. Finding and Discussion

4.1 Presidential Threshold in the Indonesian Legal System

At the theoretical level, the elections for the President/Vice President and the Legislature are carried out simultaneously so that the political parties participating in the election have the opportunity to gain significant votes while at the same time creating a coattail effect that the legislative election will be influenced by the Presidential election or vice versa. The design of holding elections simultaneously, the election of members of the legislature and the election of the President and Vice President simultaneously are considered to be able to form an effective presidential system of government, which is known as the result of coattail voting. This has resulted in the proportion of voters who are interested in voting for a candidate for President and Vice President from other parties who are also interested in voting for a congressional candidate from that party. Thus, the greater the short-term power related to the election of the President and Vice President, the greater the difference in the votes of the President and the party's parliament. The implications that arise will make people's stereotypes in the next election tend to choose the incumbent party.

The presence of the Constitutional Court (MK) is an interpretation as the guardian of constitution which has an important and strategic role in determining the constitutionality of an existing legal norm.⁷ The main cause of this complicity is the implication of the domination of the will of the political majority at any given moment in history to which previous legislators or constituents can add errors. This will affect the decision of the Constitutional Court judges in examining the constitutionality of a law that was born. Finally, a problem arose which became the main factor in the constitutional decline of democracy or known as constitutional retrogression. This is due to the participation of political parties in the legislature which prioritize their interests, but does not change policy as a whole. As it is known that there are five mechanisms that cause constitutional retrogression namely; 1) Amendment to the Constitution, 2) Reducing the effectiveness of checks and balances, 3) Centralization and politicization of executive power, 4) Minimizing participation in control by the public, 5) Eliminating political competition⁸.

⁷ See Article 24C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

⁸ Aziz Huq & Tom Ginsburg, "How to Lose a Constitutional Democracy", *UCLA Law Review*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (2018), page. 118.

Indonesia recognizes 3 threshold systems in general elections, namely the electoral threshold, parliamentary threshold, and presidential threshold⁹. In short, the threshold is the minimum threshold of votes that must be owned by election participants to obtain certain rights in the election. These rights are like participating in the next election, obtaining seats in parliament, and the right to nominate pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the next election. The presidential threshold rule has been implemented in Indonesia since the 2004 general election. At that time, for the first time, Indonesia held a direct presidential election (pilpres). The presidential threshold was first formulated in Law Number 23 of 2003 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President (now no longer valid). This limitation is formulated in Chapter II concerning Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election Contestants, specifically in Article 5 paragraph 4, which states that¹⁰:

The pair of candidates as referred to in paragraph (1) can only be nominated by a political party or coalition of political parties that obtains at least 15% (fifteen percent) of the seats in the DPR or 20% (twenty percent) of the national valid votes in the general election. members of the House of Representatives.

The threshold rules for presidential nominations in the 2014 Presidential Election remain the same as in the 2009 Presidential Election. The presidential threshold rules for the 2019 general election are the same as those for the 2024 general election. In Article 222 of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections it is stated that candidate pairs are proposed by parties. political parties or a combination of political parties participating in the election that meet the requirements of obtaining seats of at least 20 percent of the total number of seats in the DPR or obtaining 25 percent of valid votes nationally in the previous election for members of the DPR. In the 2024 presidential election, the threshold used is the acquisition of the number

⁹ Muhammad Wahdin. (2022). The Effectiveness of Simultaneous Election 2019: Evaluation Through the Simultaneous Election 2024. *Jurnal Bina Praja. Journal of Home Affairs Governance*. Vol 14, No 1, page: 123–134.

¹⁰ Siti Sarah & Sri Suatmiati. (2022). General Election System in Indonesia Based on Law of The Republic Indonesia No. 7 of 20217. *Jurnal Sosial dan Teknologi (SOSTECH)*, Volume 2, Number 9, September 2022.

of DPR seats and national valid votes in the previous election for members of the DPR. This is because the presidential and legislative elections will be held simultaneously in February 2024.

In implementing the presidential threshold, it does not necessarily only have a positive impact, but there are also negative impacts, such as the existence of new parties that have passed verification and been declared as election participants by the General Election Commission in 2024, do not have political rights in nominating the candidates for President and Vice President and there are Indonesian citizens who feel that their political rights have been violated because those elected in the 2019 election are not necessarily their choice in the 2024 election or the candidate they will choose has been canceled due to presidential threshold rules. By continuing to enforce the threshold rules in the 2024 elections, it is hoped that the legislators will reconsider the provisions for the presidential threshold, especially in relation to simultaneous elections, taking into account the advantages and disadvantages in implementing or eliminating the presidential threshold with the aim of strengthening the presidential system in Indonesia.

4.2 Pros and Cons of Enforcing the Presidential Threshold

This section describes the pros and cons of applying the provisions regarding the Presential Threshold. The following describes several sources of literature which express support for the application of the Presential Threshold. Initially, the objective was to formulate and set the Presential Threshold to focus on the position of the President as the executive branch and the legislature as observers. There are 4 (four) arguments behind the Presidential Threshold¹¹:

1. The importance of developing a presidential system that is in power from the start of the nomination. Support from political parties is needed as much as possible starting from the election process.
2. The presidential threshold is intended to select pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates from the start (a kind of preliminary election) before the election.
3. The importance of developing an efficient government.

¹¹ Ridho Al-Hamdi, Tanto Lailam, & Sakir. (2021). The Presidential Threshold Design in Indonesia's Electoral System: In Search of "Win-Win Situation" Among Unfinished Debates. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, Volume 626. International Conference on Sustainable Innovation Track Humanities Education and Social Sciences (ICSIHES 2021).

At a minimum, get 20% support in the DPR, the goal is that the strategy that will be taken by the elected president and vice president will get strong support in parliament.

4. Reducing the party system.

It is also believed that the habit of joining parties is in accordance with Indonesia's political culture which prioritizes mutual cooperation..

The Constitutional Court has several times rejected the lawsuits of a number of parties regarding the judicial review of Article 222 of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections (Elections), both carried out by individual citizens and by party institutions. As for a number of parties who filed the lawsuit, including Ferry Joko Yuliantono (Gerindra Party politician), former TNI Commander Gatot Nurmantyo and DPD Member Fahira Idris, DPD Chair La Nyalla Mahmud Mattalitti and UN General Chair Yusril Ihza Mahendra. The applicants filed their lawsuit as individual citizens.

Most recently, on September 29, 2022, the Constitutional Court rejected a judicial review of the presidential threshold (PT) provisions in Law Number 7 of 2017 which was sued by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)¹². PKS filed a lawsuit for judicial review of the PT issue to the MK on August 6 2022. Meanwhile, based on Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections, it is stated that a political party or coalition of political parties that can nominate presidential and vice presidential candidates must have 20 percent of the seats in the DPR RI or obtaining 25 percent of the national valid votes in the previous election. Based on the 1945 Constitution onwards the court's decision rejected the petition of the applicants in its entirety.

The constitutional judge explained that according to the Court, the petition was rejected because the petitioners' argument was groundless according to law. This is because the amount of the threshold is not the authority of the Court, both to assess and to change the amount of the threshold number proposed by the applicant, in this case the PKS. Provisions for the presidential threshold need to be given more proportional, rational and implementable boundaries. According to the Court, this is not within the scope of the Court's authority to evaluate and then change the amount of the threshold. Changes are in the authority of the legislators, namely the DPR and the president to determine further the needs of the legislative

¹² Yolanda Agne & S. D. Andryanto. 2022. " MK Rejects PKS Lawsuit Regarding Presidential Threshold of 20 Percent, Here's Explanation of 2024 Election Threshold". Retrieved January 5, 2023 via link: <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1640615/mk-tolak-gugatan-pks-soal-presidential-threshold-20-persen-ini-penjelasan-ambang-batas-pemilu-2024>.

process regarding the amount of the threshold. Based on these considerations, the Court stated that the arguments of the applicants requesting the Court to change the threshold became without legal basis.

From the several references we have read, it can be concluded that in general, the reasons for applying the presidential threshold rule are enforced for a number of purposes, among others¹³:

1. Can strengthen the presidential government system.

In a presidential system, the president and vice president who have been directly elected by the people will have a politically strong position. This means that the president and vice president cannot be dismissed easily for political reasons.

2. Encouraging the effectiveness of government administration.

If this system is not implemented, it is possible that the elected president and vice president will be supported by a party or coalition of political parties whose number of seats is not a majority in parliament. If that happens, it is likely that the president and vice president as executive bodies will have difficulty running the government because they will be disturbed by the majority coalition in parliament.

3. Simplify multiparty systems through natural selection.

This multiparty system is intended to ensure that all political parties can participate in democracy. This multiparty system is balanced by limiting the number of political parties that can take part in the next election by means of an electoral threshold (ET) mechanism. This restriction with ET is then considered as a way to eliminate parties whose presence is not really wanted. As a result, political parties that do not meet the ET cannot participate in the next election.

Apart from those who are pro towards the provisions of the presidential threshold, there are also those who are against it. The following describes the reasons for those who rejected the Presidential Threshold¹⁴:

¹³ Imawan Sugiharto & Erwin Aditya Pratama. (2022). Examining the Legal Impact of Presidential Threshold Implementation in the 2024 Presidential Election. *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum*, Vol. 22 Issue 2, May.

¹⁴ Rizki Bagus Prasetio & Febri Sianipar. (2021). The Relevance of The Application of The Presidential Treshold and The Implementation of Simultaneous Elections in Indonesia. *Jurnal Penelitian Hukum De Jure* Volume 21 Number 2, June 2021

1. Provide several alternative leaders from the nation's best sons and daughters.
Opening up more open opportunities for the nomination of president and vice president of more than two pairs. There is no scientific reason for the threshold, which is currently 20 percent. Presidential Threshold figure as an open legal policy. However, in assessing this provision, it should include a rational and proportional basis so that it does not conflict with the 1945 Constitution.
2. Causing social polarization
There was polarization in society due to the Presidential Threshold of 20 percent, as happened in the 2014 and 2019 Elections. Considering that at that time there were only two pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates contesting the Presidential Election.
3. Encouraging the emergence of political cartels.
The presidential threshold system creates privileges for certain parties. This is because only parties that meet the threshold can compete directly in the presidential election. This privilege gave birth to political cartels. Political cartels can exacerbate the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. What is bad for democracy is that it eliminates equal competition for all potential candidates to contest the presidential election.
4. Triggering the birth of oligarchic politics
The existence of a political cartel can encourage the desire of big investors to enter government circles. These financiers can provide financial support to candidates who have to lobby political parties that have tickets. Even though there is no free lunch. The people who provide this capital will expect a return if the person being supported has been elected president. This is where the great opportunity for the birth of an oligarchy opens.
5. The people are only spectators
This threshold system that is too high can limit people's choices. People are only offered people who get tickets to become presidential and vice presidential candidates. Parties that do not have large capital do not have strong access to be able to negotiate with political party leaders who have tickets to run. So, the common people only play the role of spectators, then all they have to do is show them who is suitable.

4.3. The impact caused by the Presidential Threshold

In essence, in a presidential system, the issue of thresholds is no longer relevant if used as a benchmark for the requirements for presidential/cawapres candidates to run for office or as a means of limiting candidacy. If the presidential threshold is still enforced, there are at least 4 practical implications that could occur, among others¹⁵:

1. It will only bring up two pairs of candidates head to head, although on paper it is postulated that it can bring up three to four pairs of candidates, but in practice this is not the case.
2. Without the support of political parties, the nation's best sons and daughters can be prevented from advancing as candidates for president and vice president.
3. Having the potential to undermine people's political awareness and participation, limiting candidates means limiting voters' political channels.
4. Small parties are unable to compete with large parties, so they cannot nominate candidate pairs, and must form a coalition with other parties to meet the minimum presidential threshold requirements.
5. Only certain presidential candidates will appear and it is unlikely that alternative candidates will emerge.

There are many indicators that can be used as a benchmark for the wishes of the people in relation to the implementation of the presidential threshold system. The impact of setting or implementing a presidential threshold in Law Number 2017 concerning General Elections can at least be used as a benchmark for people's wishes regarding the presidential threshold. If the presidential threshold does not have a negative or detrimental impact on all people, then the presidential threshold is in accordance with the wishes of the community. Meanwhile, if the presidential threshold harms the community, of course this is not in accordance with the wishes of the community. Even though the losers are only a portion or even a small group. Because the arrangement and application of the presidential threshold does not harm anyone, considering that it is not against the constitution.

¹⁵ Rahmat Muhajir Nugroho, Sudarsono, Istislam, & Muchamad Ali Safa'at. (2022). The Presidential Candidacy Treshold in Indonesia and Its Implications. *International Journal of Social Science Research and Review*. Volume 5, Issue 8, August, page: 457-465.

5. Conclusion

The issue of applying the presidential threshold in the administration of elections in Indonesia is always interesting to discuss, giving rise to lengthy discussions between pro and contra parties, even giving rise to a number of implications. Those who are pro to the presidential threshold argue that the application of the presidential threshold system can strengthen the presidential government system, can encourage effective government administration, and can simplify multi-party systems through natural selection. Meanwhile, those who are against the provisions of the presidential threshold have several reasons, including: in order to provide several alternative candidates for leaders from the best sons and daughters of the nation, can cause societal polarization, can encourage the emergence of political cartels, can trigger the birth of oligarchic politics, and the role of the people is only to spectators attractions of the political elite. The application of the presidential threshold also raises several implications as follows: (1) It will only bring up two pairs of candidates head to head, although on paper it is argued that three to four pairs of candidates can emerge, but not so in practice, (2) Without the support of political parties, the nation's best sons and daughters may be prevented from advancing as presidential and vice presidential candidates; (3) It has the potential to undermine people's political awareness and participation, limiting candidates means limiting political channels for voters; (4) Small parties are unable to compete with large parties, so they cannot nominate candidate pairs, and must form a coalition with other parties to meet the minimum presidential threshold requirements; and (5) Only certain presidential candidates will appear and it is unlikely that alternative candidates will emerge.

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